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This Report has been prepared and edited, on behalf of the Historical Manuscripts Commissioners, by MR. F. H. BLACKBURNE DANIELL. The Index has been compiled by MR. S. C. RATCLIFF.

INTRODUCTION.

After most of this volume was in print, a large bundle of papers, mostly belonging to 1717 and 1718, was found at Windsor. The concluding part of the text, to make room for including these papers in this volume, was therefore transferred to *Vol. VI.* Many of these papers are duplicates of papers already calendared here and could be noticed in the text without material alterations. The calendar of the remainder forms the concluding pages of this volume and they will now be shortly noticed.

The first is from Mar to Sheldon sending him an account of Sheriffmuir, with Mar's journal from a little after the setting up of the Standard to the King's leaving Scotland (*p.* 527).

On 6 Jan., 1717, Mr. Downs presented to the King an account of his mission to England. He had delivered to Lord Arran and the Bishop of Rochester the particulars with which he was charged. The resolution of the King's not leaving Avignon without necessity was approved of by them, and the most proper place for his retreat was considered. The demand of the Swedish ministers for 50,000*l.* was thought impracticable, but 20,000*l.* was readily undertaken. Various difficulties, however, arose in the collection. Ten days before Downs left, Lord Arran and the Bishop knew positively of only 5,000*l.* in the latter's hands. The Bishop hoped that Lords Shrewsbury and Portmore might contribute largely. Mr. Cæsar hoped to raise 5,000*l.* more, and Menzies undertook to try some Roman Catholics. Mr. Downs discoursed about the schism controversy with the Nonjurors, who were willing to silence it for some time at least. He had delayed returning within six weeks, as he had been ordered, being desired to stay till positive assurance could be given of the 20,000*l.* The inclination of the people of England to restore the King and their hatred of the present government was represented as greater than ever, but, without some force to encourage them, their inclination would be ineffectual. Of foreign assistance that of the Swedes would be most acceptable, and, could it be procured, the King's friends were persuaded there was great probability of success (*p.* 527).

A long letter from Walkingshaw of Barrowfield (*p.* 533) relates the ill success of his negotiations at Vienna, as described in the Introduction to *Vol. IV.*, *p.* xxvi.

Instructions from the Earl of Oxford, dated 16–27 March (*p.* 537), amplify the advice in his letter of that date in the last volume (*p.* 146) and urge the importance of James'

marrying the Princess of Hesse, or, should that be impossible, the daughter of any prince. He also suggested that, should there be a battle, a picked body of two or three hundred horse should be held in reserve, till there should be opportunity of charging to where George was, and that they should give quarter to no great man, which, if James should be victor, would save him trials that would be sure to cause ill blood. General Sheldon observed that 300 chosen men could not well be spared and that, if such orders were given, it would bring more odium on James than if the persons lost their heads on a scaffold (*p.* 540). Oxford had no objection to Queen Mary's being consulted in everything (*p.* 538).

Mrs. Ogilvie (*p.* 540) on 2 April informs her husband of her arrival at Calais with Capt. Gordon, afterwards the well-known Russian admiral, and makes fun of his ignorance of every thing apart from his own profession. She describes how Lord Oxford refused overtures from King George, and the Bishop of Rochester's alarm when visited by Mr. Sayer, a Jacobite messenger.

On 22 May Sir Redmond Everard delivered at Paris the memorial alluded to in the Introduction to the last volume, *p.* xxix, from the Jacobite leaders in England. They regretted that no advices had been received for two months; and described the irreconcilable division between the two Whig parties, one headed by the Elector and one by his son. The Tories, who held the balance, were courted by both. They projected making an address against any foreign war and hoped to induce the discontented Whigs to join them in bringing in a measure to disband or reduce the army (*p.* 543).

On 2 June (*p.* 545) a message in answer was sent over by George Kelly. The reason of not writing was that all letters from England forbade writing by the post. By the only way possible a person was sent to John Menzies with accounts of all that was known on the other side, to be communicated by him to other friends. Ormonde and Mar were in France, and a person was about to be sent to Charles XII. On his return, or if anything else material should happen, friends in England would be immediately informed.

The instructions to George Jerningham on his mission to Sweden are given on *p.* 546. He was to inform Charles XII that Ormonde was on his way to Sweden with full powers, and in the meantime he was to do his utmost to induce Charles to make peace with the Czar, to get him to accept James' mediation and to bring those three princes into an offensive and defensive alliance. If Charles refused or delayed to make peace with the Czar, he must press him to enter into a league with James alone.

On 8 June a long answer (*p.* 548) was prepared to the memorial brought by Sir R. Everard, giving a full account of all affairs and particularly of the negotiations with Charles XII and the Czar, and of James' matrimonial projects.

This answer was entrusted to Lord Glenorchy's governor, but never reached its destination, having been thrown into the sea by him for fear of the Custom House officers. Another copy was sent over by Mrs. Ogilvie (*Introduction to Vol. IV.*, p. xxx).

The letter drafted at Paris from James to Charles XII and sent to James for his signature (*Introduction to Vol. IV.*, pp. xxiii, xxiv) is given on p. 553.

Oxford's letter to Mar of 13-24 May, (calendared in *Vol. IV.*, p. 273) was accompanied by a message by Mrs. Ogilvie (p. 554). He mentions that his petition to be tried had been successful. He speaks of the trouble he had to keep the Bishop of Rochester in good humour and of the Bishop's jealousy at Ormonde's leaving James, which he took to be some stratagem of Mar and Oxford, and describes an interview between the Bishop and himself. He desired that Capt. Ogilvie should be the only channel of communication with himself and mentioned that Lord Orford had now sent for James' letter, which he had refused before, and warned Mar that Sir R. Everard was too young and captious to be trusted with affairs of importance.

The memorial from James Murray, by the direction of the Bishop of Rochester, said in the *Introduction to Vol. IV.*, p. xxx, to be missing, is given on p. 557. It describes the state of politics in England, the division between George and his son and the increasing disagreement among the Whigs, the prudent conduct of the King's friends, particularly Mr. Shippen, in keeping the Whigs divided and preventing the Tories from joining either of the Whig parties, and suggested that advances be made from the King to some of the ministers. The prosecution of the Bishop of Bangor and the prorogation of Convocation are mentioned.

The reply to this memorial, dated 1 Aug., with a postscript of the 12th, is given on p. 564. It mentions that Ormonde was a good way on his journey to Sweden, that Poniatowski had returned from Sweden, that a place for the meeting of the ministers of the Czar and Charles XII was being concerted, and that measures were taken for the King's interests against their meeting. It approved of the measures mentioned in the memorial for dividing the Whigs and improving the differences between George and his son for the King's advantage and inquired which of the ministers should be applied to as suggested in the memorial and recommended to the King's friends to provide a stock of money against any occasion that might offer for undertaking something for his service.

On 25 July Mar sent to Sparre, the Swedish ambassador at Paris, heads on the alteration of affairs since the former proposals and agreement (p. 560). A surprise was not now possible, but the Czar's good intentions for the King and his desire for peace with Sweden made any design against

the Elector more practicable. More money could now be promised and with more certainty. The King's interest in England and the divisions of the present government were increasing daily, and the army in England was reduced. The time for a descent must now be winter or early spring.

A letter from Thomas Heywood (*p.* 562) gives a further account of the prohibition by the French authorities of a celebration of the Communion at St. Germain's according to the rites of the Church of England.

The opinion of Sir Edward Northey, the Attorney-General, on the Act of Indemnity is given on *p.* 571.

We now return to the regular series of papers from 1 Sept., 1717, to 28 Feb., 1718.

This period was spent by James at Urbino, except that he was for a short time in February at Fano, where there was a noble theatre and some of the best voices in the world (*p.* 385), to enjoy the operas and the carnival (*p.* 429). Though the house was a fair one, it was perched on a hill, without any garden (*p.* 454). The country was so mountainous that few places in the Highlands were not level countries in comparison. James took walks for half a mile or so, but it was on roads cut out on the sides of one hill to the top of another, where nothing was to be seen but hills on three sides and on the fourth side too down to the sea (*pp.* 239, 368). In January heavy snows kept the exiles prisoners in the palace (*pp.* 368, 454). No decent wine was to be had in the neighbourhood (*pp.* 313, 369). Music was Mar's chief amusement, and James often looked in and was learning to like it (*pp.* 239, 368, 454). He walked every day in the snow, while others were glad to keep indoors (*p.* 489). In order to get some indoor exercise Mar ordered battledores and shuttlecocks from Rome (*p.* 382). Above all, the place was so out of the world that by the time news arrived there it was out of date and things had completely changed (*pp.* 313, 458). A senator of Lucca was asked unofficially to propose that James should be allowed to reside there, but he declined, alleging that the place was too small and the country scarcely capable of providing for its inhabitants (*p.* 462).

As in the previous volumes, the importance of James' speedy marriage is frequently insisted on by his adherents. His friends in England would prefer a Protestant. If no proper person of that religion could be found, they suggested, if there was hope of a speedy restoration, it might be better to defer the marriage (*p.* 328). Mar replied that no suitable Protestant was to be found, that there was no hope of an immediate restoration, and that, if there was, it was better he should be married before embarking on such a dangerous enterprise (*p.* 483).

The affair of the Princess of Modena, to whom James seems to have been really attached, was quite at an end (*p.* 86), and Sir H. Stirling had given a bad report of the Princess of

Hesse. She was fat and appeared likely to grow more so, and was consequently not likely to have children, and had bad teeth, which gave cause to apprehend a bad breath, as to which the King was very particular. Finally, the King of Sweden was supposed to have designs on her himself (*pp.* 116, 117). Tom Bruce's friend, de Wilda, suggested a niece of the Emperor's (*p.* 81), and Mar asked if de Wilda could be persuaded to undertake a journey to the Emperor about it (*p.* 134).

On 10 Oct. N.S. Dr. Erskine wrote from Riga to the Duke of Ormonde with a spontaneous offer from the Czar of one of his daughters in marriage, probably the eldest, Anna, afterwards Duchess of Holstein, who was then not grown up (*p.* 154). She was said to be 13, and her sister, afterwards the Empress Elizabeth, 11 (*p.* 229). When Ormonde's letter enclosing Dr. Erskine's reached Paris, Queen Mary immediately dispatched an express to James with it. She was certain that the match would have great advantages, but perhaps some inconveniences, if the King of Sweden and the Czar should not become friends and if it was true the daughter was only 13. The great point, therefore, was to know exactly her age, temper and constitution, and if she was healthy and good humoured, for which purpose she proposed that Ormonde should send two trusty persons to see her (*p.* 222). Richard Butler and Daniel O'Brien were suggested by Dillon (*p.* 229), who was of opinion that, if the young lady be of a pleasing, good figure and of a competent age, James could find none more suitable to his rank or who could contribute more to make his pretensions valuable (*p.* 227).

Mar wrote to Dr. Erskine on Christmas Eve (*p.* 311) that it was children that were wanted, the sooner the better, and their not coming at all would be ruinous. In James' situation an agreeable person was an important consideration. Mar wished that the daughter might answer all these requirements. If she did, he thought James could not match so happily elsewhere, but that it was reasonable he should be informed of her person before engaging himself. He was very fond of the thing. Mar hoped the affair might not be spun out to a great length and so disappoint other marriages that might do (*p.* 317). James thought that nothing should be said of the matter to England till more was known of the Czar's mind and the person of the girl (*p.* 374). Stories of the intended marriage, nevertheless, were current in England, but there the lady was reported to be the Duchess of Courland, afterwards the Empress Anne, the Czar's niece (*p.* 392). Ormonde wrote on 10 Feb. that the Czar's eldest daughter was said to have been born before the marriage of her parents (*p.* 453). Early in March the Czar withdrew the offer, as appears by a letter calendared in the next volume.

Before news of this proposal reached Urbino, Mar instructed (Nov. 25) Charles Wogan, who had arrived at Paris from

Italy the 2nd of August, to go to Germany to look out for eligible princesses (p. 234), and particularly to report upon the daughter of Prince Lewis of Baden and a Princess of Saxony, cousin to the King of Poland. The former had been suggested by the King of Sicily to Mr. Booth, when he passed through Turin (pp. 223, 238, 428). From the description given by Wogan of her person, it may be suspected that that crafty prince, who always kept in view the fact that his wife was next to James in the legitimist succession, recommended her, because he thought it improbable she should bear children. The Princess of Saxony had apparently been suggested by Cardinal Albani, the Pope's nephew (p. 378), but a month later Mar wrote to Wogan that the project had been abandoned (p. 343). Wogan was to pass under the name of Germain, as one travelling for diversion or curiosity and so desirous of seeing the German courts. Mar in a postscript suggested his seeing Prince James Sobieski's daughters, if he could do so conveniently. Queen Mary, on account of the Czar's proposal, delayed sending Wogan (p. 300), but Mar wrote that he should be dispatched, for, in case the Czar's daughter proved unsatisfactory, it was good to be informed of others, to avoid losing time (p. 270). Wogan left Paris the end of January and was at Strassburg early in February (p. 433). He thence proceeded to the Courts of Baden Baden at Rastadt and Baden Durlach at Durlach, of which he gives an amusing description in his letter of 14 Feb. (p. 468). He contrasts the dull court of the widow who "spends her time entirely in sickness, devotion, or visiting her country house she has built in imitation of Marli, where she contrives to stuff all the womanish curiosities she can possibly think of," with the lewd court of Durlach where, though the Prince and his wife were separated, he endeavoured to make himself easy by the help of about 50 handsome wenches he kept constantly in good equipage. Wogan reported unfavourably of the Princess as being so dwarfish as to be unlikely to have children, but recommended the two daughters of the Countess of Furstemberg, whom he saw at Rastadt. The only drawback to the eldest was some redness about her nose and the upper part of her cheeks caused by some small pimples, and to the youngest that she was a little lank about the hips. Wogan observed her as narrowly as he could and had opportunity enough, for as he was the finest dressed man in the company and a stranger, all eyes were upon him. Eight days later he wrote from Prague (p. 503) that he hoped to be at Ohlau, where Prince James Sobieski lived, before the end of the carnival.

Mar had arrived at Liège on 27 August only to find that his journey was in vain, the peace negotiations between Sweden and Russia having been transferred to Finland, as related in the last volume. He intended to have stayed in a chateau near Liège but, fearing he might be kidnapped by some of King George's people, he removed into the town,

where he lived very privately (*pp.* 3, 4). He stayed there till 24 Sept. (*p.* 90) drinking the waters, having waited a few days for Capt. and Mrs. Ogilvie, who brought letters from England (*p.* 65). He arrived at St. Denis on Friday, 1 Oct. (*p.* 90), and came to Paris next day, where he stayed at M. de Mezières' house (*p.* 93). The Regent had objected to his staying in Paris, but no place in the neighbourhood could be found for him (*pp.* 90, 91). He had an interview with Queen Mary on Sunday night (*p.* 98). M. de Mezières feared he might be seized by way of reprisal for Peterborough (*p.* 102). He left Paris on the 13th (*p.* 134), was at Lyons on the 21st, passed through Turin (*p.* 241) and Padua (*p.* 182), and was at Venice by 7 Nov. (*p.* 182). He amused himself there with seeing the place and hearing the music (*p.* 182). He wrote to the Duke of Queensberry that he had thought it wiser not to attempt to see him at Padua, giving reasons for the Duke's espousing the Jacobite cause (*p.* 182). A discreet answer was returned by the Duke's governor (*p.* 186). Mar arrived at Bologna on the 17th (*p.* 212), left it on the 20th (*p.* 218), and arrived at Urbino on the 22nd (*p.* 238).

Lady Mar parted from her husband at Liége and escorted by James Hamilton (*p.* 22) got to Brussels the end of September, reached Antwerp 1 Oct., and sailed from Rotterdam on the 23rd (*p.* 136). She met there Lord Cadogan "in a very comical way, he having been heartily refreshed and full of compliments" (*p.* 145). She was obliged to return to England to settle her affairs (*p.* 66).

The Introduction to *Vol. IV.* (*p.* xxv) mentions that the peace negotiations between Russia and Sweden in Holland had been interrupted in consequence of the arrest in Denmark of General Rank, the plenipotentiary empowered by the King of Sweden. However, the Czar granted three months to supply the want and, if the reasons for delay could not soon be removed, it was proposed that the negotiations be transferred to Finland. Though Rank was released, Mar feared that the negotiations would be postponed till the expiration of the time allowed by the Czar (*p.* 43), who was still in Holland the beginning of September (*p.* 4), but left soon afterwards and passed through Danzig on his way to Riga the beginning of October (*p.* 95).

Ormonde was at Prague on his way to Sweden before the middle of August. He decided to send Jerningham and Sheridan to Sweden and Daniel O'Brien to Danzig to wait there till he arrived himself, which he expected to do 26 August. He intended to stay at Danzig till he heard by Sheridan how Jerningham was received in Sweden (*pp.* 4, 13), and till he was informed how matters would terminate betwixt the Czar and the King of Sweden (*p.* 31). Mar decided to send Sir H. Stirling after the Czar, who would see Ormonde at Danzig and prevent him and Dr. Erskine falling out, and would likewise be a spur to the latter. Sparre thought

Ormonde should not go to Sweden till he heard from those he had sent there, but said nothing against Jerningham's being sent (*pp.* 36, 43). At the end of September the Czar stayed two nights at Danzig on his way to Riga, whither Ormonde was to follow him and stay there till he received an answer from Jerningham. Ormonde had an interview with Dr. Erskine, and in consequence Jerningham was sent at once to Sweden. Ormonde resolved to remain in the North till the treaty was concluded (*pp.* 95, 96). It was reported (*p.* 392) that he had a narrow escape at Danzig of being captured by the English. He arrived at Mittau, the capital of Courland, on 23 Oct. (*p.* 176), where he found letters from Dr. Erskine suggesting that, if Sweden would not undertake the restoration, proposals should be made to Maréchal d'Uxelles, the French foreign minister, and his party that they might oblige the Regent to make a descent from France and, if peace was made with Sweden, the Czar promised to send 20,000 men to Rostock to oblige King George to return to Hanover and to prevent Holland sending assistance to England. The Czar desired that Ormonde and his party should not come to Riga but should remain at Mittau (*pp.* 154, 155), where they spent the rest of the winter. The governor was very civil and would have given Ormonde a guard, but he declined several of his civilities, fearing it would make too much noise (*p.* 513). Jerningham had parted from Ormonde on 15 October at Königsberg to embark for Sweden (*p.* 154), but nothing more was heard of him during the period comprised in this volume (*p.* 513). On 27 February Ormonde received a letter dated the 21st from Sir H. Stirling at Petersburg (*p.* 499), informing him that Dr. Erskine had written to him that the Czar had received complaints from England that Ormonde was protected in his country. To avoid the ill consequences that might happen on that account, the Czar offered that, if Ormonde went to Sweden, he would convey him in the same manner he did Görtz, being afraid that, if he stayed longer where he was, it might spoil the whole affair. Stirling replied that it was impossible for Ormonde to do so, since it must be attended with as great or greater inconveniences than staying where he was. Till he heard from Jerningham, it was impossible to know whether he would be received as a friend or an enemy. Though his person might be safe, yet his being rebutted in Sweden would infallibly dispirit the English Jacobites. If the Czar proposed a safe and more out-of-the-way place, Stirling did not doubt Ormonde would go there. Dr. Erskine had, as yet, no news about the treaty, but Görtz was concerned in it, and there were high expectations of its success, but for fear of spies the strictest enquiry was made, and it was with the greatest difficulty that any person was allowed to go to or from the place of treaty. Ormonde was surprised and embarrassed by

this letter, but considered that by Stirling's answer he had some time to consider what to do (*p.* 513). It was reported at Vienna in February that the King of Sweden had accepted Danzig as the place for the peace congress and would send his plenipotentiaries there as soon as the preliminaries were settled (*pp.* 434, 451). Ormonde pressed for power to answer the King of Sweden as to what sum he would receive from James, and as to the place and time of payment (*p.* 453).

The letter of Mar to James Murray of 1 and 12 Aug. calendared in *Vol. IV.*, *p.* 486, with the enclosed answer to the Second Memorial sent by him by the Bishop of Rochester's directions (*p.* 564) was still in Menzies' hands on 7 Sept. (*p.* 23), Murray being a great way from London, and both Lord Oxford and the Bishop of Rochester having refused to open it. Finally, authority was received from Murray to open it, with directions how to obtain the keys of the ciphers. Very few understood the answer to the memorial, which very few had seen or heard of (*p.* 98). Lord Oxford was uneasy at the delay, which kept him in London. He was also mortified that so many papers had been sent to other people of which he was ignorant. On the other hand Lord Arran and the Bishop were dissatisfied with Lord Oxford for not communicating to them his news from abroad, but their receiving the account sent by Dillon by Mr. Jemison *alias* Scot before any other in England pleased them extremely, so they now seemed united and reconciled to each other. Sir R. Everard, Ormonde's agent in England, sent Dillon word that the Bishop and Lord Arran expected he should inform them of the King's affairs by particular messages to them, though they were well inclined to have a good understanding with Oxford and his party and would do all they could to continue in concert with them. On this Dillon desired to know the King's pleasure. He intended to say nothing of the matter to Mar for fear of giving any new occasion of jealousy (*pp.* 53, 54, 228). On 9 October Mar wrote from Paris to Oxford and the Bishop expressing his satisfaction at the harmony amongst the King's friends in England (*pp.* 113, 115). From the latter he asked for further explanations as to what he had said about the expectations of the Roman Catholics being raised so unaccountably and asked his opinion how to put a stop to it. Mar also wrote to Lord Orrery on Anne Oglethorpe's suggestion, proposing that he should join James' party (*pp.* 122, 123).

Mar was annoyed by the perverted reports based on Dillon's message to England by Mr. Jemison calendared in *Vol. IV.*, *p.* 520 (*p.* 68), but was satisfied on Dillon's showing him a copy of the message (*p.* 124).

In anticipation of the meeting of Parliament, which was on 21 Nov., O.S. (*p.* 248), Dillon sent in October by George Kelly a message to Lord Arran and the Bishop arguing that it was most material to break the treaty between England and

France and therefore suggesting that, as he was informed a promise had been given in the Regent's name for the recall of the French Protestants to France, a vote for an address might be carried asking King George to insist on its fulfilment. If he refused, he might be charged with refusing to propagate the Protestant religion; if he complied, the Regent would be unable to grant his request and the French nation would perhaps be so incensed as to insist on his breaking off all dealings with King George (*pp.* 150, 195). Mar highly approved of this project (*p.* 323), which Mr. Shippen was to have managed, if he had not been sent to the Tower (*p.* 325).

Menzies wrote that, unless Walpole and the Tories united to form a majority, all would be in vain. They lost their opportunity the last session, and King George got the money he required and avoided any further reduction of the army (*p.* 222).

On 19-30 Nov. James Murray complained (*p.* 246) of the delays in the transmission of correspondence. Mar's letter of 9 October for example had not left Paris for three weeks and did not arrive in London before 15-26 November. An amendment to the address for inserting "after strengthening the Protestant interest" "so far as is consistent with the laws made for the security of the Church of England," was rejected, which Murray hoped might convince the nation of the real intention of the Whigs and might inflame the people, the Church being a tender point. Murray suggested that use might be made of the opposition to the Baltic and Mediterranean squadrons on the part of the discontented Whigs and Tories. The real ground would be the desire of gaining popularity by reducing public expenses, but it might be represented to the Kings of Sweden and Spain in such manner as to lay them under obligations to the Jacobites. If assurances were given that this service would increase the King of Spain's friendship for James and procure the latter 40 or 50,000*l.* those gentlemen would pursue any measure thought most conducive to that King's interest (*p.* 602).

The hopes of the Jacobites were raised by the quarrel between King George and his son, arising from the insult given by the latter to the Duke of Newcastle on 28 November O.S. Numerous letters from London give full details of the incident and its consequences.

On 15 and 16 December James wrote to the Bishop of Rochester and Lord Oxford about his affairs in general (*pp.* 278, 281), and particularly asking their advice whether he should nominate any person to a cardinalate, as his turn was now approaching. Mar's opinion was that the English would not like his having more to do with the Court of Rome than he must, and the more they saw him in favour there the less they would like it, so that, unless he should reap some considerable advantage by recommending a cardinal, they

would not approve of it (*p.* 322). He also expressed to Lord Arran his value for him (*p.* 280).

A reduction of the army to 12,000 men was defeated by a majority of 50. Some account of that debate and of one on the disbanding of some dragoon and foot regiments is given on *pp.* 301, 302.

Lord Orrery replied on 11-22 December to Mar's letter (*p.* 305). He described the generally favourable disposition of the country, but said that a restoration could not be effected without considerable foreign forces. Some that would be willing to join in shaking off the present bond yet had terrible apprehensions about religion. He had great hopes of gaining the Archbishop of York and others, if he had something of authority from Mar to make use of when proper (*p.* 336).

James replied in February (*p.* 446) that his religion ought not to occasion any alarm, since his own private opinion neither had, would, nor indeed could hinder him from giving all reasonable satisfaction on that head, and Mar added that James had said enough in the enclosed to make Orrery easy about it (*p.* 457).

The Tories were blamed for the slackness of their attendance in Parliament. About 70 had not come to town, and the day the supply was voted for the Army many of them were in bed and near a dozen were dining and drinking with Mr. Shippen in the Tower (*p.* 307).

On 14-25 December the Bishop of Rochester wrote a long letter to Mar (*p.* 326), and also forwarded through James Murray a long memorial (*p.* 609) giving an account of the state of politics in England, and James Murray and Mr. Cæsar (*pp.* 326, 330) also wrote on the same day. The former suggested that the recent divisions might change the Regent's policy. His aim was to succeed to the Crown in case the young King of France died. The interest of England, whoever might be King there, must be always on his side, as it could never suffer France and Spain to be united. Might not he think it his interest to restore the King, as thereby the divisions would be ended, which made it impossible for England to assist him effectually? The latter gave an account of the strength and distribution of the army, and suggested Spain might be induced to send over 7 or 8,000 men, which would be sufficient, by a promise of the cession of Gibraltar and Port Mahon.

On the 7th of January James wrote a long letter to the Bishop of Rochester (*p.* 370), of which he enclosed a copy to Ormonde (*p.* 372), regretting that apparently his diffidence in Mar was very great. But too many of those about him at Avignon had endeavoured to breed discord between Ormonde and Mar. James had convinced Ormonde of the malice and emptiness of such slanders, but feared that from their long continuance they might have taken effect with some. He desired the Bishop to tell him sincerely if he had anything to

say against Mar's honesty, and if he really desired not to have anything to do with him. In the first case, James believed he could clear it, in the second it was just that everyone should have their own canals of business. If Mar be thought improper to be secretary, whom did the Bishop propose to put in his place or who would accept it, when it was so hard to please in it? Mar would not stand in anybody's way, should there be a restoration.

Dillon however was of opinion (*p.* 424) that Ormonde, the Bishop and Arran would highly regret Mar's withdrawal from James' service. All James' true friends on both sides of the water were of the same opinion and none more steadfastly than Dillon himself, who notwithstanding imagined that his corresponding with friends in England might not be satisfactory to Mar. If so, he begged James to name some other person for that purpose.

James was pleased to find (*p.* 481) that by the Bishop's letter to Mar of 14-25 December his letter of 7 January was useless enough. He did not repent, however, having written it, since he would thereby know his sentiments on some points. James had previously written to Ormonde to the same effect (*p.* 432).

In case a war should break out in Italy and France, as obliged by the Treaty of Utrecht, sent 16,000 men to the King of Sicily, it was thought that General Dillon might be employed there. If so, it would be impossible to find one person to correspond with Ormonde and the Bishop of Rochester and who had the Regent's confidence and access to him as he had (*p.* 403).

It was decided to employ James Murray, if Dillon went to Italy, and he was accordingly ordered to go to Paris (*p.* 481) to carry on the correspondence, and another person would be found fit to do business with the Regent, who might act in concert with Murray. (*p.* 486). Law, the financier, was thought of as a person to take Dillon's place with the Regent, but there was time enough to determine that, when the Queen's and Dillon's opinions were received and it was known positively whether Dillon was to go or not (*p.* 492). Law had already promised to use his influence with the Regent to get the arrears of the Queen's pension paid and had advanced her 50,000 *livres* (*pp.* 354, 355). In February James and Mar wrote to thank Law for his services (*pp.* 493, 494). Murray might first come to Urbino to give an account of English affairs and then return to Paris to take up his duties (*p.* 486). As Dillon did not go to Italy, none of these arrangements proved necessary, but James Murray went to Urbino, as will appear in the next volume.

One of James' principal objects was to raise money, to enable him to supply the King of Sweden and the Czar, should they undertake to assist him, which both had been told they might expect (*pp.* 115, 478, 482). Mar in October suggested

to Oxford that ten or twenty of the most substantial Jacobites might be got to advance the necessary sum, as the inconveniences of making a general collection were manifest on the ground of publicity (p. 114). James Murray suggested that, if Lord Oxford had a mind, he could procure at least 20,000*l*. If he declined, Mar could judge of his inclinations, which Murray had long suspected to be none other than to be well with the Jacobites and so to be able to assume to himself the merit of the services of others without running any risk himself (p. 247). Mar was puzzled by this suggestion (pp. 319, 321, 415), for Oxford had not and never had much money himself, and had always advised against any attempt to procure it in England as being impossible to succeed, and as doing more harm than good by the unavoidable discovery it would cause. Murray had never liked Oxford, and this might be a design to make the King put on him a thing he would not do. Mar thought that the devil was in people in England that they would not agree, when nothing almost but their doing so could effect what they all wished for. Mar wrote to Murray (p. 416) that he had long known Oxford and his ways and "though, when I was about to begin the trade openly, . . . I had reason to think he wished well to it, yet I was far from trusting him with any thing of it, seeing those I was in concert with did not . . . I cannot doubt of his fidelity to the company or of his declining any service that can be expected of him towards it, so far as prudence will permit. . . . At his first owning himself to be in the interest of the company the advice he gave the chief director of employing and trusting the Bishop of Rochester principally, with whom he had not formerly been very well, and of endeavouring to gain Nottingham, who all knew was the person hated him most, shows that, as he was willing to pass over all personal quarrels for the good of the company, so does his offering at the same time to give all assistance to the Bishop his sincerity, since by that he put himself entirely in his power."

Two interesting facts appear from this passage. (1) That Oxford was not privy to the rising of 1715. (2) That it was by his advice that the Bishop of Rochester was employed as the chief manager of James' affairs in England.

The Bishop of Rochester was very cautious about having anything to do with the collection of money (p. 287), yet ventured to write in December to two gentlemen about it (p. 330). He and his friends were very anxious to know the King of Sweden's answer, in order to proceed with the collection (p. 361).

A private message was sent over by the Bishop early in January by George Kelly (printed in the *Stuart Papers*, p. 19, note) as follows:—The Bishop's name was so publicly and indiscreetly made use of in the last money affair that he thinks it highly improper and very dangerous for him to undertake

that matter now, and therefore recommends Dillon to get Queen Mary to write to Oxford to take on him that part of the service and likewise to enclose to him the list of names the bearer carries (printed on p. 456). If he does not undertake the business in general, he cannot with any colour deny making application to those gentlemen in particular, because they are all under his immediate influence and each of them is very well able to contribute. In the meantime the Bishop and Lord Arran will do what lies in their power, but he is very sure that, if Oxford comes to know they are concerned in this service, he will decline it, which must be a detriment, since nobody but he can apply with success to the said gentlemen. As next session, when most of the King's friends will be in town, is the best time, the Bishop's opinion is that Queen Mary would do well to send instructions without delay to Oxford. Mr. Shippen had thoughts of undertaking the money business, had not his confinement so unluckily happened.

Queen Mary should be asked if the Duke of Shrewsbury had made lately any applications to her or the King, because the Bishop had been told that he said that, were he sure the King had any good project on foot, and he had a secure person to deal with, he would advance 10,000*l.* himself and engage that another should do the same. The Bishop never received any message from him to this purpose, nor was there any intimacy between them, so it would be very improper for him to take any steps, yet he thought the Queen would do well to find a proper method of applying to him. (Any chance of help from Shrewsbury was terminated by his death (p. 503) in February.)

It was also recommended that the Queen should thank Lady Petre for what she had done, and let her know that her further assistance was required, and write another letter to the same purpose to the Duke of Norfolk, and also send two blank powers for raising money, one for Lord Arran to be used with such Protestants as he thought fit and another for any person he and the Duke of Norfolk should think proper to be employed among the Roman Catholics.

Queen Mary was very unwilling to write to Lord Oxford, yet, if she did not, the opportunity of the session would be lost. It was very plain that the Bishop would have Lord Oxford as deeply engaged in the money affair as himself, and Dillon apprehended that the want of a good understanding between them might be a great detriment to the King's interest (p. 395).

Apparently Queen Mary did not write, but the powers desired were sent from Urbino on 12 Feb. (p. 467), and the same day Mar wrote to Oxford requesting him to use his influence with the persons mentioned in the list sent through Kelly (p. 435). Mar regretted that there was not a better understanding between Oxford and the Bishop (p. 463).

Mar also wrote to Menzies to apply to Shrewsbury and Lord Portmore, as Ormonde might call upon any day for the money he had promised to the Czar and the King of Sweden (*p.* 478).

Early in January James and Mar wrote to Capt. Straiton, Lords Eglinton and Balmerino, the Bishop of Edinburgh, Sir John Erskine and Lockhart of Carnwath urging that an attempt should be made to collect money in Scotland. Straiton was ordered to give 100*l.* to the Bishop of Edinburgh and 50*l.* each to Colonel Urquhart and Robin Murray, Abercairney's brother (*pp.* 349, 350, 357, 364-367).

There were hopes also of getting some money from Ireland (*p.* 358).

All through this volume run complaints of Menzies not giving a complete account of what he had done with the money entrusted to him by the Bishop of Rochester (*p.* 92). Mar complaining that about 1,000*l.* remained in his hands unaccounted for (*pp.* 474, 475, 476). A letter in the next volume however clears Menzies of dishonesty.

Lord Seaforth too had never repaid the money sent over from France, which came to his hands after James had left Scotland (*pp.* 8, 360).

The great offers made by Francia the Jew and some other persons who would not be named proved illusory. At first they only desired Queen Mary's promise that what they gave should be applied for the restoration and no other use. But, when it came to the point of placing some of the money in Queen Mary's hands, they put such leading questions, that, were they answered, they would know the main secret of the King's affairs before any of their money was touched (*p.* 14). In December Francia wrote that his friend, instead of paying Queen Mary part of what was promised, intended first to go to the King and then to return (*p.* 287).

The 80,000*l.* promised to James by the Pope the previous summer, which Mar in September thought good (*p.* 45), three months later he thought likely to fail (*p.* 314). In February James wrote through Cardinals Imperiali and Gualterio (*pp.* 443, 445) and afterwards to Cardinals Paulucci and Albani (*p.* 496) pressing the Pope to fulfil his promise. He did not ask that the money should be put into his hands, provided he was assured in writing that it was ready whenever he should ask for it.

In this difficulty James decided on applying to Spain, and on 27 Jan. sent Cardinal Gualterio a memoir to be forwarded, if he approved, through Cardinal Aquaviva to Cardinal Alberoni. The memoir is printed on *p.* 616 and the letters to the two Cardinals on *pp.* 408, 410. In the memoir James, after touching on the state of parties in England and the general situation in Europe, makes a merit of having instructed his supporters to oppose in Parliament the sending of an English fleet to the Mediterranean. Unless however

he could send them some general assurance of the King of Spain's favourable disposition towards himself, he feared he would not in future be able to render him the like services. The policy of the governing party tended to favour what was most opposite to the King of Spain. Another consideration perhaps animated the Whigs against him, namely that the Prince of the Asturias was the fourth in lawful succession to the Crown after James himself, and the King of France being an only child and also the Prince of Savoy, they feared but little from those who had their own kingdoms, but, the Prince of the Asturias having brothers, his case was different.

James then divulged the favourable intentions towards himself of both the Czar and the King of Sweden but, though they were resolved to undertake the restoration, they were hindered by want of money. The necessary sum could not be raised in England, notwithstanding the willingness of James' friends, without such a noise as would ruin the project. Yet James had promised to furnish the two Northern princes with 100,000*l.*, whenever it should be called for, in order to undertake the restoration, and now, according to the advices from the North, he might be daily called on for the fulfilment of his promise. He therefore begged the King of Spain to give him an assurance in writing that he had such a sum ready to be given him, whenever the Northern powers should require it. James then enlarged on the advantages the King of Spain would probably obtain by such an action.

In his letter to Gualterio James gives his reasons for the form in which he had drawn the memoir and particularly observes that he had not mentioned Gibraltar, as it was not in his power to make such an offer positively and, if such an offer were known, it would shock the English, but the memoir showed plainly enough his inclination to favour the King of Spain, if he would enter into the treaty.

James in his reflections on the memoir (*p.* 620) gives further reasons why he had drawn up the memoir in its actual form, particularly defending his apparent breach of trust in divulging to Spain the secret of the North.

On one copy of the memorial is endorsed by James Alberoni's answer to Cardinal Aquaviva, received 19 March. "He begs him to tell the friend that *Nondum advenit plenitudo temporis*, a little while and they will see that proper measures will be taken to serve him."

The principal resources of the exiled Court were the pension of 50,000 *livres* a month from the Court of France to the Queen, out of which 12,000 *livres* a month were paid to James, if he required it, and 5,000 Roman crowns a quarter from the Pope, the Roman crown equalling 5 Bologna *livres*, 6 of which were equivalent to 5 French *livres* (*pp.* 542, 616). The total annual income would be therefore 600,000 French *livres* and 100,000 Bologna *livres*, equivalent to about 83,000 French *livres*, or a total of 683,000 French *livres*, or in English money,

taking the *livre* at 15*d.*, between 42,000*l.* and 43,000*l.* The French pension was however paid very irregularly (*pp.* 404, 498), though the Regent gave the Queen assurances in October of paying all he owed her (*p.* 133), and consequently the allowances to the exiled Jacobites were much in arrear (*p.* 594). In October Mr. Dicconson sent an account of how the 50,000 *livres* allowed to the Queen were employed, and suggested that the pension list should be lessened by cutting off those who could go home (*p.* 593). James however found that none could safely do so till February twelvemonth, and, as no retrenchment could be made without great inconveniency and clamour, gave his opinion that things should go on as at present till February twelvemonth, with reasons to show it was possible (*p.* 600). A further account by Dicconson carried up to 31 Jan., 1718, showed a balance due from the King to the Queen of 89,333 *livres* (*p.* 425).

Several letters occur from distressed Jacobites asking for relief.

The suspension of the sittings of Convocation in consequence of what is known as the Bangorian controversy caused great discontent among the High Church party and particularly among the Nonjurors. Dr. Leslie suggested that James should take the opportunity of giving assurances of his intention of maintaining the security of the Church and her freedom of action in her own sphere in like manner as had been done with regard to the Church of Scotland in 1681 (*pp.* 169, 170, 174). James approved of the suggestion, and wrote on 29 Nov. the letter to Dr. Leslie calendared on *p.* 242, stating that he understood that the power of the Keys had ever been thought an essential right of the Church of England, so that she might inquire into the doctrines of her members and inflict ecclesiastical censures. The civil government's putting a stop to such proceedings was to take away that undoubted right of the Church which James declared that, if restored, he was firmly resolved to maintain. At the same time he repeated his assurances of maintaining to the Church all her just rights and privileges and of giving such further security on that head as should seem good to his first Parliament. Mar in enclosing this letter desired that copies of it might be forwarded to England (*p.* 252). Leslie and all to whom he had showed the letter, highly approved of it, and he forwarded copies of it to England (*p.* 346). From a letter in the next volume, it appears that it gave great satisfaction there.

Partly on account of Father Inese having, in a French translation of James' letter, put a false interpretation on certain passages, which in James' opinion might injure him in England, James at the end of February desired that he should take no further part in his affairs. His chief reason however, he declared in a letter of 28 February to Father Gaillard, the Queen's confessor (*p.* 513), was "*que je ne vois que trop par les manœuvres qu'il faisoit . . . il ne pouvoit*

manquer de me brouiller avec la Reine . . . qu'il prenoit avec elle les memes mesures qu'il a pris autres fois avec moy pour me prevenir contre elle, et qu'il faisoit tout ce qu'il pouvoit indirectement pour porter la Reine a des mesures qui ne pouvoient que la rendre elle meme desagreceable dans mon pays . . . Comme je ne puis douter que M. Inese ne fasse de son mieux a present pour la prevenir contre moy en sa faveur, je vous conjure . . . de luy decouvrir la droiture et la sincerité de mes sentimens et de mes actions. . . . Elle scait aussi bien que moy que les qualités de fils et de maitre ne sont nullement incompatibles, . . . que je les ay toujours allié sans interesser ni mon respect ni ma tendresse pour elle, et que, comme elle est au dessus de tout autre, et qu'elle n'a rien de commun avec eux, je suis aussi le maitre de disposer des autres comme bon me semble pour mon service."

The whole of this letter deserves attention on account of the insight it gives into James' principles. He observes, "I am Catholic, but I am King and all my subjects of whatever religion are to be equally protected. I am King but, as the Pope himself said to me, not apostle; I am not obliged to convert my subjects except by my example, nor to show an apparent partiality to the Catholics, which would serve only to injure them in the long run."

Negotiations still went on, mainly through Fanny Ogleshorpe, with the Earl of Ilay and his brother, the Duke of Argyll. She received a laconic answer in October from the former accepting the pardon, which she forwarded to Mar (p. 137), begging it might be returned to her, for fear, should Mar's papers be taken, of its ruining Ilay. This perhaps explains why none of Ilay's letters have been found among the Stuart papers. A second, also a laconic, letter was forwarded to Mar on 24 November by Fanny Ogleshorpe, which she thought was on the whole satisfactory. She thought it odd that he had not mentioned his brother, but her brother-in-law, M. de Mezières, said it was impossible he had not shown him the papers, and, had he not approved it, he would have returned a different answer. She suggested the terms in which Mar should write to Ilay. To this Mar did not agree, but proposed that she should write to him expostulating on "his laconic dark way and representing it was not reasonable for him to expect more till he opened a little further or he and his brother showed by their actions that they were in earnest and might be relied on" (p. 284).

Mar had also in July written to James Murray (*Vol. IV.*, p. 441) suggesting he should approach the two brothers. From Mar's letter to Murray of 9 October (p. 119) it appears that his account of his interview with Ilay gave a clearer view of his way of thinking than was agreeable. However, Mar thought they should not be neglected. In December Murray had an hour's discourse with Ilay (p. 327) informing him that he did so by commission. Ilay answered that he

was determined to be quiet, that, if his inclinations led him to do otherwise, he was unable to do service in another way, but that there was nothing in the Parliament's way he would not do. His brother was entirely in these sentiments, and no consideration should prevail on him to serve the Elector of Hanover or his son, from whom he was now happily disengaged, but he was too much aware of the designs of his enemies to give them any handle to execute them.

Lord Orrery also had a discourse with the two brothers, and believed it very feasible to bring them into the Jacobite interest (*p.* 336).

Fanny Oglethorpe offered in February to go over to see Ilay (*p.* 501), thinking he might have some project he did not dare to communicate but by word of mouth.

As was mentioned in the Introduction to *Vol. IV.*, Ilay's conversion to the Jacobite interest was thought so certain, that on 10 March, 1718, a patent was passed creating him an Earl of England.

Some Jacobites in England advised that proposals should be made to Lord Cadogan (*p.* 24). Mar, though not sanguine of success (*p.* 67), thought such an advertisement ought not to be neglected, and accordingly wrote the letter given on *p.* 50, arguing that it was his interest to promote the restoration. As Mar expected, his letter had no effect, though Cadogan bragged of his having received a letter from James (*p.* 454).

The Abbé Gualtier informed Inese that he had heard from a friend in England that it might be advisable for James to apply to Walpole. Inese replied that, if the friend could contrive that the motion came first from Walpole to the King, that would be much more natural than for him to apply to one who had ever shown himself his enemy. The friend should, as if from himself, try to find out how Walpole was affected to James and whether he would receive an application from him and advise Gualtier accordingly (*p.* 158). Mar approved of this answer, which Inese might inform Gualtier was also approved of by James (*p.* 240). Mar doubted much of Walpole's honesty, so greater proofs of his sincerity should be required from him than persons of a better character. In this view Inese concurred (*p.* 311), and thought that Gualtier was either imposed on himself or would impose on the Jacobites.

An account of an interview with Pulteney, afterwards Walpole's great rival, is given on *p.* 458. Though he spoke very civilly of James and expressed his concern for him personally, he showed no inclination to espouse his interest.

Sir William Wyndham on 12-23 December expressed his concern that his former humble acknowledgements had never reached James, having been destroyed with other letters, and regretted that Bolingbroke's subsequent conduct had but too much justified his dismissal (*p.* 309). James Murray

found Brinsden, Bolingbroke's secretary, at Wyndham's house, his errand being to justify his master's conduct, he being entrusted with facts and papers to place it in the most favourable light (*p.* 157). James Murray happened to be there and by speaking plain English on the subject put Brinsden into as great confusion as he ever saw anybody in. Fanny Oglethorpe had a story that Brinsden had been unmercifully beaten and had had his nose cut off (*p.* 304). There were ill-founded reports that Bolingbroke himself was in London (*pp.* 236, 245), at which the Jacobites were much alarmed (*p.* 209). His apology for his conduct was said to be ready for the press (*p.* 285). Inese remembered that, on his return to Paris from Lorraine after seeing James for the first time, he had praised him highly, saying he had never met with a person of his age of more judgment and penetration. Inese thought it probable that he had written in the same manner to his friends in England, who had by James Murray engaged him to enter in James' service, and suggested that, if any such letters could be recovered and produced, nothing would more confound him and stop his mouth (*p.* 256).

On the other hand proposals from King George to Ormonde and Mar are alluded to (*p.* 45).

The quarrel between Lords Seaforth and Huntly (now become Duke of Gordon) about their conduct in the late rising continued with unabated bitterness. Each prepared a defence of his conduct, which was sent to James, but they were dissuaded from publishing them (*pp.* 224, 360). That of the Duke is not apparently among the papers, that of Lord Seaforth is given on *p.* 196, being a very full narrative of the whole of his proceedings. On the other hand General Echlin circulated a paper in the Duke's favour (*p.* 174), which Seaforth declared to be false so far as it related to himself (*p.* 411).

The Duke of Gordon himself went abroad the end of August and, after visiting some of his mother's relations at Bruges, Ghent and Brussels, passed through Lille, where he asserted to Dr. Abercrombie he had done all the service he could to the Jacobites at home (*p.* 28). Gordon of Glenbucket vindicated his conduct and threw all the blame on Seaforth. Dr. Abercrombie understood that the Duke's people were giving out that Mar was as guilty of secret and clandestine capitulations as Seaforth (*p.* 30). Though he was near Urbino when in Italy, he neither went to see James nor wrote to him, and dissuaded Glenbucket from waiting on him (*pp.* 360, 391). He left Paris on his return to London on 24 December (*p.* 339).

The close of the last volume mentions the arrival of the Earl of Peterborough at Paris and the reports that he was going to Italy to direct an attempt on the life of James. He left Paris on 21 August, arrived at Turin on the 27th, where he saw Madame Royale, but not the King. He left on the

29th, but instead of travelling by Alessandria and Piacenza he rode from the first place to Novi, from which he took a post chaise to Genoa, and embarking there landed at Sestri, from which he proceeded to Parma (*pp.* 573, 576). The reason he gave for taking this circuitous route was to avoid the Emperor's dominions, Mr. Addison having desired him to do so on behalf of King George on account of the improper language he had formerly employed in Italy with regard to the Emperor (*p.* 576). Travelling through Parma and Modena he arrived at Bologna on Sept. 6th (*p.* 580). News of his arrival at Bologna reached Urbino on the 10th by an express sent by Sir John O'Brien (*p.* 574). James wrote immediately to Cardinal Origo, the Legate of Bologna, requesting him to arrest Peterborough with all his servants and papers. After all that had been written to him on the subject he could not do less for his own security, though he would be delighted if he could justify himself. He was to be kept in safe custody but was to be treated with all the respect due to a person of his rank (*p.* 27). James wrote on the 13th to the Pope (*p.* 41) and to Cardinal Gualterio (*p.* 581) giving his reasons for his action. Peterborough was accordingly arrested on the 11th to his great surprise and confined in Fort Urbano (*p.* 574). He indignantly urged the improbability of the crime with which he was charged (*p.* 574), and requested that General Sheldon might be sent to have an interview with him (*p.* 577). Sheldon was accordingly sent on 2 October, his journey having been delayed by bad weather (*p.* 585). His instructions are given on *pp.* 588–593. Peterborough requested that he might be removed to a house in Bologna or elsewhere under a guard, the air of Fort Urbano being considered unwholesome, till he had proved his innocence by persons the King and Queen could not but credit, naming the Regent, the Dukes of Parma and Modena and the Duc d'Aumont (*p.* 588). James consented that he should stay near Reggio on his parole, till his innocence should be proved (*p.* 137). Peterborough objected to this proposal, on which James offered to allow him to reside in the Duchy of Parma. If he refused, he was to be held to his original proposal of Bologna (*pp.* 146, 147). Peterborough finally preferred to remain at Bologna (*p.* 618). The Pope, being afraid of English reprisals on Peterborough's behalf, requested James to release him from his parole, which James accordingly did (14 November), though he had not given him the satisfaction he had promised (*pp.* 205, 206).

The Pope was alarmed by further news from Paris, and requested James to ask Queen Mary to employ all her credit with the French Court to avert English intervention (*p.* 242). Dillon applied to the Maréchal d'Uxelles, and showed him the King's and the Queen's letters. The Maréchal said that the Regent would do all he could to serve the Pope, and that he did not doubt his good offices

with the Court of England would be effectual. Dillon thought the Maréchal's willingness proceeded from a desire of making a merit of services the Pope stood in no need of, no English fleet being fitted for the Mediterranean (*p.* 334). When Mar passed through Bologna, civil letters were interchanged between him and Peterborough, in which the latter expressed his conviction that he would not have been arrested, and that matters would have been better adjusted, had Mar been at Urbino (*pp.* 215, 216). Peterborough left for Venice on 2 December (*p.* 253), and the last place for Paris on New Year's Day (*p.* 353). It appears that the original warning against Peterborough came through Anne Oglethorpe from Lord Oxford (*pp.* 281, 324, 325, 338). The Bishop of Rochester did everything to discountenance the report of Peterborough's design against James, and had everywhere declared his opinion of it as an idle, groundless tale (letter of 14-25 Dec. in the *Stuart Papers*, *p.* 11). On the other hand Lord Orrery, the Duke of Shrewsbury and others agreed that a message ought to have been sent and that the King acted right, for Peterborough was capable of anything (*p.* 338). Peterborough was most anxious to discover who had given information against him, and was enraged against them, so Mar wrote to Fanny Oglethorpe to put her sister, Madame de Mezières, on her guard (*pp.* 237, 241, 324, 325), as the consequences might be terrible. It would have been easy to put him on another scent, since the news came from several other hands the following posts (*p.* 326).

The presumption of Peterborough's designs was supported by the report in Paris (*p.* 3) that Count Douglas, who had been concerned in the attempt on James at Nonancourt in 1715, had proceeded towards Italy (*p.* 571). James had requested the Legate at Bologna to arrest this person, should he come within the bounds of the legation (*Vol. IV., Introduction*, *p.* xxxvii). He was also expected at Rome (*pp.* 25, 34), and John Carnegie at Florence was instructed to look out for him, and write an account to Urbino of anything he might discover about him (*p.* 62). In September, however, he was reported in Paris, where he had been privately, it was said, with the Regent and the Abbé Dubois (*p.* 71). When he passed through Calais, he was accompanied by a son of Moore, the late Bishop of Ely, and by a son of MacDonald of Keppoch, all three described as fit for Peterborough's purpose (*p.* 71). The Nuncio at Paris asked Madame de Mezières for a description of Douglas (*p.* 102). Inquiries were made for him at Venice, but there were no tidings of him there (*p.* 583).

Clanranald and Brigadier Campbell continued their attempts to procure a supply of arms for the Highlanders at Bayonne, but were disconcerted by an order for the arrest on a charge of coining of Barry, the merchant they were dealing with, who took sanctuary in the Franciscan Convent at St. Sebastian (*pp.* 262-266). Barry afterwards turned out to be in correspondence with the English Government.

Some one, who was a sort of an overseer on the Thames, proposed to Father Græme a piratical project for stealing 100,000*l.* from the East India Co. for James' use (*p.* 139). Should this not find favour, Græme suggested that a well-wisher to the good cause might send over a counterfeit Paris *Gazette* with news to make the stocks rise or fall as desired and so get a million without any risk (*p.* 148).

A Mr. Minshull proposed a project for kidnapping King George and his son and sending them safe to Pesaro, if James would be permitted by the Pope's Government to detain them as his prisoners (*p.* 245).

Fanny Oglethorpe wrote that John Law had a scheme for making a lottery of the *billets d'état* and taking "the island of Mesisipy," to which the Parliament refused to agree, saying he was an adventurer (*p.* 17).

In England the scarcity of silver was inconceivable (*p.* 510) caused by almost all that coin being exported on account of its cheapness. A representation of Sir Isaac Newton's on the state of the coinage is alluded to (*p.* 381).

Mar's fondness for music appears from several passages. At Venice he was at three operas where Nicolini, the singer, visited him in his box and promised to send him the music of the opera (*p.* 341). One of the operas at Venice was entitled St. John Chrysostom (*p.* 352). It would be curious to know how such a subject would be treated operatically. Mar also desired that a copy of the music of Merope, which was being played at Bologna, should be procured for him (*pp.* 236, 253, 262, 278). He had also copies of the songs of some of the operas at Rome sent to him (*pp.* 414, 460).

Mar had hoped to see his friend James Gibbs, the architect, at Paris (*p.* 48), but he had been dissuaded for several reasons. However he sent Mar the case of instruments he desired (*p.* 378). Mar amused himself at Urbino by preparing designs for a little house or villa and sent them to a friend at Rome to have drafts of the elevations made by some architect there (*pp.* 382, 413, 459).

Mar wished to see Rome, but desired to be private there and to see no one but Colonel Stewart, Lord Southesk and Cardinal Gualterio, till he should wait on the Pope before leaving (*p.* 382). Stewart assured him he might be as private as he wished and even might receive the visits of all the best people without actually seeing them. It depended entirely on the person himself whether he saw anything, except palaces, pictures, statues and architecture, and heard music (*p.* 413). Stewart gave a further description of Roman society (*p.* 459), and complained there was no fine conversation there. On the other hand there were two good operas and four comedies, of one which he gave an amusing sketch.

Only two Jacobite peerages were conferred in the period included in this volume. On 10 Nov. there was a warrant for a patent creating Mar an English earl by the title of

Earl of Mar, and on 20 Dec. for creating Theophilus Oglethorpe Baron Oglethorpe with remainder to the heirs male of his body with remainder to his brother James and the heirs male of his body (*p.* 298). Fanny Oglethorpe suggested that there should be a further limitation to the son of her sister, Madame de Mezières (*p.* 232), but James declined to do this as not being in accordance with custom (*p.* 283).

It will have been observed that in this volume the cipher names and numbers are not given in the text as in former volumes. It was intended to have printed in this Introduction the keys of the ciphers employed, but in consequence of the unusual length of this volume they have been postponed to a subsequent one. After the text had gone to press, I came across a passage which proves that the cipher word "Mr. Piller" (*p.* 131) means "the Jacobites" or some equivalent word.

F. H. BLACKBURN DANIELL.

THE STUART PAPERS

AT

WINDSOR CASTLE.

BELONGING TO

HIS MAJESTY THE KING.

VOL. V.

JAMES III. to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 1.—I communicated to *the King* the private article in yours of the 13th which concerns *Mar*. He took the confidence very kindly and assured me he had not the least uneasy thought on it. He takes as kindly as he ought all that *Mar* says on that subject and is fully persuaded he will always act as an honest man and a true friend to *the King*, and never belie his good opinion of him. I shall keep the letter for you and mention the thing to no mortal. I condole with you and your friend on your separation, the more that I am the cause of it, but I hope the time will yet, and soon, come, in which I may be able to repair a little the troubles I have caused to both of you, or that at least a certain thing happening may make you both easier in this country, where I find *Lady Mar* cannot yet come. *Mar's* cheerful undertaking the journey he is upon on *Queen Mary's* desire is a merit not lost upon me, and I think *Queen Mary* was much in the right to advise it, but she cannot feel, as I do, the want of you, which is really so great that, considering you cannot be at the place appointed, I don't see anything need retard your return to me longer without some new occurrence should intervene, so, if you receive this, I conclude you will soon after set out for these parts. I am very well and refer you to *Dillon* for business, but I could not but write these few lines to you, though in hopes they will miss you. *Holograph.*

The COMTE DE CASTELBLANCO to [? DAVID NAIRNE].

1717, Sept. 1. Rome.—I answered your letter of the 25th. You will have already received the news of the battle in Hungary and of the capture of Belgrade. As for the Spanish squadron we know no more than what I have already communicated to you, only we are assured that a great provision of sacks of flour

has been made in Sardinia without the design being as yet penetrated. His Holiness has dispatched a courier to Spain, representing all the events which they are afraid may happen in this country, and this is the only reason that makes them cry out against the expedition, justice, as you very well judge, being on the side of the King my master, since he has no formal engagement here of any armistice. *Torn. French.*

The DUKE OF MAR to the EARL MARISCHAL.

1717, Sept. 1. Near Liège.—It having been thought fit for me on account of some of the King's affairs to come to this country, where I hear you are, I thought myself obliged to let you know it, in case there be anything of which we can inform one another, that may be of use to the King's service. I am obliged to be here very privately, and very few know of it, nor is it fit it should be known to more. The affairs I came about have taken such a turn that I shall not be kept here as long as I thought, but it is likely I may be hereabouts these ten or twelve days to wait the return of some letters and to drink the waters, and then I am to set out to attend his Majesty as he has ordered me. It is not in my power to go where you are, and I am unwilling to trouble you to come here, if what we may have to say can be done by writing, and anything will come safe to me under our friend Charles' cover, who sends this. If you want to be informed of anything in my power to tell you or have anything to inform me of in relation to the King's service not fit to trust to a letter, I shall be very glad to see you here, and I suppose you may contrive it so that your coming may be without any observation that can be of prejudice either as to you or me, and in the meantime I shall be glad to hear from you.

When I saw the Duke of Ormonde, as he was coming this way, I desired him to make my compliments to you, which I suppose he would do. He was well the last time I heard from him, and proceeding on his journey through Germany, and I have heard since he was well at Ulm.

Last time I heard from our Master he was some days returned to his summer quarters, and was never better in his health. I do not know if you heard a piece of news which, I believe, would surprise you as it did me, and I cannot imagine what he designs by it, I mean, the Duke of Gordon's coming abroad. It seems he finds living at home not very agreeable, even now after he has made his peace and being in favour with the Government, and so resolves to make the tour he said he intended two years ago, which I have many a time wished he had not been then kept from making, but these things are over. *Copy.*

The DUKE OF MAR to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1717, Sept. 2.—I wrote to you the 28th and to Inese the 31st, and had not yours of the 23rd till last night.

I am very much pleased with the part of *the King's* letter you sent me. It shows his own good sense and his acting in that manner like himself will make him better served and his people understand themselves better in time coming. I always thought, if he had a fault, it was that which has been ascribed to his family, too much good nature, which, though I think the first and best quality, may be driven too far. His choice of Lord C[lermon]t I think very good. I have no ill will at B[oot]h, but it is fit that all we, who have the honour and happiness of being his servants, should be learned if we do not know our duty and that submission which becomes us and not to make a wrong use of our Master's goodness to us. B[oot]h is an old servant though, and I doubt not of our Master's using him with lenity when he returns and his concern for this humour of B[oot]h's shows sufficiently his good nature and how contrary it is to it to do a hard thing, or what any of his people, though wrongfully, think so. I am sorry Johnny [Hay] is the person this happened about, both for its bringing envy on himself, and because of his concern in *Mar*, but am very glad it happened in *Mar's* absence. I am really sorry for the occasion of B[oot]h's mortification on the other account of his family, but I suppose all that will come right again one way or another. I think *Queen Mary* and you have done very right in every thing in relation to *Peterborough's* unworthy affair. Too much precaution cannot be taken in a thing of that importance, when advertised so often, but I can scarce yet give credit to so vile a thing in any gentleman, though indeed, if that scoundrel, C[oun]t D[ouglas], be gone there too as 'tis said, it is an ugly presumption, and sure, if he be, it can be no very difficult matter to get him into their hands and secure him from doing any hurt in time coming. Spetiall is a real name, but the person who informed me of that wrote to me since and sent me a letter he had from his informer, vindicating him, of which I acquainted *the King*. He is not gone that way, but is now, I believe, at Gravelines.

Those papers concerning *Lord Oxford*, which *the King* says I mentioned and forgot to send, I cannot understand, unless it be the copies of *Capt. Ogilvie's* packet which I sent him 16 July, and I should be very sorry if they miscarried, being of too great consequence to fall into wrong hands.

It is pity but *the Regent* should know what *the King* says of his edict, and also the d[u]ke, but I fear they could not keep the secret, and it might have bad effects elsewhere, were it known.

I have this minute got the enclosed from Sir H. [Paterson]. I am glad to see that *the Czar* does not apprehend *Poniatowski's* going so suddenly your way, but I am not though so easy upon it. I hope he may have given you some satisfaction about it, which I'll long to hear of, and now I wish *Sparre* were not gone from you, for he would have been a check upon him.

They had lodged *Mar* in a lonely castle in this neighbourhood, when he did not think himself safe, it being very easy

for *Cadogan* or any of *King George's* people to kidnap him there without any noise if they had a mind to it, so he thought fit to go to *Liège*, where he now is very private, and lose what they had paid for the chateau. It would have looked a simple thing to have been so sillily spirited away. He is very safe at *Liège* and would even be more so, were he known, but that is not fit otherwise. Pray what is become of the Spanish Fleet, that we hear not of its casting up somewhere? Prince Eugene is a lucky man, but is the victory so great as we hear and has the town surrendered?

I do not now write to *the King*, having nothing to tell him but what you will do more fully. When I have returns to my letters to *Holland* I will do it.

J. MENZIES to L. INESE.

1717, Aug. 22[-Sept. 2]. London.—I send you what you send us for we have no other thing to send.

Many of our Whigs do not love this mighty victory of the bloody house of Austria, and indeed few here know how to like or dislike it, unless we know the Emperor's inclinations. At home here, nothing, the same stupid calm as before, only some strong fire at Court more and more.

Cadogan not gone, nor goes for a few days, whither or for what is still a mystery. Stair's friends are very angry, for it is a plain slur on him, since *Cadogan* must needs be trusted with something the other is not.

Mrs. *Ogilvie* is still here and her skipper, but every day going with her cargo. I have sent Stephen Honynwood (? Ormonde) some addresses as he desires.

JOHN MENZIES to C. KINNAIRD.

1717, Friday, [August] 23[-Sept. 3].—If *Mar* be within your reach pray let him know that his letters etc. of 13 August. N.S., are come safe; that *James Murray* is not in town and more than a hundred miles [away]; that some friends would have had me open the packet, but it is a thing I never do, but I have desired the B[ishop] to do it. I am so hurried amongst them this afternoon that I cannot write as I would, but shall next post. We are mighty dull in news. Tell him the skipper goes to-day and Mrs. *Ogilvie* follows very soon. *Misdated* October 23, but endorsed August 23, and 23 August was a Friday, which 23 October was not.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to JAMES III.

1717, Sept. 4.—I received yesterday a letter from Daniel O'Brien with *Ormonde* dated Prague 16 August, telling me *Ormonde* and his company arrived there and that *Jerningham* at last joined them. He says *Ormonde* is resolved to send *Jerningham*, literal Sheridan the express, and himself to Danzig. The two first are to continue their journey to Sweden without delay, and he to remain at Danzig till *Ormonde*

reached thither which he expected would be 26 August. I presume Sheridan's going with *Jerningham* is in order to come back to *Ormonde* to let him know how, or if he'll be received by the *King of Sweden*. I wish for many reasons *Sparre* may be arrived there, before any of the *King's* people.

I informed the *King* by mine of 14 August that the *King of Sweden's* powers were to *General Rank* and not to *Poniatowski*. I received yesterday a letter from *Mar* of 28 August telling me *Sir H. Paterson* wrote to him lately from *Holland* that the above mentioned person, who is only authorized in this point, is still confined by the *King of Denmark*, who either suspects or has been informed of his errand. In my humble opinion it seems strange in this emergency that either *Poniatowski* or *Görtz* were not trusted to supply the other's place, which would have been a natural precaution and becomes now unavoidable, in case the *King of Sweden* resolves sincerely to adjust matters without delay.

The *Czar* remains with *Holland*. God send that this *contre-temps* may not engage him to alter his mind or change his measures, and I hope the upright character the *King of Sweden* has may shelter him from any apprehensions of evasion. No true judgement can be made on this score, till we are further and clearer informed of the *King of Sweden's* proceedings.

(About *Mar's* intention of sending *Lady Mar* to England and going himself to the *King*.)

I hope the *King* has received by this time a positive and good answer about the marriage. His true friends are more earnest on that account than ever and with much reason.

As to foreign news I refer to the enclosed Gazette which gives a good account of what passed in Hungary. The little king here has been ill of a fever these two days. The *Regent* is in great pain about his sickness and so are many others, though perhaps for different motives.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Saturday, Sept. 4.—I received two days ago yours of the 28th and am surprised mine of the 23rd did not then reach you. 'Twas only a small note of 12 pages in answer to yours from *Rheims*.

I am sorry for the loss of your coach horses, but much more to hear your health is out of order. I hope the waters will do you good, and that you may soon be perfectly recovered.

The Squire (*James Hamilton*) will part hence in post next Monday, leave your chaise at *Sedan* according to directions and go straight thence to where you are. I gave him a memoir of what he is to do, that your orders may be punctually executed.

I read your letter to *Queen Mary*, who desired me to make you her compliments in the kindest manner as also to *Lady Mar*. *Inese* perused it likewise. Both he and *Dillon* are

suspicious that *the King of Sweden's* emissaries don't act with much sincerity, and I wish their opinion may be ill grounded.

General Rank's confinement is a melancholy beginning as matters stand. (Regretting that no one had been appointed to supply Rank's place and concerning the Czar, as in the last letter.)

Please advise me beforehand of your departure from where you are now, and when you expect to be in this neighbourhood, that I may not address you but in a sure manner.

I enclose my last letter from *the King* with another for *Mar*. I say nothing of the great victory in Hungary, you being at the source of news.

Postscript.—(About Daniel O'Brien's letter as in the previous letter.)

I have two letters this good while addressed to Mr. Bairly. Gordon told me yesterday he believed they were from Brigadier Campbell to you, therefore I enclose them, and, if they be not for *Mar*, please send them back to me.

I don't intend nor indeed can I write to *Ormonde* except he sends me a sure address. I reckon him and company are at Danzig and fear much by what I hear of late that literal Sheridan will not bring him back any comfortable news from Sweden. We must, however, suspend our judgment, till I hear thence from my friend *Sparre*, who promised faithfully to inform me of the plain truth in regard to what we may hope from *the King of Sweden*.

(About the little King's illness as in the previous letter.)

I shall be very impatient to hear from you. Pray write to me as often as your leisure will permit, and let me have an account of your health.

(Sending the address by which *Mar* should write to him.)
7½ pages.

W. GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 4. Paris.—I had your letter of the 31st, and forwarded the enclosed to the Marquess of Seaforth, and this minute Mr. Hamilton takes the letter to Mr. Innes.

Enclosed is a letter that came yesternight from Brigadier Hay, and one from Hamilton. He is to part on Monday for Sedan according to your orders to Gen. Dillon, who has written to you, and is surprised, as I am, that you have received none from me, I having written several times, and I have an answer from Mr. Hayme about the letter of credit I wrote him of in your favour by the name of Mr. Gerrard. I hope Mr. Kinnaird is not gone from Liège: if he be, it's probable Mr. Hayme may have sent my letters for you to him, but it's strange you should have received Mr. Hamilton's addressed as mine were, and not receive mine.

JAMES HAMILTON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 4. Paris.—I received your commands last night from Mr. Dillon to-day and to-morrow, I hope, will be sufficient

to get *Queen Mary's* and *Inese's* instructions. On Monday I propose to set out, but I find some difficulty about the chaise, for Mr. Gordon knows nothing of it. I'm going to M. Mezières, to know if it was left there. The English post, due last night, is not yet come in. There is nothing material here that I can learn but the surrender of Belgrade. The King of France is ill of a fever. (Sending the address in London to which letters for Menzies were to be directed.) *Endorsed*, "The Squire to L.M."

THE COMTE DE CASTELBLANCO to [? DAVID NAIRNE].

1717, Sept. 4. Rome.—I answer the letter of the 29th, in which you inform me of the honour you have done me in . . . to the King. No one can be more sensible than myself of all the kindnesses with which his Majesty has always honoured me. My gratitude and attachment to him will be always inviolable.

I have already communicated to you by my last the answer I have had from Don Carlos [Albani] concerning the promised letter. I have not failed to say to Don Carlos everything I ought, and what appeared to me satisfactory to his Holiness about my gratitude, letting him know at the same time that I entered into the reasons the Pope might have at present that prevented him from writing. I informed Cardinal Gualterio of my having received your letter, and declared to him that it seemed to me improper to importune his Holiness. You see that we are of the same opinion. I can assure you that the reason, which has caused the said letter to be delayed, far from giving me pain has given me pleasure, from the situation in which I see affairs and the fires which are preparing that naturally it is impossible they should fail to increase those of the King.

The squadron of Spain is believed to have already conquered Sardinia. The sequel of their design is not yet known, but naturally cannot be long delayed. On Thursday 5 hours after dinner arrived a courier from Spain to Cardinal Aquaviva. He sent him back at one hour of the night. What he brought is not known.

[I shall soon] know the day on which I am [to take leave] of the Pope, in order to depart immediately that I may have the honour of paying my court to the King and the pleasure of seeing all my friends. *French. Much damaged.*

THE DUKE OF MAR to LADY CARRINGTON.

1717, Sept. 4.—I had yours of 30 Aug. last night, enclosing one from our friend of so extraordinary a strain that I was no less sorry than surprised at it. I had not showed the friendship I profess to him, had I done, as I suppose he intended, I mean, have sent his letter to the King. Had I been as much his enemy as I am his friend, his letter had pleased me extremely, and I would not have failed sending it immediately,

but I could not but first write to him freely and plainly of my opinion on it, and wait to hear from him again after calm reflection, before I say any thing to our Master on it. I hope he will take what I have written as kindly as it is meant, which I enclose and leave open for your perusal. I also send you a copy of his letter to me. All of us are the better of good advice, and I wish he would take that of some honest ingenious friend and not trust altogether to his own opinion, people being ordinarily a little partial in what concerns themselves, and want of experience making people often do things in the beginning of their lives, which they repent of as long as they live. Sure I am Mr. McKenzie, who lives with you, would never have advised him to this, and I am afraid he has some about him now, who endeavour more to please him in his own way of thinking than to tell him sincerely and honestly what impartially is for his interest. He is best judge whom to consult in his affairs, but I am afraid he has not many of his friends with him who are very fit for it. I hear there is a namesake of his now at Paris, George McKenzie of Delvin, whom I know to be a discreet young man, and a great honourer of him and his family, but I know not how they are together. It is only my concern for my cousin Seaforth that makes me mention this gentleman, that, if you think fit, you may write of him to your nephew as of yourself, hearing he was a friend of the family. Lady Mary Herbert, his near cousin, is, I am sure, his friend, and he has none of better sense. I beg you will consult betwixt you how to advise our friend to act so in this and in other things with relation to the King as may be for his own interest and reputation. Such a thing as this he seems now about will be no secret, and I'm afraid it is but too public already, by what I hear he has spoke to some people, and he has enemies enough who will not fail of taking all the advantages they can by it against him both with the King and to hurt his reputation with everybody. One is lately come over, I hear, who, I fancy, is not without some views of this kind, and who, I'm sure, would be very glad the King should see from our friend such a letter as he has now written me.

Another thing my friendship to Lord Seaforth obliges me to mention to you, which is his having never yet repaid that money of the King's which he had from the gentleman, who went from France to Scotland, and landed there after the King was gone. The thing is no secret, and those who have ill will at him will not fail of publishing it to all the world, as I have heard they have done already on the other side, and consequently will do so now too on this, and how that will appear in the eyes of the world, when the King is so pinched, and has so many honest gentlemen to maintain, I leave to you to judge. It will give such a handle against him, that twenty things they may probably assert against him without ground will meet with belief, and this one thing will get him more ill will than any thing could occasion and do more hurt to his

reputation. He has indeed lost a great deal on the King's account, but not more than others of us, so that will not justify him. It is not to be expected that the King in his present situation can do any thing to make up any of our losses, much less to reward any man for his services, but the time will, I hope, come when he will be able, as I am sure he is willing, to do it, and we must wait with patience till then. I have troubled you with much too long a letter, but its proceeding only from my concern and real friendship for Lord Seaforth, for whom I know you have an equal concern, makes me hope you will forgive it.

I believe I shall be at Paris in a fortnight or three weeks at furthest privately for a few days in my way for Italy, when I shall wait on you, but I should be glad to hear from Lord Seaforth before then.

I hear the Duke of Gordon is either come or coming to Paris. I beg you will let me know what you hear brings him over at this time, and where he is going and how to behave himself in respect to the King and Queen.

Very few are to know of my coming to Paris, nor is it fit more should. $3\frac{1}{2}$ pages. *Copy.*

THE DUKE OF MAR to the MARQUESS OF SEAFORTH.

1717, Sept. 4.—I had last night a letter from Lady C[arring-ton] with one from you enclosed, which, I must acknowledge, a good deal surprised me. It has always been my way to deal plainly with those I have a friendship for, and I hope my speaking to you on this occasion will be believed to proceed from no other cause. I suppose you were a good deal out of temper when you wrote, and, when you consider it again more calmly, I am persuaded you have too good sense not to see that a letter in such a style is not fit to be shown to the King, which, I imagine, you intended I should do. I am too much and sincerely your friend to do so without letting you know that in my opinion nothing could do you so much hurt nor give your ill willers such a handle against you, till I know you have reconsidered it, and tell me again after calm impartial thinking what you would have me do. I beg you may consider that the respect and submission we owe the King is the same as if he were on the throne, and in my humble opinion we ought all to pique ourselves in our endeavours of making him more easy in his hard circumstances and being more submissive to him than if he were at home in full possession of his right. You seem to take amiss his not writing himself in answer to what you proposed in your letters to him some time ago of being done for you. You know he was not then fully recovered, and it was few letters he then wrote, besides his not thinking it then possible for him to comply with your desire, though he had known the particular thing you desired, which you did not explain, made him, I believe, think it better to answer you by another hand, it being so contrary to his

nature to refuse any thing asked by any of his faithful servants, and to my knowledge his not writing to you himself was very far from being meant as a slight. The reasons he ordered me to let you know why he could not comply with your desire then, are too long to repeat, but allow me to say you do not want any mark of that kind to justify yourself to the world for your conduct in his affairs, and, if you will consult any of your true friends, who will speak their mind freely and sincerely, after stating the case to them, and showing them what his Majesty ordered me to write to you, I am persuaded they will be of that opinion and will not advise you to the ways you are like to take. What you seem too to take amiss of what the King did in writing to your cousin only a compliment of condolence on the loss of so near a relation, who was certainly a true and faithful servant of his Majesty, and wishing that he may follow his example, is what I thought you would approve of, especially when you know that he had been much pressed to write to him on past affairs for encouraging him in time coming to be hearty in his service by telling him that he was not dissatisfied with the ways he had formerly taken, which he would not do. Sure I am that, if he had thought you wanted a letter under his own hand, you had had it long ere now, and may yet have it whenever you please. I was witness of the kind reception he gave you at your coming to Avignon, and of your being in appearance very well pleased when he consented to your going from thence on your earnest desire, so that I am persuaded he did not think any thing was wanting in him, either letter or anything else to convince you or the world of his being entirely pleased with you, nor have I ever heard any body doubt it since but yourself or those who had reason to do so on what you had said to them. As for your publishing anything in print of your part in our late attempt for the restoration, in my humble opinion both on account of the King's service and your own particular interest, you will do better to let it alone at this time. You will not, I hope, think this proceeds from my unwillingness to have any letters of mine, which you have, published amongst the rest, as you say you'll be forced to do. I should be very glad all I wrote in that affair was published to the world, as some time or other perhaps it may, but stirring in those affairs or speaking of them at this time, besides being expressly against the King's commands, is, I think, very much against his interest. Your doing so will occasion somebody else to do so too, and that may draw us all in to publish what were better let alone for some time. The time will yet come, I hope, when all those things may be set in their true light to the world and without hurting the King's interest, and in the meantime, if any of us should suffer who have acted honestly and uprightly, it is our misfortune and we must bear it with patience amongst the other things of our bad fortune.

You see I have very plainly given you my opinion, as I

think one friend should do to another. If you take it so, as I hope and beg you may, it will encourage me to act in time coming the same open part with you in every thing, as I desire you may by me, but, if you do not like it, I shall not use the same freedom again, though I shall be no less your humble servant.

As I have told you, I will delay writing any thing to the King on this, till I hear from you again upon having thought once more upon it, and then I shall give his Majesty an account of it in the way you would have me.

You mention something of Duncan McKenzie, of which I know nothing more than I do of himself, whom I have not heard of since I left London, therefore you will please explain it further. I know him to be an honest man, and would be glad to do any thing that might serve him.

I hope you had mine of 25 August in answer to what you wrote me concerning Mr. Key and that you have also heard of some orders being given about him, conform to your desire, from St. Germain's.

I shall be sure to let the King know what you write about the arms, who will certainly do all in his power to supply his friends with them against a good occasion. 4 pages. Copy.

L. INESE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sunday, Sept. 5.—I had yesterday *Mar's* letter of 31 Aug., and am glad he is no worse than when he parted from our parts. I hope the waters he is now to take will restore him to perfect health.

“By what *Mar* writes and what I hear otherwise I begin to fear we shall meet with more than one disappointment, the grounds we had to hope well, seeming now to dwindle on all sides. Where mainly the fault lies is more than I can determine, but I must say that to me *the Czar* seemed to have a warmer side towards us than *the King of Sweden*, and the proceedings of the first have all along seemed more fair and honest than these of the last, and yet 'tis evident that it was more *the King of Sweden's* interest than *the Czar's* to strike up a bargain at any rate. But *the King of Sweden's* ways are wonderful and indeed past finding out. He might easily believe that *the King of Denmark* having R[an]k in his hands and suspecting his errand would not let him go, and yet all this time *the King of Sweden* hath not appointed another factor to be assisting at *the treaty*, by which proceeding it was but natural for *the Czar* to conclude that *the King of Sweden* was dallying with him, and had no real intention to meet with *the treaty*; and so it seems *the Czar* is now come in to a quite contrary project. Perhaps *Dillon* may not have written the particulars of this to *Mar*, and therefore I shall in plain terms, since this goes by *James Hamilton's* and not by post. I saw yesterday a letter from *Diconson's* French correspondent at *Holland*, which came by last post, which says very positively

that a triple alliance was then actually signed at Amsterdam betwixt *the Regent*, *the Czar* and *the King of Prussia*, by which *the Regent* promises not to pay any longer the yearly pension he used to pay to *the King of Sweden*; and all three engage to oblige *the King of Sweden* to accept of the conditions *the Czar* offers him, and, if he refuses, all three to fall upon him and never to make peace, till they force him to submit to these conditions, or ruin him. This treaty is offensive and defensive, and one condition is not to admit *the King of Denmark* into it. What reason they have for excluding *him* is not explained, nor do I know it. Perhaps *the Czar* engages to furnish *the Regent's ships* with all that either *the King of Sweden* or *the King of Denmark* used formerly to furnish; which he (*the Czar*) keeping all he has now in possession may be in a condition to do, and that will bring him money in abundance and other advantages. Now, if this treaty be really signed, as this correspondent who is on the place and uses to be well informed, positively affirms it is, in that case *the King of Sweden* will have brought his hogs to a fine market. But what concerns us most is, that it blows up all our hopes on that side; and yet, if *the King of Prussia* could be brought to be as favourable to us, as I really believe *the Czar* is, in that case there might be yet some ground to hope; for as to *the Regent*, notwithstanding all his engagements with *King George*, if he saw us in any tolerable thriving way, and that he thought the thing feasible, I dare say he would give a helping hand; for he and his *D'Uxelles* cannot but see that, if they wanted help, as sooner or later they will, they could not rely upon *King George*, who, besides that he is false at bottom, they know is in a strict alliance with *the Emperor*, and 'tis mainly against him, who is now so great, that they may want help. Besides *the Regent* is now sensible that his dealing and complying so shamefully with all *King George's* demands hath made him be both despised and hated by his own people, so that as to this last *King George* and *the Regent* seem to be upon an equal foot, both of them equally detested by the generality. So that *the Regent* cannot be so blind but he must see where his interest leads him, but he would play a sure game, at least he would have a real probability of success before he declares.

"I do not find that either *King George* or *Holland* are named in this treaty, and I believe neither *the Czar* nor *the King of Prussia* have any great good will to either, which still makes for *the King*. But *Mar* can best judge what there is in this matter, and what measures are to be taken.

"I neither know nor can guess at what *Poniatowski* has said that is surprising, which *Mar* doth not explain, but refers me to what *Sir H. Paterson* hath written of it to *Dillon*; this last hath said nothing of it to me, but complained he had not heard from *Sir H. Paterson* of late. I only know that the measures *Mar* says he proposed to *Ormonde* seem to have been the only best in the present case, and by what *Dillon* tells me they

are to be observed, for it appears by the last letters he had from *Ormonde's* people that *Jerningham* was to go straight to the *King of Sweden*, and carried with him literal *Sheridan*, whom he was to send back to *Ormonde*, who was to stay at *Danzig* until he heard by *Sheridan* how *Jerningham* was received. But, as things stand, I see no great probability of any good reception, unless *Sparre*, who is now at *Holland*, arrive before *Jerningham*. In that case I dare say *Sparre* will employ what credit he has, which I am afraid is not great, to turn things to the *King's* advantage; at least we shall see what we have to trust to on that side, for *Sparre* hath promised *Dillon* to write to him the true state of the case and what may be relied on. By what *Mar* hints in his letter, for he doth not explain it, it would seem that now the *King of Sweden's* people are dealing underhand with *King George*; if that be, it is no wonder that the *Czar* should have made up with the *Regent* and the *King of Prussia*, who, though he be son-in-law to *King George*, hath been of late very jealous of his new acquisitions, and being his neighbour would be willing to lessen his power, and by uniting closely with the *Czar* he takes an effectual way for shortening his father-in-law's horns. To be sure *Görtz* must be at the bottom of this new application to *King George*, though it becomes him less than anybody to be concerned in that matter, after he has received of our money and been so roughly used himself by *King George*. But I remember from the beginning *Mar* had an ill opinion of him, and guessed better than anybody at his true character, for at that time I must own that both *Dillon* and *Inese* had a much more favourable opinion of *Görtz*. But what *Sparre*, who should know him better than any of us, said to *Dillon* afterwards of him, confirmed that *Mar* made a right judgement of him from the beginning. And now it seems *Görtz* gives a new proof of his being a man not [to] be relied upon.

"I shall not fail to make *Mar's* compliments to *Queen Mary*, who hath several times charged me to make hers to *Mar* whenever I wrote to him. She hath been much out of order of late by colics and a looseness that hath mightily weakened her; she is now much better, but hath not yet been in a condition to return the visit the *Regent* made her three or four months' ago. I shall also show her the letters *Mar* sends from Lord Seaf[orth] and M. Dallas, and recommend the matter the best I can. But as to money, *Dicconson* is reduced to borrowing to pay the ordinary, the *Queen's* allowance being farther behind than ever, the month of February not being yet paid, nor any word of it. And à propos of money, 'tis fit *Mar* should know that the great offers made by Fran[cia] and some other private friends, who would not be named, begin now to have no good aspect. When they made their first proposal, they said they were to ask no questions, nor desired to know anything of the *King's* affairs, only they insisted that *Queen Mary* should promise that what they gave should be applied to the *restoration's*

use and to no other. This seemed fair and plausible. But now, when the question is of putting some share of this *money* into *Queen Mary's* possession, though *she* persists in promising that it shall be applied only for *the restoration*, they turn the matter into such leading questions, that, were they answered, these gentlemen would know the main secret of *the King's* affairs before an inch of their *money* were touched, so that it seems to me that, were they really employed by *King George*, as I shall yet hope they are not, they could not invent a more effectual way of serving him, without that we had anything from them but words. *Inesè* hath written a short memoir on this subject which *Queen Mary* has, and I have no copy, else I had sent it to *Mar*. In this memoir, after showing the grounds they give to doubt of their sincerity, he proposes a means of bringing the matter to the test, and trying if they mean honestly or not; and I believe this method will be tried, though *Queen Mary* had at first some scruples about it, though in my opinion there is not the least reasonable ground for any scruple; and I am sure *Mar* would be of my mind, could I explain the whole matter to him, though I cannot but suppose that *Dillon*, who has this whole affair in his hands alone, must have given *Mar* an account of it. But 'tis better risk troubling him with a repetition than that he should not have it at all.

"As to Bo[ot]h, I have never seen his face since the first day he arrived, and then only passingly, nor do I know what the matter is with him, only I find by *Queen Mary* that he hath done something that has very much displeased *the King*, who, to speak the plain truth, hath long suffered his rude unmannerly ways beyond what any master alive but himself would have suffered, and of this I believe *Mar* has been witness more than once. I have been also told that Bo[ot]h could not bear the kindness he saw *the King* had for *Hay*, and that perhaps may have made him say or do some impertinent thing, for he is passionate and hath no temper on such occasions.

"Now that *Sir H. Stirling* hath been at *the Landgrave of Hesse's*, it is not possible but he must have seen that gentleman's daughter, and informed himself of her character. Pray let me beg of *Mar* to send us some account of it both for *Queen Mary's* satisfaction, who is very desirous to know it, and also that we may know if she deserves the character, which is no ways favourable, that some people have given of her.

"I am heartily glad that *Mar* thinks now soon to return to his friend *the King*, who longs for his coming as much as ever man did for his mistress, and indeed wants him sadly; and I am entirely of *Mar's* opinion that, as things are now situated, he cannot be so much wanted and of so great use where he is as he will be with *the King*, for, wherever *the King* is, the centre of affairs and their first spring and last determination must be there, though, if *Mar* could be in both places, it were most of all to be wished.

For news, the Duke of Gordon landed at Dunkirk eight or ten days ago, and with him a son of General Carpenter and Gordon of Glenbucket. He went from thence to Bruges, Gant and Brussels to see some of his mother's relations; he writes to Mr. Gordon, the banquier, that he will be here the 15th instant, and desires him to take a good lodging for him. I hear from others that he intends to stay here only a month, and then goes to Florence. This is all I know of him, but it seems very odd he should carry young Carpenter about every where with him."

Postscript.—I have not anything from *England* worth mentioning. *Menzies* writes there is nothing new there, only confirms that *the Bishop of Rochester* and all that party were mightily satisfied with what *Mar* wrote to them, and are all now in very good humour, taking it kindly that *Mar* sent the cargo directly to them in the first place. I have since had another from him of 22 Aug. (o.s.), which I shall give *James Hamilton* with the prints in it to carry to *Mar*. 7 pages.

CAPT. HUGH O'CAHANE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 5. Paris.—Venturing to trouble him a second time to remind him that Gen. Echlin wrote to his Grace some time ago in the writer's favour without an answer, and begging him to consider how hard it is for a man to live in that country on 12*d.* a day.

ALAMANNO SALVIATI, President of the State of Urbino.

1717, Sept. 5. Urbino.—Passport for the Messrs O'Brien, who are going from Urbino to Florence. *Italian. Seal.*

FANNY OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Monday [Sept. 6]. Paris.—I take this opportunity to write to you by the faithful Squire (James Hamilton) to wish her Grace a good journey. We have not heard from you since we parted, but I hear you're well. Your horses dying was unlucky; the heat has killed a great many here. Mr. Mac[Donnel] says he was very sorry that Mr. Hay had laid down, but, since he hears it was to be Groom of the Bed-chamber, he wishes he may always lay down in the same manner. Mr. Pye is come to Paris. I hear no news from England but what I suppose you know. Pray tell the D[uche]ss to deny to F[ury] (*i.e.* Mrs. Oglethorpe) I was in England.

We're here in a troublesome grumbling kind of a way. The *Parlement* is grown out of humours, and, when they sent their edicts for them to register as usual, they positively refused, saying they were the mediators between the King and his people, and that the nation was overcharged with taxes, and they desired to have laid before them an account

of what was done with the money received since the minority. They talked of grievances, reforming, and such odd words. It has surprised every body. There have been many messages. They have at last passed, taking off the *dixième*, the *franc taille*, which is a considerable loss to themselves, and the bill to reduce the pensions à *cinquième*, but the rest they refused positively, which has put the Regent in a terrible rage. He sent for them all yesterday, but nobody knows the effect of their interview. President Lambert and some others, who spoke with a great deal of vigour against many things that have been done, it was proposed to send them letters of *cachet*, but the Chancellor bid them remember the former *Parlements* and to avoid barricades, so that it has not been executed. They're informed of the proposition and look on it as a great honour. The whole town is out of humour, though for different causes, but all this will end peaceably. The defeat of the Turks is not a means to put us in a good one. It's said that the Spaniards have no design against the Emperor in this descent.

We leave this gloomy town this week for certain, so we shant have the happiness of seeing you here, but, if you have a mind to unweary yourself at Mezières for a few days, you can make it in your road without lengthening it a league. M. de M[ezières] pretends it's the shortest way, so, if you've nothing that prevents you, he shall be very glad you'll do him that honour. He'll send horses to meet you at Lionne and will take care to send you to Amiens. There's a great many things that we'll chat over then that is not proper to trust to paper. He hopes you're persuaded that you'll be truly welcome. For my part I say nothing about it, for I dare swear you'll not come. (Instructions how to direct to her.) My sister and M[ezières] charge me to make you both a thousand compliments and beg you to believe you have not in the world sincerer friends. I had a mind to give the Squire the strong box, but he did not care for it. If you come to Mez[ières], I hope by that time to have news from the Doctor (Lord Ilay). I leave the Squire to tell you all the tittle-tattle. Poor M. de Villette is dead of the wound he received at the army.

Postscript.—M. D'Elbeuf was discontented and refused to go to *ouvrir les états*, but the quarrel is made up and he and Prince Charles come to Picardy this month. 2 pages. Dated, Monday the 7th, but 7 Sept. was a Tuesday.

FANNY OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

[1717], Monday night, 12 o'clock [Sept. 6].—I have this minute received yours. I had already writ by the Doctor.* I feel as I ought your writing and thinking of us, when you were not well untired from your fatiguing journey.

* Probably a mistake for the Squire, i.e. Hamilton.

As for news I have none fresh, but that the *Parlement* has made to-day several representations against the edicts they are ordered to register, but it will end quietly this time.

Since you are anxious to know about the Spanish fleet, it's thought here that they are in the air waiting for an alteration in this country to see and fish in troubled waters. You know they have some pretensions here, but this is only a whisper and may be groundless.

Lord St[air]s is going into the country to a house he has taken 12 leagues off. Some say he's going away discontented because Lord Cadogan is coming Ambassador Extraordinary, but I believe the true reason is he's lost all his money at cards, and has not wherewithal to finish furnishing his house nor make the figure that is fit.

Mr. Laws is going to make a lottery of the *billets d'état*, offers to take for 50,000 millions, and take the island of "Mesisipy" for him. The *Parlement* wont agree to it, saying he's an adventurer, not fit for the nation to trust. The King has been ill of a looseness; he's now better. Madame de Berri augments her household, another eyesore. She's had a quarrel with some of her ladies who quit her. The Emperor's ambassador is to give a great ball. Prince Eugene continues taking towns. It's to be hoped the volunteers will bring us Turkish handkerchiefs, but next year Italy and France is engaged by a treaty to furnish 18,000 men. Which way it will, it's well for our poor master.

My sister says she's going to plant a garden and build at Mezières, and absolutely has occasion for you there to give her a plan. She'll not begin, till we hear if you come that way. Nanny will have all her Grace's trunks. She stays at Paris at home, and has directions to deliver them, when Mr. Gordon or you send for them. You may depend that the little castle of Vincennes is where it was and as much at your service as formerly. The old woman shall have orders to receive you, so you may directly light there, though we shall be at Mez[ières].

M. de Mezières says he shall know all the motions of the person you speak of. He will take measures about that and give you an account of it, if he sees you. You are very good to take a share in what regards me. I lose, as it happens, very considerably, thanks to our *Parlement*. Our folks say, if you don't care to go to Vincennes, you'll find house room enough *dans la rue du Bac*, in case you've a mind to be in Paris. They say that in saying you make no fine speeches you make a great many too many, that between friends trifles ought not to be looked on as obligations. You may reckon on them, if they ever found it in their power to render you essential services. M[ezières] says, if he could write English, he would express his thoughts to you much better than I do, but the short of all is that he loves and esteems you, and would be very glad if you did the same by him. 2½ pages. *Endorsed, "7 Sept.," but see the last letter.*

GEORGE MACKENZIE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 6. Paris.—Representing that he had run the fate of all that were attainted, and consequently his little estate had been seized by the Commissioners of Inquiry, and hoping that the countenance and favour his Grace had honoured him with, will place him in such a rank as not to make him blush among his fellow subjects, though he shall never pretend to demand according to any of the limited quotas. Were not 16 children too heavy a burden on a Scots estate, his father would have saved him the necessity of giving his Grace that trouble.

COLIN CAMPBELL OF GLENDARULE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 6. St. Emilion.—Last post I received the enclosed from *Major Fraser*, wherein there is a long letter from *Lockhart* to him. *Major Fraser* hopes you will be satisfied with it, and extremely wishes you to write to *Lockhart* yourself. I hope it may have that effect, seeing your writing to him will very much encourage him and his other friends, but can never do hurt; doing otherwise may discourage him. There seem other reasons for it that will appear very obvious to you, and, whatever happen afterwards, he or his friends can never complain of you.

My last was dated 4 July. I have little to trouble you with from these corners, nothing new having happened since. *Tullibardine* is retired to a greater distance from Bordeaux, I think above 20 leagues. I parted in so good friendship with him that he desired I should open all letters for him, in case there happened to be in them anything requiring dispatch. I hear frequently from him, and in his last he complains he has much to do to manage *Lord G. Murray*. *Brigadier Campbell* and I found it inconvenient to stay near Bordeaux, and it's six weeks and more since we left it. We stay at a village 8 leagues from it and within a league of Libourne. On our removal I desired Mr. Gordon to send *Tullibardine* his letters.

I have had several letters of late from *Scotland*, in one of which *Glengarry* desires me to make his compliments to you and to assure you that nothing can possibly alter his resolution to serve *the King* on all occasions. I have also received a letter from Sir D[?]uncan C[?]ampbell who seems to have a true sense of his faults, with many protestations of his sincere intentions hereafter to serve *the King*. He says Mr. Porter has very good intentions towards *the King*, which I have also from no worse hands. It's now above 20 days since I received a letter from *J. Macleod junior* concerning *Sir Hector Maclean* that nothing had been done for him there. In my return I told him it was above 10 months since you had sent orders to Ha. St[?]raiton about him. I wrote also to *Sir Hector Maclean's* tutor, from whom also I had a letter, that he may see you had not forgot his pupil, which I know will be encouraging to him and his friends. *Two pages.*

BRIGADIER CAMPBELL to JOHN PATERSON.

1717, Sept. 6. Bordeaux.—Your last of 5 June came safe with the enclosed, which I forwarded to *Tullibardine*. He wrote to me the other day, and is much concerned about one Wm. Mur[ra]y mentioned in that you sent for him. I suppose this W. M. can give him some necessary accounts of his affairs beyond sea. It were to be wished he saw him, were it but to know if it's practicable to get some money from his late brother-in-law. You know how frequently his and George's wants in that commodity fall out. To prevent it, for the future, if Mr. M. be in your quarters, he may take a walk to Leghorn, where he will find an opportunity for the Bay of Biscay, or let him go to Via Reggio and thence to Marseilles, Cap de Cette, up the canal and down the river. This may be done on a little more than his staying in any place would cost. If he is in Holland or Flanders, I have taken care he shall soon be here.

We are in great expectations of t'other bout between Pr. Eu[gene] and Turk and of the event of the Sp[ani]sh expedition. All friends hereabout are well and live quietly, except a few, who are a great charge, though they have of their own, and God knows what service they ever can be capable of doing. I wish the Indemnity had been more comprehensive for the sake of such people.

(Requesting him to inquire about a letter of R. Arbuthnot to the writer about March or April last and either to burn it or send it him.) *Two pages.*

SIR H. PATERSON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 7. *Leyden*.—On coming here yesterday I had yours of the 30th with the account of our friends being arrived safe at the waters. I am sorry they have had so bad a journey and that *Mar* should seem uneasy from his apprehensions of that air not agreeing with him. Neither *Sir H. Paterson* nor others of *Mar's* friends here had any reason to imagine that *Mar's* journey would have been without success after what had passed, as I hope they will be able to satisfy him when they meet him, and that they advised it for the best as things then appeared, and I hope still he will have no reason to repent it.

I know what *I* wrote of the 27th would very much vex him, but I had reason then to write so. I hope *he* received what *I* wrote him the post after on *my* return to *Amsterdam* by which he would find *the Czar* had been made easy, though *I* could not learn the particulars further than that *Görtz* and *Prince Kurakin* had been together and that the last returned satisfied. *The Czar* is now gone, and I had set out for *Liège* without waiting to hear from *Mar*, but I chose to wait a day or two longer at *Amsterdam* for *Sparre*. I made *Mar's* compliments to him, and told him I was directed by him to wait on him and

inform him what I could of what had passed of late in these parts, for which he thanked him, and desired *me* to assure him he would do all in his power to serve *the King*, whose interest he had very much at heart. He expected to be with *the King of Sweden* in a fortnight, to whom he would most faithfully communicate everything, and that *Mar* should know soon after what was to be expected from thence. *I* complained to him of *the King of Sweden's* people keeping so much on the reserve as to that matter and the apprehensions *the King's* friends had as well as *the Czar of Poniatowski's* visit; to which he desired *me* to acquaint *Mar* not to have any apprehension about that, for *Poniatowski* was gone to visit *Paris* only to get *the Regent* to clear accounts with *the King of Sweden*, or at least to procure part of what was there resting him. He said this was agreed betwixt *Görtz* and *Poniatowski* that the last should go there on that account and that *Görtz* was gone for *Sweden* by way of *Hesse*. Before *Görtz* went he wrote a very bitter letter to one at *the Hague* in which, we are told, he uses *King George* and his people very indifferently. They seem not at all pleased with his going away, and far less with the abrupt manner *the Czar* left them without giving them the least satisfaction. *Sparre* was entirely against *Ormonde's* going to *Sweden* at present, but that he should wait till he heard from thence upon their going there, and I suppose in that case it will be necessary that *Jerningham* go and return to him. *Sir H. Stirling* proposed to see *Mar* and was to be directed by him as to his going after *Dr. Erskine*, and he can easily overtake him in time. *I* and he had an appointment this night at *the Hague* with the person that first acquainted *Dr. Erskine* about *Poniatowski*, who is lately come from *Görtz*, and I suppose *Mar* will agree this appointment should be kept, so we set out to-morrow and will lose no time in being with *Mar*. We propose to be with him on Saturday or sooner, if possible. I have desired Charles [Kinnauld] to have two or three horses ready to carry us to the place, and I shall be seen there by nobody whatsoever. We will send one to Charles' lodging.

Cadogan is not yet arrived here, and I hope *Mar* need have no apprehension of him. We have a strong report here of his being gone directly to *Paris* in his way further. People here are not at all pleased with *the Emperor's* late success.

Ormonde shall be wrote to after what *Sir H. Stirling* learns to-night at *the Hague*. Cam[p]ion is there, and *I* will see him. 3 pages.

H. MAULE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 7. Leyden.—I am sorry your circumstances do not allow you to stay where you are or in the neighbourhood, because you are better situate for your business than where you are going. The present state of affairs looks very drumlie, and the late victory seems to threaten great confusion and

uncertainty to the place where you are going, which cannot be without great influence on other places where you are concerned.

I have no views at present what shall be my condition. I have made no application for a privy seal, nor writ to anybody on that subject. I had a letter from your brother, directed to my wife, advising me to stay still here, till it be seen what measures others take and what the ministry are inclined to or expecting from those in our condition. If they expect money, I am much deceived if great offers will be made them. The unhappy condition of our country makes me much indifferent where I go, and, if I stay here, I can do it without being uneasy.

MR. C[AMPIO]N to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 7.—*Sir H. Paterson* gave me this morning your letter of the 30th of last month. As he will see you in a few days, I thought it better to desire him to give you an account of my intentions and the present posture of my affairs than to trouble you with them in this. Had I entertained any thoughts of returning soon to England, I should not have failed to give you early notice of it, but, as I have no intention of going there before the spring at soonest, I shall deny myself the satisfaction of seeing you for reasons *Sir H. Paterson* will explain.

The DUKE OF MAR to J. MENZIES.

1717, Sept. 7.—As I wrote you 12 Aug. I intended, I have been with your friend *C. Kinnaird* since the 26th and yours of 5 Aug. (o.s.) was sent after me, and I have accounts of yours of the 12th to *Inese*, and of the 15th to *James Hamilton*, and have now seen that of the 16th to *C. Kinnaird*.

I was very glad to know that *Mrs. Ogilvie* with her cargo was safely arrived. *Inese* says you tell him a later cargo was also arrived, but by your saying nothing of it to *C. Kinnaird* I am afraid it is not that by which I wrote on the 12th but that you mention from G[eneral] D[illon] to *Lord Arran*, which puts me in some pain, for *Capt. Ogilvie* writes to me of the day it sailed and it might have been with you by that time. It is a great pleasure to me to hear of our friends and co-partners of the Company agreeing and going on in harmony.

I have heard but once from *General Dillon* since I came here, so know little of what's a doing there. What you say to *C. Kinnaird* of *General Dillon* having wrote concerning the *King of Sweden* three or four days after *Mrs. Ogilvie* arrived, I know nothing of it further than what I wrote in that of the 12th, and I believe he could know no more at the time of his writing, though he may since by *Poniatowski's* going to where he is. How you came to fancy that *Mar* was entirely gone away when *General Dillon* wrote, I cannot imagine, after what I and *James Hamilton* had written you, but you commonly write in haste and so laconic that I must tell you it often

occasions your making such mistakes, and a bookkeeper ought to take more time to write fully and more distinct.

When *Mar* came to *Liège* he found that *the treaty* with the *Czar* and the *King of Sweden* was put off from being with *Amsterdam* by reason of *General Rank* being so long detained by the *King of Denmark* and that the *Czar* had allowed three months for supplying the want and that *the treaty* should be then in *Finland*. This made it to little or no purpose for *Mar* to continue longer here on the account he came, so he wrote to *Gen. Dillon* to speak with *Poniatowski*, understanding he was gone there, and send him his chaise with *James Hamilton* to carry him to *Paris* in his way to *Italy*, and in the meantime he would continue privately with *Liège*, and drink the waters, and that he hoped by the time *James Hamilton* came, the return of *Mrs. Ogilvie's* cargo would be come to him. He wrote also to *Holland* to *Dr. Erskine* all he could think of in relation to *the King's* affairs and that *Sir H. Stirling* should go along with them to look after it, to whom he also wrote. He wrote at the same time to *Ormonde*, acquainting him with what had passed, that he might order his affairs so as to be present at the time and place of *the treaty*. We since understand that *General Rank* is come from *Denmark*, so it is likely *the treaty* may be sooner than we thought, but the place I yet know not. It is probable *General Rank* will meet the *Czar* when he is with 535 (? the *King of Prussia*) and then appoint a place, which *Dr. Erskine* and *Sir H. Stirling* is to acquaint *Ormonde* of, which is all that can now be done.

Mar is expecting *James Hamilton* every day and also *Capt. Ogilvie* with the returns of *Mrs. Ogilvie's* cargo, of which he has wrote to him and to lose no time in coming to *Liège* with it, as soon as it arrives, and, whenever these two come to him, he is to set out for *Paris*, but, before he goes, you and other friends are to hear from him. When he sets out, *Mar's* friend, who is now with him (*Lady Mar*), sets out for *England* by *Flanders* and *Holland*, *James Hamilton* being to accompany them.

This is all I can tell you as yet, which has happened since mine of 12 Aug., which you must communicate to our friends that they may not again complain of not hearing, and show them the original and not scraps, as some of them have complained you used to do.

Tho' *the treaty* be put off for some time, which was impossible to be avoided by that unforeseen accident, yet I hope it will come on now soon, and to as good purpose as it could have proved then. *The Czar*, who is very desirous of its taking effect, is not at all alarmed at the delay, or any appearances that may be another way, which gives me more hopes of it than otherwise I would have had after all those delays.

The story 157 (? the captain i.e. *Straiton*) wrote you of *Paterson* has been raised by some malicious body. There is not the least shadow of ground for it. He behaved very well and to *the King's*

satisfaction, with whom he has been all this time, so pray write and satisfy them as to this.

Is *King George* really in a bad way in his health as *Menzies* says, and should he walk off, would it be for his friend *the King's* advantage or not, do friends think? I scarce believe it would, but I should be glad to know what they think of it.

Friend C[harle]s is to send you this. I'll write again soon, only pray let me hear from you as soon as you receive it; and, if I be gone before it reach this, it will be sent after me.

If mine of 12 Aug. should have miscarried, tell *James Murray* there was a large packet in it to him. *Three pages. Copy.*

J. MENZIES to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Tuesday, Aug 27[–Sept. 7].—I had yours of the 13th (n.s.) and long extremely to hear if you are yet come to *C. Kinnaird's* neighbourhood, and if he has seen you, and if he has got mine, in which there were some things to be said to you. As soon as I have any knowledge of this, I shall write to you fully this way, or as you shall give me sure direction.

Mar's letter to *J. Murray* is still in my hands, and consequently the paper in it, *J. Murray* being in the country a great way from London. If I had opened it, though perhaps *J. Murray* might have approved of it, and perhaps not, yet to be sure some other body would have censured, howsoever anxious they may be to know the contents. But I offered it first to *Lord Oxford* and then to *the Bishop of Rochester* to open it. But they both separately declined it. Nor could any of us have made anything of it, without *J. Murray's* explication, which himself only, at present, has.

Enfin, this great distance of *J. Murray* is a misfortune, and could not have been foreseen by *Mar* unless *Murray* had foretold him his absence, when he wrote a new paper, to which he expected an answer. *Lord Oxford* has been a little uneasy at this delay, which has kept him too some time in town. Then I ought not to conceal from you that he was mortified at this whole affair, and that so many papers and memorials should have been sent to other people, whereof he had been wholly ignorant, and whilst it was plain by your former paper that nothing of consequence had passed to or from you for some time before on *Lord Oxford's* account or some other friends. *Enfin*, none. However I shall do all that is possible to keep them in good humour and harmony. I am willing to bear every man's fault, and every woman's, if that would do it. And that, when I have no manner of reason to bear it or bear them, but merely to promote impartially *the King's* interest, without the least view to any interest of mine (for I have none in the world) or the least regard to my own quiet. *Enfin*, you may be easy at present, for we have a pretty good truce or cessation of arms, except some little warm skirmishes between a lady and a knight, on their own particular reasons

and stories. I have done what I could to compose this blast, and shall do, being afraid of the least gust of wind that may trouble our waters. I shall ever endeavour to be among the *beati pacifici*, though often I get the *Redding Straike*, as they say in Scotch. Yet afterwards I have always all their esteem at bottom. And I have very great professions from the *Bishop of Rochester* at present. But enough of that subject at this time.

We are every day expecting *James Murray*, for I wrote to him in a few hours after I received the packet for him.

A cargo went to *Capt. Ogilvie* last week by the skipper, and the faithful *Mrs. Ogilvie* parted only this morning.

Both the *Bishop of Rochester's* and *Lord Arran's* parcels were committed to my care, to send to *Dillon's* hands, as *Lord Mar* himself had directed. If they go not directly thither, in *Lord Mar's* absence, we shall not fail of new misunderstandings here. I long to hear how that matter is ordered. Your friend the architect (*Gibbs*) will be with you in a few days, but very privately. I hear since that he has altered his resolution and does not come.

You know I hinted some time ago, if it were possible to bring back the *Duke of Berwick* to reason and to enter into our trade, his friends here could still do the business. Several things have been dropped to *Cadogan*, who must be ruined when the *Prince of Wales* gets the shop. And we have some friends that think even that point of *Cadogan* to be perfectly well. No doubt it would be for his credit and his interest. And there can be no harm in your making propositions to him, by sending some partner of distinction, or your desiring to meet him. This is extremely recommended by some friends here, and I am obliged to tell you everything of consequence. Some friends, as I said, are entirely persuaded he goes with that view, and that if he can settle matters to his mind, he will do all at once.

We dare not say a word of this to the *Bishop of Rochester*, who is so infinitely jealous of every thing that can in the least eclipse the *Duke of Ormonde*, whom alone he would have to do the thing, and to enjoy the whole merit."

W. GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 8.—I am glad that all letters before the 28th were come safe and that Mr. De Hayme answers my letter of credit. I had yours of the 31st and 2nd, and forwarded the enclosures. That for Holland shall be sent next post with orders for 300 *livres*. John Graeme gives you his most hearty thanks for all your favours and particularly in allowing him to go with his comrade, Mr. Barclay, to Italy. I have advanced him 200 *livres* for his journey besides his ordinary subsistence.

They parted from Lyons to Avignon 31st past, and Dr. Couper, who is here, parts in two or three days. He was

on his journey before my letter came to him, and, as I wrote you set him at his liberty, he hopes you wont be displeased at his going forward.

GENERAL HAMILTON to C. KINNAIRD.

1717, Sept. 8. Aix.—Yesterday I heard from Paris that the Duke of Mar, after falling out with the Court of St. Germain's had set out for these parts, where he was to meet Mr. Carmigny (? Ormonde), and it's odds but that was the reason that carried you to Brussels. As you, I suppose, are tied to secrecy, I shant blame you for keeping counsel.

I wrote two letters to Mr. Carmigny, telling him that my money was reduced to a narrow compass, and, if I had not some little of my own, I should not have known how to have subsisted Mr. Smith and myself; but that is also at an end. Therefore, if you hear anything of orders to be sent, pray advise them of the other, to avoid delays, lest a refusal should be imputed to a neglect or want of inclination, and I should be heartily sorry to be thought guilty of either.

Since you are to stay till you hear from England, I wish it may be soon, for, if once we could be sure of Mr. Smelt's having landed his 10 dozen of Burgundy, we would be all glad to run the hazard in hopes of getting a share of it.

The EARL MARISCHAL to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 8. Louvain.—I had yesterday your letter under Mr. K[innaird]'s cover. If there was anything I knew to tell you that could be for the King's service, I would do it with a great deal of pleasure. I shall never reckon any thing a trouble that I can do for the advancement of his affairs; if therefore you think it necessary, let me know, and I shall wait on you.

The COMTE DE CASTELBLANCO to [? DAVID NAIRNE].

1717, Sept. 8. Rome.—Yesterday I had an hour's audience of his Holiness. I took leave of him and did not fail to express all my gratitude. I shall start on Monday without fail, or sooner, if I can be ready. To-day I have been informed that a banker of this city has received a letter of advice to pay bills of exchange to Count Douglas and a letter for the Count himself, and that he was expected every moment here. I shall endeavour to get further information about this, and will communicate it to Cardinal Gualterio to inform him of the qualities of that *mauvais sujet*, that proper measures may be taken. *French. Torn.*

J. MENZIES to W. GORDON.

1717, Thursday, Aug. 29[–Sept. 9]. London.—The letter here for the Lady (Mar) is from her sister at Constantinople.

It came to the Secretary's office, who own they opened it and then sent it to the house in Whitehall. You may freely take care of it, since she is no way obnoxious and travels with leave.

Pray let *James Hamilton* know there is no earthly thing to-day to write from hence. All the world's out of town, no changes at Court nor in Church, State or Army. Dead, dull, calm and silence. I shall write soon to him. I had his about the victory over the Turks, and pray him to write very often. His friend Archy is gone to Scotland, but others will take all care of my letters.

LORD TULLIBARDINE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 10.—Yours of 15 June was the last I had, till on the 1st I received yours of 15 Aug. Mine of 30 June was under cover, as you desired, to *Dillon*. I know not how it miscarried. My uneasiness lest imprudent *Lord G. Murray* had fallen into some further unaccountable disaster, made me trouble you in it with a very disagreeable story. He has written you an account of himself since he came here, so I need say no more now, only he seems very penitent for what has happened, and, I believe, hereafter will do all he can to wash out the lasting stain of past miscarriages. He is very thankful for the good offices he has received from you. All who are hereabout have been pretty quiet and there is so little news here, that I had not a pretence for writing since my last, which I desired Mr. Paterson to acquaint you of, thinking you were gone to *Italy*. I am very glad the *King's* concerns are now in a surer way than hitherto, which, with the assistance of the considerable friends he has, cannot but go a great length in bringing all things to a happy conclusion. *Brigadier Campbell*, *Glendarule* and *R. Gordon* are the only persons I acquaint with anything of what is mentioned concerning this, or anything of such a nature, except sometimes letting fall a word to *Clanranald* and *Gen. Gordon* for the encouragement of others.

I give you very many thanks for the account of my brother Charles, and I likewise hear that all the others, who were in his condition, are all freed from confinement by what is called the ———, which must be no small satisfaction to those that have any concern in them.

I believe I took notice formerly that by the inadvertency of some friends at *Toulouse*, who sent accounts to other uneasy people here that *Lord Tullibardine* had by (*sic*) to *Bordeaux*, *Marlborough's* nephew was soon informed of it. His brother-in-law was diligent enough to make a discovery, so that, when a considerable time after he had occasion to come within half a league of them, in less than 3 hours he had an account of it, and wrote to *R. Gordon* that he heard he was here, and therefore desired him pressingly to have a place named for an interview, which obliged *Brigadier Campbell*, *Glendarule* and

he, to avoid inconveniency, immediately to retire a good distance from hence, since things this way seemed then for some time to be at a standstill as to them, so, though *Mar's* of 15 Aug. came to *R. Gordon* the 27th, yet, before the others had that account and could meet together with him, which was necessary before any return could be made to what was recommended, so much time has passed as till now. I have written to *Barry* at *Bayonne* and, that there may be no delay or mistake concerning what he was to do about carrying on his correspondence, *Brigadier Campbell* is gone to him, who will be able to give certain accounts of the true situation of that affair as to him.

J. MENZIES to C. KINNAIRD.

1715, Friday, Aug. 30[–Sept. 10].—I long to know if my late letters have come safe to you, that, if they have and our friend be near you, I may write on, and more particularly.

I told him in my last that the architect (Gibbs) intended to see him very soon, but his resolution is altered within these two days. His other patron here at present has entirely dissuaded him as most inconvenient, whereas I was in good hope he was really sending him, though G[ibbs] did not say so. Let *Mar* know that the instruments are in my hand, and I shall send them by the first sure bearer. Tell him that Ja[m]es M[urray] is not yet come to town, which is a great misfortune and the cause of much uneasiness, for the packet continues unopened, and, if opened, would not be understood.

I have sent you the enclosed *Courant*, because of a paragraph in it from the Hague, which I have marked in the margin. A treaty entirely new to us and that we are entirely strangers to. It puzzles all mankind and the best of the Jacobites are strangely alarmed at it. You on the other side of the water pray unriddle this matter to us.

JAMES III to CARDINAL ORIGO.

1717, Sept. 10. Urbino.—After the repeated informations I have received from all parts of a design on my person and that Lord Peterborough is entrusted with it, I believe one ought not to hesitate to make oneself certain about it as soon as possible and, as I learn by the express sent me that he is at present at Bologna, I beg you not to lose a moment in having him arrested with all his servants and his papers, and particularly all the suspected Italians with whom he has had any intercourse since his arrival at Bologna, in order to endeavour to gain from all these people by interrogating them separately and by threatening them or by promising them great rewards all possible lights regarding so black a design, of which I could scarcely myself at first believe Lord Peterborough capable, which is the reason I did not wish to name him in my first letter. I shall be delighted if he can justify himself, but, after all that has

been written to me on this subject, I cannot do less for the security of my own person than to cause his to be seized. If he is innocent, he ought not to be angry at having this opportunity of justifying himself; if guilty, it is only what he deserves. I do not wish he should receive any ill treatment, but on the contrary that all respect due to a person of his rank should be shown him, provided only that he be kept in safe custody, and should be allowed no communication with any suspected person. All that you shall do in this matter, I will take upon myself and I shall write immediately to his Holiness, of whose approbation I am well assured, as the only matter in question is to safeguard the asylum he has kindly granted me in his states.

Postscript in the King's own hand.—"Je puis vous dire hardiment qu'en faisant ce dont je vous prie, S.S. en sera contente; je souhaite qu'elle le soit dans le retardement qu'il y a eu à arreter le Milord." *French. Copy. There is also a copy in Entry Book 1, p. 206.*

DR. PATRICK ABERCROMBY to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 10 and 11. Lille.—I wrote your Grace a very long letter about a fortnight ago.

The Duke of Gordon passed yesterday through this place, where he stayed but to dine, and called for me. I had not many minutes conversation with him. He asked me no questions but such as concerned my health, and all that passed worth noticing was, that he said he had done all the service he could to the King's friends at home, that, though the Indemnity had saved most of them, yet his being at London had not been useless, and that he doubted not but he should be able to procure leave for several excluded by the Indemnity to return to their own country. At parting he offered me his service in a very civil manner, and asked how one might write to me. I told him I was to remove hence in a few days, but should leave such directions as would secure his letters being forwarded, on which he bade me write a note with my direction to Glenbucket, as soon as I should be settled elsewhere. He soon withdrew after I entered his room, I believe on purpose that Glenbucket and I might have some conversation together, but it happened to be a very short one. He told me he was surprised to find that the Duke of Gordon had been so unjustly run down by our people in this country, so went on to vindicate him and to cast all the blame upon Lord Seaforth with the greatest warmth and concern imaginable, so that he left me no place to speak so much as one full sentence, but he did not hit at all on what was material, contenting himself to assert with great oaths the falsehood of certain clatters I had never heard before. I told him our master was equally wise and good, and would certainly judge of things as they were and not as they might have been at first misrepresented, to which he replied that the Duke knew very well our Master's sentiments having had of his letters, but that he would not

let any but myself know so much, nor would I have written it to you, since I had it as a secret, if the Duke's chaplain had not told the very same thing to a nun here. The Duke also visited her, as he had done those of the English monasteries at Bruges and Brussels, and no doubt will the Scots and English colleges at Douay, but, as Lord Seaforth has also a Jesuit chaplain with him, I do not see what medium the fathers will fall upon to vindicate the honour of both those noble persons. On the whole it is plain the Duke designs to oblige all our people so far as he can. For my own part I am glad of it, but much more that he is on this side of the water. If anything be to be done at home, his absence, I believe, will do no hurt. I am also apt to believe that, by his above mentioned civilities to myself, he means to insinuate that he will obtain leave for me as for others to go home, if I ask that favour, but it is a step I will by no means take, unless I had first your advice with our Master's leave or rather command for so doing.

As I parted with the Duke, I went to visit the nun I mentioned above. She is a daughter of the late Balquhin *alias* Count Leslie, and consequently sister to the present Count, and cousin to the present Bishop Leslie in Germany. I am related several ways to that family, which is one reason she told me the following story and allowed me to make what use of it I should think proper. The Earl and Countess of Nithsdale prevailed with her near a twelvemonth ago to write to her cousin, Bishop Leslie, a most earnest recommendatory letter in favour of a Scots gentleman whose name she had forgot, who, they said, was a mighty fine man, and was allied to them and the very best of our nation, and was in Germany on business of the very greatest importance, which if it succeeded, she would get thanks from our Master. She did so, and Father John Inese, a Jesuit in the Scots College of Douay, who had formerly been acquainted with the Bishop at Vienna, did the same. She added that last day she had a letter from Father John, which she showed me, signifying that he had one from the Bishop telling him that the person recommended was extremely imprudent or importunate, I know not which, for I could not read it distinctly, that he had created much uneasiness and dissatisfaction to him, that he was no ways fit for the business he was employed about, but that he, the Bishop, would do what service he could without him. These accounts may perhaps go to you by Mr. Lewis Inese, Father John being one of his brothers, but, because I know their correspondence is not great, and that Mr. Lewis had no hand in the above mentioned recommendations, I have thought fit to acquaint you with what I have learnt. I know not who the gentleman the Bishop complains of is, though I guess him to be B[arrowfield], whom I both love and esteem, but, if he was my brother, through whose conduct I should understand the cause to suffer, I would not conceal it.

I cannot forbear adding that that Court is said to be extremely bigoted, that perhaps the greatest fault of the gentleman is his not being a Papist, and that, if for other reasons it be most advisable to employ a Protestant there, he would need be, in my humble opinion, one of Lord P[itsli]go's temper, fitted by his modesty and insight in the views, maxims and manners of Jesuits and priests to converse with and follow their humours.

Now that you may not think these last insinuations proceed from any party opinion or principle in me, and not, as they really do, from pure zeal for the common cause, I shall also tell you my second thoughts concerning this journey of the Duke, that he means to vindicate his conduct, and that most of our Churchmen, I mean the Catholics, at home and abroad are or soon will be abundantly disposed to favour him, I do not in the least doubt, and, if they but stop there, it may not perhaps be much amiss in them, considering present or rather future circumstances, but, by a subsequent conversation my friend took care to manage pretty dexterously with the nun, I understand his people not only strike at Lord Seaforth, but also give out, at least the chaplain did, that you were as guilty of separate and clandestine capitulations as he. I cannot forbear advertising you of it, for, as that is the only one calumny that malice and envy has forged against you, which could prejudice your honour and take the hearts of upright men from you, if credited, so it is the only possible means by which the value our Master has for your unequalled services could be lessened. I shall not say that is the project in hand, nor believe that the Duke, to make his court the better to one prince, would endeavour to raise such mischievous jealousies in the breast of another, but after all I much dread the well known cunning, malice and rage of the old Duchess. Your Grace sees I trust myself entirely in your hands. I fear not the consequences if my letter goes safely to you, but shall be uneasy till I know you have received it.

I only wait the effects of what your Grace recommended to Mr. L. Inese to quit this place. (Particulars of the improvement in his health.) 4 pages.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to JAMES III.

1717, Sept. 11.—I had yours of 11 Aug. five days ago. I see *Dillon's* of the 20 and 24, *Ormonde's* of the 13th and *Mar's* of the 16th and 23rd all came safe. I shall not fail writing to *Ormonde* and have already sent *Mar the King's* letter.

We have not yet received any of the *money the King* mentions, but expect soon a favourable account of that matter.

Your compliments shall be made to *Lord Oxford* in the kindest manner the first sure occasion. Will not *the King* think proper to write a short letter on this score, which perhaps is expected from him?

I am overjoyed to see the good hopes *the King* has of *the Duke of Modena's* affair. As to your visit to *Venice* I can't be sorry it was put off for this time, and am glad you are better pleased with your residence than those who came from thence seem to be.

Since my last of the 4th I received the three enclosed letters, which I send for more ample explication. It seems *General Rank* is set at liberty, and that *the Czar* expects to meet him on his road. In this case I presume *the King* will approve what *Sir H. Paterson* proposes about sending *Sir H. Stirling* with *the Czar* to inform us of what passes, which he will know from his friend *Dr. Erskine*. I believe the latter very zealous for *the King's* service, but am sure he would not like being charged with writing an account of such matters, neither can it be expected from him, considering the situation he is in. I think all speculation on this head very unnecessary, till we know whether *the Czar* and *the King of Sweden* adjust affairs or not.

If *Poniatowski* be come to town, he has not yet appeared that I could hear of. When he does, I shall do all that depends on me to have a private conference with him. I received two days ago a letter of 19 Aug. from *Ormonde* saying, though he already sent *Jerningham* to Danzig, he would write to him not to pursue his journey to Sweden and to go straight to *Holland*, *Jerningham* being the only one who has *the King's* letter of attorney. This precaution seemed good at that time, though by occurrences since it becomes now unnecessary.

Ormonde is resolved to remain in or about Danzig till he is informed how matters will terminate 'twixt *the Czar* and *the King of Sweden*.

The little King here is well again which occasions public joy. *Lord Erskine* is quite recovered, which is no small satisfaction to his father. 5 pages.

LIEUT-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept 11.—This is only to acknowledge yours of the 2nd, which I communicated to *Queen Mary* and send the original to *the King* with *Sir H. Paterson's* of the 27th to *Dillon* and his of the 23rd to *Mar*. I read the two last to *Queen Mary*, who desired me to make her kind compliments both to *Mar* and *Lady Mar*. *Dillon* wishes the latter a most happy journey. The chaise you left at Mr. Gordon's was at the next door to him. We were however two days in search of it at both Paris and St. Germain's before it was found, which delayed *James Hamilton's* departure for two long days.

I reckon *Sir H. Paterson* will be with you or in your neighbourhood by the time this reaches you. I answered him three days ago, and sent him a little abstract of what Mr. Dicconson's correspondent with *Holland* writes. For fear my letter to *Sir H. Paterson* should miscarry, I enclose

a copy of the abstract, it being very necessary he should verify the fact, which the author affirms with strong circumstances as you'll see.

(Concerning Poniatowski, Gen. Rank, and sending Sir H. Stirling as in the last letter.) It will be requisite *Sir H. Stirling* has the same cipher we have, and that he takes care to send us here sure addresses.

I enclose *the King's* last letter to *Dillon* and one from him to *Mar*. 5 pages. *Enclosed*,

Our account from Holland of 30 Aug. is, that an alliance was actually signed between the Regent, the Czar and the King of Prussia, stipulating that, after the present year is expired, the Court of France should pay no more the usual pension to the King of Sweden, and that the King of Denmark should not be admitted into this alliance, the design of which is to oblige the King of Swedeland to accept such conditions of peace as those Princes should think fit to give him, or, if he refused, to crush him quite.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILION to JOHN PATERSON.

1717, Sept. 11.—Informing him that he will forward the enclosed and let *Mar* know what he desired and that *Lord Erskine* was quite recovered.

FATHER ARCHANGEL GRÈME to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 11. Calais.—I take the opportunity of *Capt. Ogilvie's* going your way to send you the two enclosed lists. The members of the House of Commons marked with a star are all Tories, and, I am told, wait only an occasion to exert their loyalty. The Marquess of Seaforth's mother-in-law arrived here last Sunday. She comes to carry her daughter back to England, that she may be brought to bed there. She told me the Marquess may have his pardon when he pleases. The King's friends in England are mighty uppish just now, and seem to hope for a speedy relief. Some of them allege that Argyle himself, foreseeing what's coming, is coming about and actually with Sir W. Wyndham in the country for a good end.

BRIGADIER CAMPBELL to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 11.—*Lord Tullibardine* showed me yours of the 15th. I suppose he informed you of the reasons why none of us could stay here, and consequently that you could not have his answers in the due expected time. To obviate this inconvenience in future, he wrote the enclosed to *R. Gordon*, which I hope you'll find pointed enough and at the same time as civil as necessary. I could not have imagined but they would have complied with his desire, but instead Grange says he is to obey none but *the King* or yourself, George, the skipper, that he receives no orders but from *Inese*, and *Smith of Methven's* brother Peter, who designed towards Calais, will

now stay here to show his independence, and to learn what he can. The other people here will be gone in compliance with *Lord Tullibardine's* orders. The three above named have not the least business here, nor even in this province, only they should in that case want the conversation of the skippers and all other travellers, clean and unclean, who come here. We chose, rather than deprive them of that satisfaction, to absent ourselves and come here as by stealth, for, as long as they stay, it is impossible we can in the least appear or do any thing but what *Marlborough's* nephew and everybody else will presently know, nor does it end here; some of those gentlemen keep a very strict correspondence with their friends in *Scotland*, some of whom are not honester than they should be. I hope you will order them to remove out of this country. I suspect you to be at some distance and therefore I have writ to *W. Gordon* be shown to *Mr. Inese*, that they may retire at least some leagues till your orders come. *Glendarule* lurks here without daring so much as to send a servant abroad. They lay themselves so out for discoveries that no more letters be kept up. *Lord Tullibardine* goes back into the country and leaves orders with *Glendarule* to open his letters. I go to-day to *Bayonne*.
Enclosed,

The MARQUESS OF TULLIBARDINE to ROBERT GORDON.

I remind you again of what I thought all our friends had certainly done a considerable time ago. None can be ignorant how fit it is for people in our circumstances to be retired and private, especially at such a time in this country, and more particularly where it seems some of them are yet near you, whence, I hope, they will now at last think of retiring a considerable distance, which is agreeable to the intentions of those we ought to obey exactly.

Pray acquaint everyone, who receives the King's pay, with what is desired, which I hope will have weight, it being likewise the opinion of one, who is a very well-wisher of theirs and would be heartily sorry they should give the least umbrage that might tarnish their former actions. I desire you would let all of them know this, that there may be no longer a pretence for delay. 1717, Sept. 8. Bordeaux. Copy.

The DUKE OF ORMONDE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 11.—*Ormonde* received *Mar's* of 5 Aug. He is sorry he cannot hear from him oftener. What you mention concerning *Jerningham* is very right, but since *Ormonde's* meeting with *Jerningham* he is informed from him that the place of meeting is to be in *Finland*. If so, *Jerningham* must make her a visit, or at any place he can find her at. He tells *Ormonde* that *Görtz* is to come through *Danzig*.

Jerningham [and] *Ormonde* will endeavour to see *him* and to ask his advice that they may take their measures accordingly.

I hope the business of the trade will go on well, the wind begins to grow fair.

Ormonde told me, he could not resolve yet what he would do for the reasons above mentioned. *Mar's* going to Charles [Kinnaird] will be very necessary if what *Ormonde* mentioned should be altered and changed to *Amsterda[m]*. However I thought *Mar* designs being at *Liège*.

The Jew's and the Pope's mantles (money) are very fit for the winter. I am glad you told *Sparre* of it. I hope they will be wore.

I am glad the King thinks of marriage anywhere, but, if Lord Wharton lies, that sure were the properest place and more for his interest with *England*. I wish he may do what is most for his interest.

I am very glad the person you mention has escaped the ill accident, and obliged to you for your concern for the loss of a very near and dear relation.

The COMTE DE CASTELBLANCO to [? DAVID NAIRNE].

1717, Sept. 11. Rome.—I informed you by the last ordinary of my intention to take leave of the Pope. A courier arrived from Spain early to-day with the answer giving the just reasons of the King, my master, for the Sardinian expedition, leaving his Holiness satisfied of his good intentions. Don Alexander [Albani] told me unsolicited that he believed that at that moment his Holiness would have no difficulty in writing soon about my business, and that his opinion was I should not leave on Monday as I told him, but wait a few days and he undertook to press the Pope about it himself. I took the opportunity to tell him I was informed from Madrid by the same courier that the Court is very well disposed in my favour and that only his Holiness's letters are waited for to press that business, and for five or six days more or less I would not fail to follow his advice. I wished not to fail to tell you the reason which prevents me from leaving on Monday as I intended. Torn. French. Enclosed,

Having examined the man who was looking for Count Douglas, saying he had letters and money to give him from a banker here, I discovered he was employed by the Captain of some place in Spain by order of Cardinal [Aqua]viva to discover if he was here. Torn. French.

The DUKE OF MAR to the EARL MARISCHAL.

1717, Sept. 11. Liège.—I cannot say it is absolutely necessary for the King's service that you should come hither. Beside the advantage I thought it might be to his service for us to acquaint one another of what we knew in relation to his affairs, the reason of my mentioning our meeting was, in case

you should have been desirous to know anything of them for your own satisfaction that I could inform you of. If you have any commands to charge me with for Italy, where I think of going very soon, please let me know them. *Copy.*

L. INESE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sunday, Sept. 12.—I received the enclosed for *Mar* by yesterday's post. By what I had with it I find *the King* is well and all there, only Mr. Maitland is dead. *Menzies* in his last of 26 Aug. (o.s.) says that Lord Churchill is turned a mere child and driveller at Tonbridge, that his lady, little concerned, games from morning till night, that Cadogan was going to Holland very much broke in his health, that a cargo was some days before sent to *Capt. Ogilvie* and that *Mrs. Ogilvie* was to part the next day. I wrote at length to *Mar* last week by *James Hamilton*. We have nothing new here. *Queen Mary* is pretty well, and desired to be kindly remembered to *Mar* and *Lady Mar*. *Inese* has been indisposed all last week and is not yet well. *Dillon* has been all last week at St. Germain with his spouse.

FANNY OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sunday, [Sept.] 12.—L' Abbé du Bois is parted to-night nobody knows for where, whether it's England or Germany, but he's gone upon a new treaty which is kept a great secret. Lord Stair is gone into the country. The *Parlement* has entirely got the better; all their remonstrances have been acquiesced in. *Misdated, 12 Aug. but endorsed Sept. 12th and 12 Aug. was a Thursday, and 12 Sept. a Sunday.*

The DUKE OF MAR to JAMES III.

1717, Sept. 12. From *Liège*.—What I could say ever since I came here would be so lame that I did not think it worth troubling you with. I have written to *Dillon* and *Inese* what occurred here, but that is but half of a story, so I recommended to them who are at the centre to inform you of all.

I had *Hay's* of 8 and 13 Aug., and *Dillon* sent me yours of the 7th to him, by which I am extremely pleased to find that *the King* is well, but I am sorry they say nothing of the affair of *Princess of Modena*. I hear to-day *Dillon* had a packet from *the King* to me, but it is not yet come.

As to business I must trust to *Inese* and *Dillon* giving you an account of it when they forward this, and ere long I hope to wait on you myself. I propose setting out from hence about this day sennight, after I get the letters *Dillon* and *Inese* may have sent me before they get what encloses this, which forbids their writing any more to me here, and betwixt now and that time it is likely *Capt. Ogilvie* may be with me with returns of what I sent to *England* by *Mrs. Ogilvie*, but, if not, that shall not detain me. I go by *Paris* to receive *Queen*

Mary's commands, and to concert with *Dillon* what may be needful and I shall not be long there. If *Capt. Ogilvie* come not in time here, he shall have orders to follow me thither from whence I shall write answers to *England*. *Lady Mar* sets out for *England* when *Mar* leaves *Liège*. The waters have not done well with him there and his health is but indifferent.

THE DUKE OF MAR to L. INESE.

1717, Sept. 12.—This morning *James Hamilton* arrived and brought me one from *Inese* of the 3rd, but I am surprised to have none from *Dillon* and really uneasy he has not sent me a large packet which *Queen Mary* told *James Hamilton* was in *Dillon's* hands from *the King* for me.

I delayed answering *Dillon's* of the 4th till *Sir H. Paterson* and *Sir H. Stirling* should come, which I expected every day and they arrived last night. "I find by them that there is nothing in the triple affair *Inese* writes of, that *Dicconson's* correspondent had alarmed you with, at least they are confident of it. *Sir H. Paterson* saw *Sparre*, who desired him to assure *Mar* that he need have no apprehensions upon *Poniatowski's* sudden journey to *Paris*, which, together with the *Czar* being easy about it, makes *Mar* so too. I think it absolutely necessary that *Sir H. Stirling* should go after the *Czar* upon the *King's* account, and to see *Ormonde*, who is now with *Danzig*, as he passes, and who, *Sparre* thinks, by no means should go to the *King of Sweden* till once he hear from one of them there, but he said nothing against *Jerningham's* being sent. All this *Ormonde* is informed of and, since *Sparre* and *Görtz* are both of that opinion about him, I have no doubt but he will regulate himself in that way. The affair of the treaty betwixt the *Czar* and the *King of Sweden* will not, I believe, come on now after the time that the first was prevailed on to give some time ago for removing an unforeseen obstacle then to it, till the time he gave (though that obstacle be since removed) comes, which will occasion, by all appearance, *Ormonde's* wintering where he now is, or in the neighbourhood. I know that *Dr. Erskine's* way and his are not at all alike by their natural tempers, so that there is the more need of *Sir H. Stirling's* being with *Dr. Erskine* to keep all right as to *Ormonde*, and likewise to be a spur to *Dr. Erskine*, whose laziness and multiplicity of other business makes [it] the more necessary. *Sir H. Stirling* making this journey may be inconvenient to his own affairs, but, notwithstanding of that, I have prevailed with him, and he is to set out by *Holland* one of those days, where it is fit he should speak to one of the *King of Sweden's* people, who are still, I find, thinking of doing some things to make a party for themselves in *England's* family, distinct from the *King*, which, as I have long observed, was what *Görtz* was driving at, and absolutely fit to be prevented. *Sir H. Stirling* has not of his own to bear the charge of what he is going about ; but I think the *King* cannot

lay out so much of his money better as will defray it, and, in hopes that *Queen Mary* will be of this opinion, I will order him credit on *Holland* to carry him to *Danzig*, and then *Ormonde* may supply him with what is necessary, to whom I am to write of it.

“*Jerningham* was at *Danzig* on 25 Aug., from whom I have seen two letters, and something in them of the extraordinary more than I could have wished; but what vexes me more is a horrid blunder he made at *the Landgrave of Hesse’s*, which shows his being very young in business. It was not in relation to anything of *the Princess of Hesse*, so let not that fright *Queen Mary*; but upon the whole, it puts me in great apprehensions of some of his indiscretions with *the King of Sweden* where he is a going; but, when a ship is once at sea, we must trust to Providence, and many a bad sailor has come through, and made a good voyage. I hope *Sparre* will be there before him, and so will, I believe, *Görtz* too, as to both whom he is fully cautioned of late, and how to make use of each of them, follow it as he will.

I send enclosed two which friend Charles [Kinnaird] has lately had from *Menzies*, to whom I have wrote of late. What he says of *Mar* being quite gone I understand as little, as I do what he says *Dillon* wrote of *the King of Sweden’s* answer; but *Dillon* will perhaps comprehend it. I wrote to *Menzies* upon this first and I could not help chiding him for his always writing in so laconic a way, and in such a haste as [if] it were but a secondary kind of business with him, so that there is scarce anything to be understood by it, and I must own, after seeing so much of this kind from him, I am afraid *the Bishop of Rochester* has had but too good reason to complain of him. By what he wrote to *Inese* formerly, one would have thought that mine of 12 and 13 Aug. was then come to hand; but by this of 23 Oct., as he calls it, though it should be August, we see it came not till much later, and by *James Murray’s* being out of town, and his desiring *the Bishop of Rochester* to open his packet, he will see the letter I wrote to *James Murray*, which was a little peevish upon what *the Bishop of Rochester* had desired him to write to me; but perhaps it is not the worse.

“It seems by this last of *Menzies* that the returns to my first cargo were come off, so that I expect every day to hear from *Capt. Ogilvie* of its arriving on this side.

“*Mar* does not find that the waters agree with him, so that I believe he will not continue drinking them much longer, and his health is not at all yet good. He desires that no letter may be sent to him where he now is after this comes to hand, for that he proposes to set out from hence on Sunday, Monday or Tuesday next week as letters comes to him from *Paris*, by one of which days he supposes all letters sent for him hither before this reach you, may come to him.

“You ask me an account of *the Princess of Hesse*, thinking I have it from *Sir H. Stirling*, but I will refer the particulars

of that till meeting, only I can say in the meantime that he has told me nothing of her to make me wish that *the King's* project with *Princess of Modena* may not succeed. I long impatiently to know what is like to become of that affair, and I wish to God it may do."

Anything I could say to *the King* from hence, would be so lame that it is scarce worth troubling him, however I enclose a short note for him that you may forward, but refer him as to business to *Dillon* and *Inese*. This epistle being designed for them both, they will either send him part or the whole of it as they think fit, and I doubt not of their having informed him of what passed since I left their parts.

I am heartily concerned at what *Inese* writes of *Fr[anci]a's* money affair, but it's needless for me to say more of it now, only that I hope so promising a thing will not come to nothing, though the sooner there be a certainty of that one way or other the better, without discouraging those concerned, if they be honest, as I hope they are. *Dillon* has not mentioned a word of this to me in any of his letters yet come.

I am very sorry *Queen Mary* has been out of order, but hope it is quite over, and that *she* will be able soon to repay the visit *she* owes to *the Regent* and he to receive it.

You'll let this be communicated to *Dillon* as well as to *Inese*.

The two letters *Dillon* sent me for Mr. Bairly were for me. 4½ pages. Original and copy.

COLIN CAMPBELL OF GLENDARULE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 13. *Bordeaux*.—Last post I received the enclosed from *J. Macleod, junior*, in relation to *Argyle*. I am surprised at it and the manner of it, and, unless *Argyle* has applied to you some other way, I know not what to think of this insinuation, seeing *Argyle* himself is where he might find such of your friends as he might well trust to make this settlement for him, yet the writer is a most honest man, and, I think, would not venture to write so without a warrant for it. I have not spoken a word of this to any mortal.

Lord Tullibardine and *Brigadier Campbell* wrote to you so fully last post that I have only to add that *Lord Tullibardine* has ordered me to send *Mar* a copy of a letter to him from *Smith of Methven's* brother, which came a day or two after his last to you. *Lord Tullibardine* has a most just resentment of the insolence of that person, and hopes *Mar* will take his own way to discourage the increase of such a spirit, which may be of ill consequences hereafter. I also send by his order a copy of *R. Gordon's* letter, by which *Mar* will see *Lord Tullibardine* is little better treated by some others. Though I am far from thinking this a fit time to proceed to any great unkindness towards them, I presume the least that can be done is to order them from this place and I could wish *Smith of Methven's* brother was ordered entirely from this country, for he keeps

a close correspondence with *Smith of Methven*, of whom I cannot help having a very ill opinion, and is most indiscreetly inquisitive. *Lord Tullibardine* retires again from here, and *Brigadier Campbell* is already gone to the place he mentioned. It has been thought convenient I should stay here, that no time might be lost in our commerce, and to open all letters for *Lord Tullibardine*, and to do what is necessary upon them. I shall live as retired as possible, but 'tis hardly possible to be absolutely private, *Smith of Methven's* brother is at such pains to find out everybody that comes here; therefore the sooner he and the rest of them are ordered from this place the better. One point of Peter's [*Smith's*] letter to *Lord Tullibardine* is most false, it being above two months, since I went to him and Mr. Malcolm from *Lord Tullibardine* to advise them to retire from this as most of their friends had done, but they made no secret then of their intentions to be in friendship with *the Indemnity*, so reastie they were in it without knowing what encouragement they could have from him, and all that was desired was that they should retire 4 or 5 leagues.

Pray let me have your commands anent *Sir Hector Maclean*, whether he shall stay at home or come to *Edinburgh*, for, if *the King* wants to correspond soon with his friends, it's best he stay at home.

This affair of *Argyle's* is so new and in such a manner, though you know I want not friendship enough for him, I am at a stand what to think of it, but I have so often discoursed with you on that subject, that all I can now say is that the state of *the King's* affairs and his interest is what will and should be the rule in all such transactions, of all which you are best judge. *Enclosed*,

J. MACLEOD, JUNIOR, to GLENDARULE.

In my last I acquainted you with Argyle's milder sentiments with respect to the King's interest, and that, as he is in the worst of terms with his once darling King George, so he now seems desirous of an opportunity of being in no better with the Prince of Wales. This change, I think, may be improven to your advantage, (he means the King's), for, though the King don't correspond with Argyle, and perhaps mayn't have ready money (is immediate encouragement) to clear him off and so procure his friendship, yet your kind lieutenant (Mar) will certainly not miss this proper opportunity of distinguishing his friendship for you (is the King), especially since the agreeing with this single one of your creditors will in great measure facilitate your business with all the rest.

Your lieutenant (Mar) being a wise man and not altogether a stranger to Argyle, will manage this to great perfection, and can't miss advancing proper arguments for rivetting

this gentleman in your interest. All therefore I need say is that no notice must be taken to Argyle of your (is the King's) understanding anything anent his change of inclinations, since he communicated the same only to an intimate and no ill-wisher of yours. (I think he means myself, though I can only guess at this well-wisher.)

I waited on the person you directed anent Sir Hector Maclean's business, whom I find exceeding kind. He told me he had no particular instructions from your lieutenant (Mar) anent advances, but he would venture to advance 30 or 40l. till further orders, so I am resolved to send for Sir H. Maclean to be here against the end of October, unless you command to the contrary. Meanwhile I don't design, for reasons you may easily guess, to let his tutor or any other know how he is to be cared for, further than that his friends here will look after him; and I believe by the best management he can't be under 100l. sterling per annum, since he must have a governor and servant. August 13[-24].

P[ETER] S[MITH] to LORD TULLIBARDINE.

It is some time since I heard you were in this neighbourhood and likewise heard rumours that everybody was advised to retire from the public, but, the manner not being specified, I suppose that was left to everybody, though by yours to R. Gordon, I see it is to retire from Bordeaux nor is it mentioned where. This I think very essential to me, who came here to stay till I was ordered elsewhere, nor had I any directions from whom to take orders, nor am I to know, as indeed I cannot be perfectly certain, that you are here, though I shall believe it, and, if anything can persuade me that after banishment we are ordered to retire to a village, it is my respect for you, whom I would willingly obey, but, since you give it as an order for the King's service and as I am to do nothing but what I have orders for from the King himself or Mar, you will, I hope, excuse me in the only point I should have the least thought of refusing what you would command. I was thinking of going to Calais soon, but wait the return of some letters and shall write to-night that I may get positive orders how to dispose of myself, being I never act by insinuations or advice, where the King's interest is concerned, but strictly to orders. 1717, Sept. 9. Bordeaux. Copy.

R. GORDON to LORD TULLIBARDINE.

I have now got all their answers. Mr. Urquhart, Kay and Charteris will obey your orders. Mr. Smith's answer is enclosed. Mr. Malcolm will do nothing without an order from the King or Mar. Capt. George says he goes

to the country on Monday, where he may probably stay till he gets a return to a letter he writes to-day. Mr. Hutchison says your letter is of too high and political a style for one of his small capacity to understand, so takes some days to consider on it, and, when he thinks fit, will give me an answer. The meaning, as I comprehend, is treating your letter in ridicule. He trusts to Capt. George, who pretends to have as much interest with the King as the first man under him. He pretends to depend on Mr. In[ese], who is a very wise man and should be writ to that he may advise this man to temper his tongue and to carry [himself] more equally in matters that concern those so far above him. Mr. Hutchison was a servant of Lord Panmure's, but I comprehend though he depends entirely on Capt. George. Copy.

JAMES III to POPE CLEMENT XI.

1717, Sept. 13.—Cardinal Gualterio will have given your Holiness an account of what has just happened relating to Lord Peterborough. Knowing as I do your justice and the kindness of your heart, I have ventured to act boldly, being fully persuaded that you would always approve of what I shall believe necessary for my safety, which is inseparable from your own honour since your kindly granting me an asylum in your states. I have had both in view in all the steps I have taken and I should have thought myself wanting in my duty to your Holiness as well as to myself and my country, if I had taken any other line than what I have taken, in which there is nothing but what the laws and practice of all nations authorize. I refer myself for the rest to what Cardinal Gualterio will tell you. I must do Cardinal Origo the justice to say that he has behaved as I could have wished and I feel no doubt your Holiness will approve of his action, since in acceding to my wishes he has only anticipated your orders. *French. Copy. Noted that the original was in the King's own hand. There is another copy in Entry Book 1, p. 207.*

JAMES III to CARDINAL ORIGO.

1717, Sept. 13.—I have received your letter of the 11th by Mr. O'Brien, who has informed me in detail of everything you tell me concerning Lord Peterborough's arrest. I thank you most sincerely for your great zeal for my service, begging you to continue to employ your authority to extract from the persons in his suite and from the others you have arrested all the lights possible touching the design in question, both by interrogating them and by examining their papers and by causing all the letters to be brought you that are addressed to them or to Lord Peterborough, that they may be seen and sent here, if there is anything suspicious in them. I am writing to-day to his Holiness, who will certainly approve of

what I have taken upon myself, and will be grateful to you for what you have done at my request. The bearer, Mr. Cockburne, will stay some time to assist in making the necessary inquiries. *French. Copy. There is another copy in Entry Book 1, p. 207.*

FANNY OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 15.—We are this minute going to Mezières. Lord Garlies begged my sister to send you the enclosed. He desired, if you had any orders to send or anything to say to any of your friends in Scotland, you would let him know. He would deliver the message with care and fidelity. He says all the honest people in Scotland will inquire if he has seen you, coming from France, if you've spoke to him of them, and if you've any hopes or if they must despair. He will be glad to know what he has to say, and you may depend on him. My sister will forward your answer. L'Abbé du Bois is gone to England. They say Lord Cadogan has been here four days. Poniatowski is arrived. M. de Mezières is at Chantilly, so has not seen him. Lord Burlington is here. *Enclosed,*

LORD GARLIES to the DUKE OF MAR.

As he is to leave that place in a very few days, assuring him of his desire to serve the King and desiring his advice as to how he ought to behave when in Scotland, and explaining it was not from want of inclination he was absent when his lordship took up arms to restore his Majesty, but at that time he was in Italy and all his friends advised him not to go to Scotland till the spring. Madam Mezières will take care to send letters sent for him to her to him at Calais. 1717, Sept. 13. Paris.

CAPT. J. OGILVIE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 15. Dunkirk.—I received yours with the enclosed, and *Mrs. Ogilvie* is come, cargo and all. I shall make all the speed I can to be with you, but there is one difficult point, that is to raise money to bring me and carry me to Paris and back again. However I am hopeful to get it to-morrow. There is an absolute necessity that *Mrs. Ogilvie* comes to you, for it's *Lord Oxford's* positive order to me to carry her to you, but you need be in no pain, for she will not hinder me in the least, considering the route I must come, for there is no posting through the country I must go by, for few people go post to drink the waters. Besides it would make too much *éclat* to ride post there, unless in post chaises or the post wagon, and in them she can hold out as well as I can. Since I hope to see you so soon, I shall say no more. What I told you as to having all sent to *Inese* is matter of fact, but, when I advertised *Mrs. Ogilvie* to acquaint *Lord Oxford*, he did fly [out] and ordered all to you, but, whether he did or not, I should have obeyed none of their orders. *Mrs. Ogilvie* bids me tell you she left *Lord Erskine* perfectly well as ever he was in his life.

THE DUKE OF MAR to the DUKE OF ORMONDE.

1717, Sept. 15.—I wrote to you on the 30th on my coming hither, which I know was sent to *Danzig*, so I hope it came safe to you. *Sir H. Paterson* and *Sir H. Stirling*, who are with me, have given you and *Jerningham* an account of everything since, which leaves not much for me. “*Jerningham* writes to them of his being in *Danzig*, and that he expected you in a few days, where I hope you are safely arrived long ago, and that *Jerningham* has found a way of making his visit to the *King of Sweden* and that you will soon hear a good account from him.

“Since my last we hear that *General Rank* is his own master, but notwithstanding of that, I fear the affair of the *treaty* will not come on till once the time come which the *Czar* allowed them to make up the defect that then was, though that difficulty be now out of the way, so that his allowing so long a time upon that account proves now unlucky.

“*Sparre* as well as *Görtz* was much against *Ormonde's* going just now to the *King of Sweden* and till once he should hear from thence, as *Sir H. Paterson* tells me from him, but he said nothing against *Jerningham's* going thither, so I hope he would set out with all expedition and not wait seeing of *Görtz*, which if he did, he would certainly forbid his going, and then he could not well do it, but I fancy neither he nor *Ormonde* would see him as he passed, he keeping his way of going very private. *Sparre* would be with the *King of Sweden*, I reckon, before *Jerningham* could be there, and, though he must manage that affair with a great deal of circumspection upon *Görtz's* account, as *Sir H. Paterson* wrote to him, yet *Sparre* may be of very great use.

“I was not a little alarmed at *Poniatowski's* going so abruptly to visit *Paris*, but the *Czar* being easy upon that head makes me so too, however, I cannot help thinking that *Görtz* and most of the *King of Sweden's* folks behave in an odd way enough. Nothing appears though as yet of their having any dealings with *King George*, nor has the *Czar* any thoughts towards him that I can find there being any real grounds for, so after all, though the delay of the *treaty* lose some time, I hope it will come right at last.

“Since *Ormonde* is now in those parts and, though he had no thoughts of going towards *Sweden* or, if he should find that his going thither were not agreeable at this time, I suppose he will not think of returning till once he sees what becomes of the *treaty*, where it will be the luckiest thing that can be for him to be or near in the neighbourhood, so I fear he is in for a winter campaign, happen what will, for which I both pity and envy him, but I hope he will be of such use there that there will be more occasion for the last than the first. If the *King of Sweden* be not for seeing *Ormonde* at this time I will flatter myself that he does not mean it ill, and, when once the *treaty* is concluded, he will certainly have no objection against it then,

but on the contrary will, I hope, be desirous of *the King's* company too and some others.

"*Dr. Erskine* was gone before the letter I told you in my last I had wrote to him came to *Sir H. Stirling's* hands to give him. I fancy you will be of my opinion that, since *Sir H. Stirling* did not go along with him, the sooner he follow the better, and I have prevailed with him to do it, so that he will be with you soon, and ready to follow what you think fit for him. I have ordered for him *in Holland* what will carry him your length, and after that you will take care of him, and order him what you think fit, which I am sure *the King* will think well bestowed. In my humble opinion you had best send him to continue with *Dr. Erskine*, who is very lazy at writing, and to correspond with you from thence, but you are best judge, and I am sure you will order in it what is best for the good of the affair.

"I have not found the waters here agree with me and I cannot say my health is very good. I go from hence the 21st at furthest. I intend to receive *Queen Mary's* commands, in whose neighbourhood I will be in a few days, and then go straight to attend *the King*.

"I had a letter to-day from *Dillon* of the 11th in which there is nothing material. He sends me the enclosed of *the King's* by which I see there is hopes of *the Princess of Modena's* affair's succeeding, which I own I am very much pleased at, both because *the King* has so great a mind to it and that I see not where he can do better. *Sir H. Stirling* gives but an indifferent account enough of *the Princess of Hesse*, and I heard from a good hand that *the King of Sweden* has a design there for himself, so that our friend would not have succeeded there had he tried it.

"I have lately seen two from *Menzies* to our friend Charles [Kinnaid] here, and some to others in which he says that there is nothing but harmony and good agreement amongst our friends there since the two last packets *Mar* sent there, to which there were answers to come very soon, and *Mar* tells me he is now daily expecting them, but I fear he shall not have them till he be *in Paris*. It is no small pleasure to me, as I know it will be to you, to know of the good agreement amongst our friends, and long may it continue so. *Menzies* says in one of his that *King George* is not in good health and that *the Duke of Shrewsbury* told him lately that he thought *him* agoing, which if he should, I doubt much if it would be for *his* cousin *the King's* advantage, but that must be as God pleases.

"A little after *Mar* came to the place where he now is, he wrote as civil a letter as he could to *Earl Marischal*, but by the answer, which is dry enough, I do not believe that he will have the honour of seeing him at this time. Those who do injuries are commonly longest of forgiving. He thought it was fit upon *the King's* account to let *Earl Marischal* know of his

being in his neighbourhood and says, when he does what he thinks he is obliged to upon that account, he is very indifferent how others behave towards him. He is also to acquaint *General Hamilton* in the same way and for the same reason of his being in his neighbourhood before he leaves it, who will perhaps answer him in the same manner the other did, and, if so, he will be as indifferent. I will long impatiently to hear from you and I hope to have that pleasure before I go for *Italy*. I cannot but regret our being to be at such a distance for some time that it will be next to impossible to correspond, which I assure you is a very sensible mortification to me; but I hope it shall not last long so and that your being at such a distance for some time will contribute to our being nearer together all our lives hereafter. You will be more in the way of hearing from *England* and writing to it than I, and for forwarding your letters, if *Sir H. Paterson*, who is to continue in *Holland*, can be of any service to you, I am sure he will be proud of any occasion to serve you.

"If *Ormonde* go not soon to the *King of Sweden*, I fancy he will think of going on nearer to the *Czar* and so to be more in the way of the treaty, when that happens.

"I must tell you of a thing which I have heard of late concerning a friend of ours, viz., that *King George* has made proposals to *Ormonde* and, if so, I acknowledge it is the wisest thing he ever did, could he succeed with him, but that I know is impossible and will be labour in vain. What makes me give the more credit to it is something of that kind having been lately tried with *Mar*, which none knows of as yet from him save the *King*, nor must not. He entrusted me with it and allowed me to mention it to you, by whom he is sure it will go no further. He bids me tell you that they have got nothing by their endeavours that way, as he supposes you will very well believe, and that when he has the happiness of seeing you, he will show you the answer he has made upon it which he fancies you will approve of. He wonders that they did not try the canal of *Stair* for this, though he says the one they did it by was as proper.

"*Inese* writes me that now when *Queen Mary* begins to ask *Frisk* or *Francia* for the money, which he said from his people was lodged on this side for the use of a restoration, [they] begin to ask such questions that would put too much in their power, should they be answered, so that he cannot help suspecting some trick in it. He refers me to *Dillon* for the particulars, thinking he had wrote to me of it, but he does not, so I can tell you no more of it now. I thought though that it was fit to let you know this, in case you should have, trusting to that, promised more to the *Czar* and the *King of Sweden* than could have been made good. I shall still hope that this will answer as *Frisk* said, but should that fail, the knzn (80,000) pounds from the *Pope* is sure and that I think is the most that they can expect of the *King*

at first, and a good thing it would be for them too and what they are not often accustomed with.

"Dr. Erskine spoke to Poniatowski of its being in *the King's* power to do considerably in this way, which relished mightily.

"As for news we are in great expectation to hear some extraordinary thing from the Spanish fleet, which has been longer of casting up somewhere than was expected and in this place we know nothing certain yet of it." 6½ pages. *Copy.*

THE DUKE OF MAR TO DR. ERSKINE.

1717, Sept. 15.—I am very sorry one I wrote you came too late to our friend *Sir H. Stirling* to find you before you went. It is mostly concerning my health, about which I want your advice very much, so I hope you'll forgive my having ordered it to be sent after you, and I beg I may hear from you on it as soon as you can. I have not found much good, if any, of the waters here, so have given them over.

I cannot but regret, as things have fallen out, that *the Czar* gave so much time for *the King of Sweden's* making up the defect in what was to have been between them, now that the interruption, which then was, is removed, for I am afraid *the King of Sweden* and his people will take all the time that was allowed them, notwithstanding the reason for it does not exist, and delays are always dangerous. I am glad however you are easy about the gentleman's sudden journey to *Paris*, which alarmed me much.

I believe you will not be displeased to see our friend *Sir H. Stirling*, who on *Mar's* desire is soon to be with you. He thought *Sir H. Stirling* being in those parts would be very much for *the King's* advantage, whatever happen. He is to send you this, but being to follow it so soon, it is needless to say much more, but refer all the rest to him. *Copy.*

THE DUKE OF MAR TO ERSKINE OF PITTODRIE, JUNIOR.

1717, Sept. 15.—Thanking for his care of the two boxes he recommended to him and his lady, which he now wants lodged in a place where he can come at them. He has therefore recommended the sending of them to a friend of the writer's, who is going *Pittodrie's* way. A very near friend of the writer will write to him by him, and on his receiving that with the present letter, he is to give him the boxes and all their contents without opening them, which he is to dispose of as directed. *Copy.*

JAMES III to CARDINAL ORIGO.

1717, Sept. 15.—Recommending to him Mr. O'Brien, whom he is sending back to Bologna and begging him to receive favourably all he has charged him to propose concerning the means proper to discover the truth in the affair in question.

He is also to ask you to give orders that Lord Peterborough shall have in the place of his confinement all the reasonable conveniences he can desire. *French. Copy. There is another copy in Entry Book 1, p. 208.*

GEORGE MACKENZIE to JOHN PATERSON.

1717, Sept. 16. Paris.—Complaining of his former neglect in writing which however his letter sufficiently atones for, and thanking him for the good offices he promises to do with the Duke of Mar. He intends to stay there some time unless ordered by his Grace out of it.—You enquire of my Peg. She is well, but is juggling to recover the possession of the small fortune we had out of the hands of the inquisitors.

THOMAS BRUCE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 16. Br[ussels].—This morning a Mr. Weste[om]b came to me. I know not how he came directed to me, unless by his conversation with *Jerningham*, of whom he talks a great deal and not much to *Jerningham's* advantage. Particularly he tells me, that, when on *Jerningham's* first arrival at *Holland* he asked him how he transmitted his letters, he told him he addressed them to *Mr. Ingleton* because he had several things to communicate, which were not fit to be first known to *Mar* or *Ormonde*. Sure I am that either *Jerningham* or he are plaguy liars, for *Jerningham* told me quite contrary. He took pains to let me know his late journals and merits, to all which I pleaded ignorance and to several other matters he proposed to talk of. He pressed me to send a letter to *Mar*. I told him if he sent it to me, I should get it forwarded to Paris. His wife is with him.

Mr. Wood tells me he was with D[uke of] G[ordon] and Glenbucket, partly from the first but most plainly from the last. The Duke, after a short stay at Paris, where he drops his pupil, Mr. Carp[enter], goes somewhere into the country to see a friend, I think *the King*. Glenbucket swears that to his knowledge no man is firmer than the Duke, who makes some acknowledgements but many more vindications, for which reason he has all his materials with him, particularly the copies of the two treaties made with E[arl] Suth[erlan]d, one by himself and the other by his cousin. Mr. Wood has seen both. That by the cousin was signed six days before that by himself, but the cousin says he afterwards offered to break it, but the Duke would not. That by the cousin expresses to be with K[ing] G[eorge], and he promises in it to deliver back all the prisoners he has detained *against law*. That by the Duke expresses to be only with the government without naming K[ing] G[eorge]. Thus you see a formidable war is like to break out between these two northern crowns.

Lord Johnston and Col. George Sumervail are here in their way to Aix. I intend to see them to-night. I have not yet heard of the black colonel.

Since I wrote the above, Mr. Wood having told me he was to see Lord Johnston, I desired him to tell him I would wait on him at night. He told Mr. Wood that no man had a greater respect for our people in general and me in particular, but that the circumstances he was in with his father obliged him to deny himself the satisfaction of seeing me as he wished to do.

MAJOR DAVID NAIRNE to the DUKE of MAR.

1717, Sept. 17. Xaintes.—I had given you the trouble of this sooner, had I not believed his Majesty's subjects would be daily writing to you for advice what to do about the Act of Grace, particularly those who have in their power to reap the benefit of it, of which number I am not. Being perfectly weary of this way of living and very much ashamed of being a burden to his Majesty, if you think it fit, and I can obtain service from any prince by his Majesty's and your recommendation, I am very ready to embrace it. Wherever I go, it shall never prevent my ready appearance for his Majesty's service. There are none of his subjects here but Mr. Hepburn and myself.

The DUKE OF MAR to J. MENZIES.

1717, Sept. 17.—Last night, after I wrote to you, I had yours of 27 Aug. (o.s.) which indeed makes amends for the scraps you wrote before to friend C. [Kinnaird], for which I was a little peevish with you in one you will have got before this.

I have heard nothing yet of *Capt. Ogilvie*, though I expect him every day.

James Murray said in his, to which mine of 13 Aug. was an answer, that he was going to the country, but would be in the way till he had my return, so what occasioned his altering his resolution I know not, but I could do nothing but send his letter as I did, and I had the more reason to believe it would find him in town that in a former I begged he might stay till a return of some things I had wrote of to *the King* should come to my hands and he heard of them from me.

I cannot conceive that *Lord Oxford* can be any ways mortified or take amiss what you write of the cargoes being sent to others, after what he wrote me by *Mrs. Ogilvie* before I sent them that way and what I wrote to him with her, and, when he knows what's in the last cargo, as I suppose he does before now, he will have still less reason.

Mar is mighty glad of the visit he is to have from his old brother architect (Gibbs), and longs for him impatiently, not only on his own account, but he fancies that he would not have been so kind as to make so long a journey, if he had not some further reason than a bare visit. *Mar* is still resolved to leave the place where he is on the 21st, and, in case his brother come not there so soon, he is to leave word where he is to follow him, and, should he not be come off when you

get this, he hopes he will come directly to where you know he is to be, *Paris*, but he must lose no time for fear of missing him there too.

The affair of *Cadogan*, about which you seem so sanguine I should like mightily, could I bring myself to a belief of its succeeding, but that I much doubt of, though, if he have a right thought, it would certainly be for his interest and honour not a little ; but, whatever come of it, after the information you and others have given me, I think myself obliged to make all the trial in it I can, and I am actually setting about it in the only way that's practicable to make him listen to it. I desire it may be remembered that, if it fail and I be exposed on that account, I am not to be blamed, but those who advised it, and I cannot say they will be so either after the reasons they had, I presume, for advising it, and, should he do what's not gentlemanlike upon it, it may be in their power to revenge themselves before six months are past, which in that case I hope they would not neglect.

My last save one, mentioned above, was designed for our company in general, but this is for yourself and such as you think fit only.

I am sorry for any difference there has been between the Lady and the Knight, but I suppose that by your mediation is now over. So long as you suffer only from your friends for acting the part of the *beati pacifici* which you mention, you need not fear much prejudice from it.

I was unwilling to send this the way I sent my two last, so I send it as your friend *James Hamilton* advises me. As soon as I see *Paris*, you shall hear from me again. 2½ pages. *Copy.*

THE DUKE OF MAR TO SIR H. STIRLING.

1717, Friday, Sept. 17.—I hope this will find you safely arrived at your first stage and that you found ways of forwarding what you carried.

After you went, I had some letters, and in them one for *Cadogan* which 'tis of consequence to have delivered in such a way that he neither knows whence it comes nor suspects that any body knows of his getting it. Had I been sure of his being come to *the Hague*, I had put it in the post here, but we have not heard of his arrival and it is fit he should be the opener of it himself, and that he should not have it till after Tuesday next but as soon after that as possible. I enclose it, and you will get the address put on it with all necessary appellations, and you had best put it in the common post at Leyden, Rotterdam, or one of those places after the time I mentioned is come and you are sure he is arrived. For fear of mistake it is for *Cadogan*. You are to take no notice of this to any one where you are going. Let me know how you dispose of it and when precisely. The other you will put in the post for England. I will expect to have one from you when

I come to *Paris*, whither I still resolve to begin my journey the 21st. A friend of mine and an acquaintance of yours is coming to me from *England*. Should he see you, do not stop his coming here on my being to leave it, for I will leave word where and how he is to follow me.

Poor Sandy Maitland is dead, for which I know you will be all sorry who knew him. *Copy.*

The DUKE OF MAR to L[ORD] C[ADOGAN].

1717, Sept. 17.—My firm belief of your being a man of honour and one who wishes the good of your country as well as what is for your own advantage makes me venture giving you this trouble and I have delayed my going into Italy, on hearing of your being to come over, on purpose to have the opportunity of writing safely to you. It is likely it will surprise you, but on reflection it need not, and I have taken this way of letting you know what I have to say as the safest for you.

You will not, I believe, doubt of it, when I tell you on my honour that nobody shall know of my writing to you otherwise than you have a mind. I likewise trust that, whatever may be your sentiments of what I am going to lay before you, you will not expose it, and, if I had not thought what I am to propose to you consistent with your honour, I would have been far from presuming so far on you.

“Your lordship has too good sense not to see after the experience you have now had the misfortunes our country is cast into and the natural consequences that must have of violent parties and divisions at home.

“Whatever good opinion you may have of your master and the way that things are ordered there at present, does not alter the case much, his health is not so good [as] to promise a long life, and he is not to live always if it were good, nor will things continue as they are any longer than he lives at most, if so long, and after that I suppose your lordship and some others in your circumstances are convinced, as other people are, that you would not be in a much better way there than I and those in my circumstances are now.

“You have it in your hands to prevent that destruction to yourself and your friends, and to deliver your country from the greatest of evils, perpetual jars and confusions about a disputed succession, that can only be cured by restoring the rightful and lineal heir.

“The glory you would have in doing that, and by it establishing our countries on their ancient foundations is what cannot but have its due weight with a man of your spirit, and for which many a one would envy as all would admire you. I can assure your lordship my master has so many good qualities that he would make the nations happy, and wants but to be known to be beloved, and I dare venture to promise in his name that there is not anything you could ask of him reasonably for yourself and your friends, but he would agree to,

“ Opportunities are precious, and what is in your power to-day may not perhaps be in it a little time hence. A minister is not always sure of a parliament, if he were of his master, and, when that turns against him, it is not in his master’s power to save him, however much he may have a mind to it. On the other hand, what does your master lose? He had the crown given him without his asking, or, I believe, desiring or caring much for it. Since he had it, what satisfaction has it given him, or how much quiet is he like to have with it the remainder of his life? My master is not the only one to disturb him from abroad more than at home. And is it worth your master’s while to lose the quiet of his whole life to transmit a disputed succession to those who are in expectation of it, and from whom he finds not, it seems, much ease in the meantime, and who may very probably enjoy it with as little tranquillity as he has done, and may lose their old possessions in endeavouring to preserve their new, which by the laws of God and man belong to another, and which his good old grandmother forbid under a curse any of hers ever to defraud her brother’s children of.

“ Europe cannot always be expected to be in such a way that no power in it will find it for its interest to support my master’s cause, no more than Britain will long allow of and maintain a standing army only to support the House of Hanover to reign over it.

“ My master is young and in perfect good health, and as likely to live as any who has pretensions to his crown, and he is now about marrying, which in all appearance will perpetuate rightful successors to him of his own body, who will ever have more friends in those kingdoms, as well as abroad, than to allow the House of Hanover to continue in possession of their right without continual disturbance, and this dispute, if lasting especially, cannot fail of making those countries together with these who unjustly possess their throne very unhappy.

“ Had not your master better secure to himself and his family his old and just possessions and by the assistance of my master and others who would join with them acquire such new ones on the Continent as would make his family more considerable than any of its neighbours, which were not only easy for them jointly to do, but also to perpetuate such possessions to that House for ever with a just regal title?

“ Britain and Ireland would have reason to bless your master for so good and christian an action, and Europe no less for the repose it would have by it. Your master would live the remainder of his life in all tranquillity and splendour [that] could be desired, end his days with the great character of good and just, and leave his family in a better and greater way than it ever was and more likely to continue and enjoy its possessions than it can ever be in the precarious and unjust way it now is.

“ Those in his service who could contribute to so good and glorious a work would be ever famous as true patriots of their

country, from which and their lawful prince they would justly merit all the honours and advantages they could bestow on them and their families.

"Now is the time for your lordship to consider these things, and I believe you will not find them undeserving of your most serious thoughts.

"If you think it fit to write to me upon this, you may address à Monsr. Bierly under Mr. Lofftus's cover, banquier at Paris, and it will come safe to my hands wherever I be. If it could be of any use for me to meet with your lordship, and if you will promise me that I may do it safely, I will wait on you in any place of France or Flanders you think most proper, and in what way and manner you will direct me as most convenient for you. If you can trust a thing of this nature to a third person, and think that safer than to meet with me yourself, I shall meet with anybody you please to send to me, which may easily be done without any observation, with a little concert betwixt us, if you have one to send in whom you have entire confidence.

"I am now on the borders of France, where I will continue till such time that I can have an answer from your lordship. I have taken a sure way, I think, for this coming safe and unknown to your hands; but, whether you be resolved to listen to anything of this kind or not, I beg that you may let me know if it comes safe, and I hope the motives that have induced me to write so to your lordship will plead my excuse and forgiveness at your hands, and that if you approve not of what I have said that it will be buried on your side as upon my honour it shall on mine." *Copy in Mar's hand. 5 pages.*

THE DUKE OF MAR TO GENERAL HAMILTON.

1717, Sept. 17.—I am here as privately as possible, and shall be going the beginning of next week. If you have any commands for me before I go, or anything to ask information of me about for our master's service, or to inform me of or anything to lay upon me that can be of use to you, I shall be glad to hear of it by Monday next, and friend Charles [Kinnaid], who is to send you this, knows how to convey yours to me.

Our master was in perfect health last time I heard from him, and I hope Mr. Carmigny (? Ormonde) will ere long be about what will prove substantially for his service.

JAMES III TO CARDINAL IMPERIALI.

1717, Sept. 17.—Requesting him to present to the Pope his letter of nomination to two Irish bishoprics, and hoping soon to hear from him of the dispatch of the bulls of Mr. Kelly, whom he nominated for the bishopric of Clonfert before his departure from Rome. *French. Entry Book 1, p. 208.*

JAMES III to POPE CLEMENT XI.

1717, Sept. 17. Urbino.—Nominating to the see of Ardagh, vacant by the death of Bernard Donogher, Dr. Thomas Flynn, vicar general of the said church, and to the united sees of Down and Connor, which have been many years vacant, James O'Shiel, both sees being in the Province of Armagh. *Latin. Ibid.*

POPE CLEMENT XI to JAMES III.

1717, Sept. 18. Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome.—We fully agree with the most just feeling of your Majesty, that, you being at present in the States of the Church, your safety is inseparable from our honour and our engagements. Our actions shall always correspond to the conviction we have of that fact, and therefore we shall never be able to disapprove of those resolutions which may conduce to that object. Only we may sometimes believe that some particular resolution, on which others may have formed different opinions, is not conducive, nay is contrary to that intent. But in that we suppose that your Majesty will not wish us to deceive you and will permit us to express our sentiments freely to Cardinal Gualterio, since your Majesty can assure yourself that these sentiments will be regulated by no other measure than by that of your greater advantage, since in the truly paternal love with which we regard you we claim to yield to no person whatever in this world without even the exception of her Majesty the Queen, your mother. *Italian. Holograph and copy.*

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to JAMES III.

1717, Sept. 18.—This is in answer to *the King's* of 19 Aug. *Mar* was arrived at Liége long before it came, and it was thought then very necessary he should have gone thither. I see plainly 'tis impracticable for *the King* to read and answer all the packets and papers addressed to him; "it's a blessing his health has not been deranged with all the trouble he has had on that score. *Dillon* expects *Mar* will be in this neighbourhood very soon and does not question but he will go to *the King* without any delay. I will communicate your last to him at meeting, which will determine his going to you with all speed. *The King* desires a distinct account of the late proposed *money* affair in relation to *marriage*. *Queen Mary* has already explained that matter to you, and I hope it will turn to good account for *the King's* service, though it's required the application should be different from what *the King* understood. *As to the returns from *England* we expect them daily. Mr. Johnson *alias* Kelly was the last messenger that came from *Lord Arran* and *the Bishop of Rochester*. He brought the memorial I sent you, with an account how dissatisfied the two latter were with *Lord Oxford* for not communicating timely to them what news he had from this side. Mr. Jemyson *alias* Scot, whom *Dillon* sent to *England* about

20 Aug. last with full information to *Lord Arran* and *the Bishop of Rochester* of what was then a transacting, settled all matters, and their receiving this account before any other with *England* pleased them extremely, so that they seem now to be well united and reconciled to each other. I wish they may continue so, the contrary being of evil consequence to *the King's* interest. I must now inform you that *Sir R. Everard*, who is *Ormonde's* agent in *England*, sent me word lately that *the Bishop of Rochester* and *Lord Arran* expect *Dillon* should inform them of *the King's* affairs this side by particular messages addressed to them, though, says he, they are well inclined to have a good understanding with *Lord Oxford* and party, and will do all they can to continue living in friendship and concert with them. I think their request is so reasonable that it cannot be refused, but do desire to know *the King's* pleasure about it. I do not intend to say anything of this affair to *Mar*, for fear of giving any new occasion of jealousy, and I hope *the King* will be of the same opinion.* Your letter to *James Murray* with the three enclosed in it, as also *Hay's* shall be forwarded by the first sure occasion, and the sum you mention sent to him. An application to the present governors of *England* is indeed a nice point, but however *the King's* friends there are best judges of that matter, and in my humble opinion it ought to be left to their determination.

"I hope before this reaches *the King*, he will have some account from *Alberoni* more satisfactory than a bare compliment, and that *the Pope* will have reason to be satisfied with the return he expected from *the King of Spain*. I wish the latter may answer *the King's* expectation, he is able to do it, and, if *Alberoni* be not unworthy and ungrateful, he may easily bring that affair to a good issue. Care shall be taken to have the three little pictures made and sent according to directions, this is the first time you mentioned that matter to me.

"When *Lord Wharton* parted hence for *England*, if I be not much mistaken, he left all the papers he had relating to *the King* in *Lord Southesk's* hands, please to have this matter enquired into; this, I think, answers all the articles of *the King's* letter.

"I received a letter from *Dan. O'Brien* with *Ormonde* dated at *Danzig* the 25th August, wherein he says that *Jerningham*, literal *Sheridan* the express, and *D. O'Brien* arrived there the day before, that he delivered letters from *Ormonde* to the chief commanders of *the Czar's* troops and fleet. They received him very kindly, and told him they had positive orders to do *Ormonde* all the service that lay in their power, which they would execute with much willingness and pleasure. They assured that *the Czar* was soon expected at *Danzig*, so that *Ormonde* will have the opportunity of seeing him there, which is lucky enough. I suppose, since *Jerningham* knew this, he will expect *the Czar's* arrival at *Danzig*. I had no news from *Mar* or *Sir H. Paterson* since my last to *the King*."

7½ pages.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Saturday, Sept. 18.—I hope you received mine of the 11th, wherein were some letters and a little abstract of news. I wrote to *Sir H. Paterson* the 9th, but had no return from him. I hope he is with you and that *Sir H. Stirling* followed *the Czar*.

I have a letter from *the King* of 19 August, which I would send you, if I were sure of your being still at the same place. If this reaches you, don't fail letting me hear from you without delay.

(News of Ormonde and the Czar, as in the last letter.)

I hope *the Czar* has not made the bargain mentioned in the little abstract sent you, though the same hand confirms it by two consecutive late letters.

The DUKE OF ORMONDE to [JAMES III].

1717, Sept. 18.—This is only to assure *the King* of Ormonde's duty. He has nothing new to inform him of. Neither *Jerningham* nor Ormonde has received any letters by yesterday's post. Ormonde expects *the Czar* every day and an answer from Lavallin (? Dr. Erskine).

Ormonde has not heard from *the King* since his of 6 July. He is impatient to hear from him. He hopes *the Pope* will not change his mind on the noise that the *Spaniards* are making in his neighbourhood, and that there may be some occasion for his money.

The DUKE OF ORMONDE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 18.—(About not having had letters, and about the Czar as in the last letter.) The answer you gave to the memorial concerning the letters is very right and I suppose they will put you in a right method how to do it.

It is not to be wondered that *Argyle* and his friends should vote for *Lord Oxford*, considering the differences between *King George* and his brat. Your news concerning *Marlbrough* and *Cadogan* does not seem well grounded, the Gazettes saying quite the contrary. The story of *Bolingbroke* I cannot believe, though I had an account of it six weeks ago on the road, nor do I believe *Lord Portmore* will leave England.

The story of *Lord Peterborough* is so infamous, that I cannot credit it, but it is fit P[eter, i.e. the King] should be on his guard. I hope he will not be obliged to put off his journeymen at this time. I desire you to let me hear from you.

MR. WESCOMBE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 18. Brussels.—In mine of 8 July to the Duke of Ormonde I informed him I had something of moment to communicate for the King's service which I could not commit to paper, so desired his Majesty's leave and supply to carry me to Italy, but, having waited in Holland and received no

answer, I then applied to the Queen, and went to Antwerp, where I wrote another letter to her and also to the Duke more at large, being then out of the Dutch territories and not having that restraint on me, to all of which there has been no reply as yet, which I am surprised at, when what I mentioned in mine might, I conceive, be of so real service for the King, especially when his enemies are using all manner of stratagems to destroy his interest every way they can. Therefore, if the Dutch could be secured, I presume to say it would be a good point gained.

When I was ordered to Holland last July twelvemonth, I expected to receive some instructions how to act, or at least soon after my arrival there, from whence I gave the Duke of Ormonde an account how I found matters, and of the steps I took to put a stop to the Triple Alliance, but, no directions coming to me, I was unwilling on my own head to go to a greater length without a power than perhaps might be permitted me, so could not press anything to the Dutch with the assurance I should have done, had I been authorized, and probably might have succeeded; and further, when I found Mr. Jerningham was employed, it made me desist till I knew his Majesty's pleasure, but in the meanwhile I received a letter from the Duke, informing me that the King's circumstances were so strait that, unless I could go on with the negotiations at my own expense, as the King desired I would, I should give it over, which made me imagine that his Majesty either did not think me worthy of his service, or that he would not afford the expense at the rate of 400*l.* a year, which was all I asked, and I am certain no such business could be carried on well at a less charge, and I am informed by those that paid Mr. Jerningham that his allowance was very handsome, whose experience and knowledge in affairs the King by this time knows best and the good he has reaped by it, particularly in Holland, where, had I not hindered it by a wild (? wile), that gentleman had been taken up in too publicly letting it be known he was employed by the King.

I continued in Holland a twelvemonth at my own expense, notwithstanding another was employed and the discountenance I met with. However, I took care to promote the King's interest with the proper persons, as far as my small ability was capable of, as I please myself he is convinced of, since he through the Duke of Ormonde was so gracious as to express the same. As a further proof of my zeal I ventured at last to speak freely with the Grand Pensionary Heinsius on the King's behalf the several times I was lately with him, who hearkened to me, and I am of opinion that by an early and constant application I may be able to bring Holland to a temper not to act against the King. As I conceive this to be of weight, that no more time should be lost, I take this opportunity through *T. Bruce's* channel to pay my humble respects to your Grace, being sensible that whatever tends

to the King's service will duly be considered by you, and laid before his Majesty. Since the Dutch may be worked on, 'tis good striking while the iron is hot. I did not propose to the Queen my going to Italy on any other account but that I thought I could more fully satisfy the King and your Grace by word of mouth than by writing, but as to that, as the King pleases.

Were my circumstances more flourishing, I should not ask anything, but I cannot do what I would for the King's service without some assistance. If he thinks me capable to serve him any further, he has only to command me, and I have reasons to believe my endeavours will not be unprofitable.

I shall wait here till I can have his Majesty's pleasure.
8 pages.

The MARQUESS OF SEAFORTH to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 18.—At my arrival from conducting my friend to the waterside I had your letter, which after more than once perusing, I found myself still the more convinced of your acting but the part I always expected you would, I mean that of a true friend, though I was sorry you should think me any ways out of temper when writing to one I have so great a value for, or that I was capable of failing of the submission due to his Majesty at a time it has been my chief and only study to convince the world how sincerely I am his dutiful subject. I could not but take it amiss to be deprived of the honour of a letter from him, when so freely bestowed on others. It is true what you wrote as from the King and by his order was convincing enough, but, had it been under his hand, not that I doubt your Grace, it would have been more to the purpose, and consequently more satisfactory to me and my friends. I am as fully persuaded as your Grace, that my actions, impartially viewed, need no other vindication than themselves, but am as much convinced of the necessity of having some mark of royal favour towards sheltering me from the aspersions of those that do not appear to wish me as well as might be expected. My motives for publishing my part in the late transactions are thoroughly sufficient, as you may see by a postscript of the Duchess of Gordon's letter inserted below, yet my regard for your advice is such that I shall desist from putting any thing to the view of the world now. Therefore, if you please to acquaint the King as you think most proper, how I am stated and the reasons I desire something being done towards letting the world see how far he approves of my late endeavours.

Your being so free in giving me your opinion I take as a singular favour, and what shall never be forgot. Had you done otherwise, I should have thought you had withdrawn your friendship, and resolved hereafter to use me but as a stranger. What I wrote concerning Duncan Mackenzie was only to desire to have something allowed for his support. If

anything could be done, he would come over, but not else. I have not yet heard anything concerning Mr. Key's affair.
At the side,

Paragraph of the DUCHESS OF GORDON's Letter.

I had a letter this post which tells me Lady Seaforth's husband is returned to Paris, and it's thought she is to go to him there. He pretended the letters he got from his cousin (Lord Huntly) would justify his doings and so would blame the innocent, as many do, but his cousin desires he may produce them, and they write me word since his return, there is no more word about the letters.

MAJOR NATHANIEL FORBES to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 18. Rotterdam.—It will be a great satisfaction to me, if you approve of my present resolution. I am here chargeable to the King and entirely wearied of this idle life and can fall on no way on this side the water to maintain my wife and young children, for which cause I intend to go privately into Ireland. The country being good, and I understanding to manage a piece of ground by farming or otherwise, I may live well enough till better times. I beg your Grace, when an occasion offers that I can be of the least use, freely to command me. My good friend, Mr. Arbuthnot at Rouen, will acquaint me, for I'll let him always know where I be.

BRIGADIER CAMPBELL to LORD TULLIBARDINE.

1717, Sept. 18. Hendaye.—I met *Barry* here to-day and go into *Spain's* bounds with him to-morrow. I do not believe it any fault of his that the necessary things for the voyage have not been provided. He sends you the copy of his last to *Dillon*, from whom he has had no answer. Pray endeavour to procure him one to the purpose, for, if encouraged, he continues in the same disposition of doing all that can be asked of him, but, as they sent him not the means, nothing is done as yet. *Spain* can command ships easier than any other, and what cannot be done at *Bayonne* may be supplied by *Spain*. Copy.

RICHARD BARRY to LORD TULLIBARDINE.

1717, Sept. 18. Hendaye.—On receipt of a letter yesterday from *Brigadier Campbell* I came here from St. Sebastian, where I have been these three months about some affairs of the King of *Spain's* magazines in Passage, and whither I must return to-day. Here I received yours of the 10th. In consequence of a letter from *Mar* from Montmelian of 15 Feb. last, I wrote according to his orders to *Dillon*, whereof a copy is enclosed, to vindicate myself of having done my duty, which he never answered, though I am sure my letter was delivered to him by my correspondent, nor could I give *Mar* this account for

want of his address, which he wrote in his said letter he would send me, as soon as *the King's* residence was fixed, which, it seems, he forgot to do, or did not think it fit. However, I never received any of his letters since nor any answer from *Dillon*, which I attributed to the misfortune that happened about that time in *the King of Sweden's* affairs by which, I presume, *the King's* designs were broke, and all his measures prevented, at least for that time, which occasioned that I laid aside all thoughts of what I have been charged with till further order. This is the true state of that affair, which can be reassumed when thought convenient, and may be largely executed in and about these parts, if there be money to buy the necessaries, and, if *the King of Spain* will but wink at things, great matters may be done in the *Spain* frontier ports for *the King's* service, of all which I will give memoirs when required. In the interim I shall put *Brigadier Campbell* in account of what I conceive may be for *the King's* service in these parts, where I have a great protection from persons in power and, I am sure, in good will to serve *the King*, if they may do it without danger, or that they had the least encouragement from *the King of Spain*.
Copy.

RICHARD BARRY to LORD TULLIBARDINE.

1717, Sept. 18. *Saint Sebastian*.—Having examined the memorial of the goods proposed by *Lord Tullibardine*, we find all may be had here and by *Bayonne* and *Bilbao* allowing a competent time, but that time we cannot condescend upon by this ordinary. What relates to *fusils* will require longest, for that sort of commodity wherein he deals can be had, it's true, in this neighbourhood, but the *locks* much easier from *St. Estienne* near *Lyons*. Those of *Spain's* work are dear, and it will be long ere any great number can be had of him, whereas the others could be making at the same time near *Lyons* that the *barrels* &c. are getting ready hereabouts. As to the other goods I refer to the enclosed memoir. I will use all diligence for more punctual information having wrote to *Bilbao* on the subject of the number 24 of letter T (*targes*) and other goods number 17 and 23 of the same letter (*fusils* and *swords*). That *transporting* may act the easier and do things with assured safety, it were requisite to obtain an allowance from *Madrid* to the *General* of this province, the *Prince of Campoflorido*, who would gladly obey it, and favour *the King's* interest in all he can. I was formerly of opinion that this cargo, and even several, if necessary, might be provided by the sole means of *Bayonne*, but the case is altered, for the *Regent* has caused an arrest on *ships*, without whom the other can do nothing, as *they were* setting out to *the King of Spain's*, and the said *ships* are in very strict custody so that *they* cannot be of any further use to *Bayonne*.

I am at present in design of furnishing *the King of Spain's* ships in a port near this for 7 years to come. The above

mentioned *General* has been my friend in this and I am already in possession of a house and magazine belonging to *the King of Spain* near *Passage*. Under this notion I can with more facility buy and ship off goods for *the King's* use, yet I cannot assure this can be carried on with such secrecy but that *the King of Spain* may come to know it, and who can tell but he may not only stop it, but get an order to seize all, so that without permission or connivance from *the King of Spain* I dare not advise *the King*, much less undertake, that matter could be carried on with safety. But I am certain *the General* will do all he can, not that I have or shall hint anything of this affair to him without your advice, but I know his affection for *the King* to be such that, did *the King* favour him with a letter though in general terms, wherein *Brigadier Campbell* and I might be mentioned, he would even offer ways which cannot occur to others.

Sir Pat Lawless is, as I am told, in *Madrid*, in hopes to obtain a private liberty for the goods and overcoming difficulties, if any should happen. I presume that in writing to him, he may find some pretext to render himself at *Madrid*.

I have been considering how convenient it would be for *the King* to have a *mint* for *small money*, *silver* and *copper*, which he may make *current* in *Scotland*, where that commodity will give ten times as much profit as the first cost, all which goods may be bought and sent from time to time. I will charge myself with getting the *mint* fixed and provided with tools and all the necessary workmen, in case there be a private toleration. This *mint* once fixed may be put in Mr. Shaw's hands (transported), if needful. *The King of Spain* makes great advantage at present by a manufactory of that nature.

The goods mentioned in the memoir will cost a vast sum, which you may calculate on the prices I mention as near as I can guess, and none can be had without ready money where they are bought, so it will be absolutely necessary to begin to remit the most that can be in good bills of exchange on *Bordeaux*, *Bayonne*, *Bilbao*, this place and in *Madrid*, preferring *Bordeaux* and *Bayonne* on equal terms, and it will be much to *the King's* advantage in sending as aforesaid rather than to *Paris* or any other, which would cost dear and much loss of time. I wish *Brigadier Campbell* or some other may be thought fit to remain hereabouts in order to go and see all done with the greatest diligence and economy possible.

2,500 of No. 17 letter T (fusils) at 10 <i>livres</i> each	..	25,000
2,500 of No. 18 of the same letter (pistols) at 5 <i>livres</i> each	..	12,500
5,000 of No. 23 of the same letter (swords) at 3 <i>livres</i> each	..	15,000
5,000 of No. 24 of the same letter (targes) at 3 <i>livres</i> each	..	15,000
5,000 of No. 26 of the same letter (shoes) at 10 <i>livres</i> (sic)	12,500	
22, 10, 23, 25, 20 (b,r,e,a,d) for one month	..	9,000
1,500 of No. 15 of the same letter (ammunition)	..	1,200

5,000 of 22, 25, 17 (b,a,l[l])	..	..	..	750
5,000 22, 23, 17, 74, 95 (b,e,l,t,s)	..	..	..	3,750
2,500 95, 17, 12, 11, 13, 95 (s,l,i,n,g,s)	..	..	..	375
6 of No. 16 same letter (cannon) fitted	..	..	..	260
No. 20 of the same letter (flints)	..	..	..
22, 10, 25, 11, 20, 60 (b,r,a,n,d,y)	..	..	..

95,335

Postscript from Brigadier Campbell to Lord Tullibardine.

Pray let *Dillon* know what is necessary in these affairs and in terms he may comprehend, and particularly if he will order me to communicate anything of our business to *the General* for I understand they are friends. Without his orders I dare do nothing. *The General* may do us great good or evil as he shall find himself obliged. Let *Dillon* consider if it be convenient he may write to him and in what terms. *Copy. Annexed,*

MEMORANDUM by the DUKE OF MAR.

10,000 broadswords at 3 livres each	..	..	30,000
10,000 targes at 3 livres each	..	..	30,000
			<hr/> 60,000

In place of what is proposed by Mr. Barry, it is thought that all that's absolutely necessary just now is broadswords and targes, because they cannot be had elsewhere on a sudden, when there may be occasion. The number above may be wanting for the Highlanders, but, if that be thought to cost too much, a lesser quantity may be ordered, but the more the better, and they ought to be laid up somewhere till there be occasion for them. The Highlanders are now quite unprovided of those things, and can be of no service without them. 1717, Sept. 30. St. Denis.

J. McDougall of Lorne to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 18.—Complaining that he had been obliged to repay to Mr. Gordon of Bordeaux 100 *livres* received from him out of his subsistence, which was a hardship for him, and that being in company with those, who were at home his equals but who now exceeded him in allowance, was and would be most uneasy for him, as he likewise had his brother in a manner a burden.

QUEEN MARY to [MR. DICCONSON].

1717, Sept. 19. Chaillot.—“I have but one objection to the power proposed to be given to Flannagan against these words *for our use*, for I think it were better to putt it *for the King's use to whicch wee promise to employe it*, but this I leave to Lord Middleton's judgement and yours, according to whicch you may draw the fair draught and send it me to signe. If my

signet should be putt to it, lett me know, and I will send it to you. The King, I thank God, was perfectly well on the 28th Aug., but had no news of *the marriage* nor of the person promised to be sent. I was farr from well all day yesterday, but I have had a good night by the help of treacle and ladonom drops and am well enough to-day. *Holograph.*

JOHN PATERSON to JOHN CARNEGIE.

1717, Sept. 19. Urbino.—I had yours of the 25th yesterday and immediately communicated it to the King. I have his orders to tell you he is very sensible of the zeal you express for his service, and hopes he may have in his power to reward you for it.

What you mention regarding yourself, will, as far as I can judge by yours, keep cold till I see you, and besides, in my uncertainty whether my letter will find you, I thought you would approve of my referring what might occur to me on that subject till meeting, but, lest you should suffer by losing time, I can tell you in general that you'll find the King ready on all occasions to agree to anything that may be for your interest, which I am sure you will never think of on any other terms than what are honourable.

I know Balgow[a]n's character well enough not to be surprised at his unkind treatment of his son, who, I know, deserves very well, but, as you have sent me no address for that gentleman, and I don't know how to write to him, that must likewise lie over till I see you, and then you need not doubt the King will show him the same indulgence he does to other gentlemen in his circumstances. You know well enough that, if he had wherewithal to support them, none of them would want, but in all appearance the fund, out of which they have been subsisted hitherto, will be very soon at an end, and, when that happens, God only knows what will become of them.

I doubt not you have heard of the design against the King's person, which you would have some difficulty at first to believe, and indeed it's no wonder if you give but little credit to it. 'Twas some time before I could prevail on myself to believe any sort of people in the world so entirely abandoned and so void of all notions of common honour and virtue, that they could think of entering into a measure of so black a nature, but his Majesty has had such positive accounts of it, which have been so often repeated with such particular circumstances, that the thing was no more to be jested with and that to doubt any longer the truth of the fact would have looked like an infatuation, so he was at last prevailed on with much ado to take the necessary precautions against it, and to have Lord Peterborough arrested, who, 'tis said, is at the head of this project, and now he is out of harm's way. We are told though that other accomplices are in the country, and that your old acquaintance and mine, Major Douglas, I mean black Douglas, was one of them. It would be of great service

to have one or more of those people in custody and particularly Douglas, whom both you and Freebairn know personally, so it will be worth your while, while at Florence, to look a little sharp about you, and, if you see Douglas or hear anything particularly of him, to write an account of it hither immediately with what circumstances you can learn. In case you find him out and he should leave Florence, while you are there, you must endeavour to find out what route he takes, and, if you can learn that, 'twill be proper to send somebody after him to observe his marches, and to write an account of it here without loss of time, and even to send an express to us, if the post should not immediately answer. This is all you will be able to do in that country, even though you should meet with him, and so you must counsel Freebairn to keep his temper in all events, for I know he is apt to be a little warm. What a scene of villainy is here, and what a miserable pass have these poor people brought themselves to, that they are now forced to expose to the world that they have nothing but this left, and pray what opinion can mankind have of them? *3½ pages. Copy.*

C. WALLARAN (WARNER, *i.e.* PYE) to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 20.—Enclosed is another proposal of Mr. Camocke's. Notwithstanding there is not that allowance he first proposed, he thinks it worth his while on the footing things are at present and proposes great advantages in time that may accrue thereby to the King. You see he will do nothing without the King's leave and therefore desires his commission, and desires it more particularly before he enters on anything to show hereafter that he acts without (? with) the King's leave and that he may be in a readiness, if anything should offer in concert with any Prince for the King's service, that he might not be retarded for want thereof, having no other design in view but what he there mentions, nor indeed can he, for no use can be made thereof till what we first mentioned present itself, and therefore he will think it highly necessary that the commission till then should be concealed, otherwise than he may have the King's and your direction to the contrary. I believe you will think in this case, as you did in the other, that he is a proper person to be trusted in such an affair and that you will forward it, as much as in you lies.

I am concerned lest you should think me negligent in the other affair I mentioned, but the person, whom he only will entrust, has been coming any time these two months, but has been retarded by pressing affairs of his own. I expect him every minute, and, as soon as anything can be done therein, you shall have an account. This person I mention is so capable, and has so good an interest that I would not think of anyone else, till I knew what he would do, which has been the

occasion of so great a delay. I have heard nothing from him since my last, he having referred all to be told me by the person that comes. Camocke desires as speedy an answer as you can give him. *Enclosed,*

G[EORGE] C[AMOCKE] to the DUKE OF MAR.

A second proposal for his Majesty's service. As great numbers are at present subsisted by his Majesty at very great expense, and as the King of Sweden has from time to time offered commissions to any foreigners that would arm ships of war to serve against his common enemy and would give them all such prizes as they should take, Camocke proposes that his Grace should procure him from his Majesty a commission as admiral and commander in chief with such a power to give commissions as shall be judged necessary for sea captains, a colonel of marines, &c., which commission is desired for no other reason than for his Majesty's service and to keep up a strict discipline according to the rules of the English Navy and by no means to act offensively against England, till Camocke shall receive the royal instructions for so doing.

Notwithstanding Count Gyllenborg's offers to Camocke to be Admiral of Sweden, he would not serve any Prince whatsoever without his own master's leave and commission. Great numbers in France that are subsisted by his Majesty are desirous to serve under Camocke in any foreign service. 1717, Sept. 15.

JOHN PATERSON to JOHN CARNEGY.

1717, Sept. 20. Urbino.—Enclosing a copy of his letter of the day before, which he had sent by the post to Rome with his usual address, but which he fears might come too late, as he understands he was leaving that place in a few days. *Copy.*

The DUKE OF MAR to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1717, Monday, Sept. 20.—I am to set out to-morrow morning. I shall be, they tell me, three days to Sedan, and as much from that to Paris, so it will be Sunday the 26th, before I can be with you, but in case of accidents by the way I would not have you rely on that in sending a coach out to meet me. When I come near I shall send a servant before, and wait myself at Blois, till he or the coach come to me.

I reckon *Capt. Ogilvie* will be at Paris as soon as I, for I wrote to him to go straight there with the cargo, which is certainly arrived before this, if he could not be here with it by to-day.

I am mightily pleased to find by *the King's* which you sent me, that he has good hopes of the affair of *the Princess of Modena*. I long mightily to be with him, and will now make all the haste I can to be so.

Postscript.—Since I wrote, I have a letter from *Capt. Ogilvie*, telling me that the cargo and super-cargo are arrived, and that he was to set out on the 16th with it towards this, for he had not got mine bidding him go straight with it to Paris. This forces me to alter my resolutions of setting out to-morrow. I reckon he will be here to-morrow or next day at furthest. I shall set out as soon as I can after he arrives.

The DUKE OF ORMONDE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 21.—*Ormonde* received *Mar's* of 30 Aug. to-day. You will have seen by his last that *Ormonde* was apprized of the change of the *place of treaty* and *Holland* (? *Finland*) agreed on. *Jerningham* shall be sent there. *Ormonde* expects to see *Dr. Erskine* in a few days. *Ormonde* is not assured that *Görtz* comes near *Danzig*, though *Sir H. Stirling* and *Sparre* gave me hopes of it. *Jerningham* shall be dispatch'd as soon as he has seen *Dr. Erskine*. *Ormonde* will not go to *Finland*, unless he hears from [him], that it is agreeable to the *King of Sweden*.

I have heard from *Sir H. Stirling* to-day, but he does not mention anything of *Poniatowski* or of his going to *Paris*. *Dillon* has not written by these two posts. If he has, the letters are not come.

What you mention from *England* I cannot but wonder at, since I suppose that few and only those that ought to be informed of it knew it, but my being absent from *the King* will give room for conjectures.

I hope you will find benefit by the remedies and that you will have a good journey to *Pesaro*. *Ormonde* has not heard lately from *the King*.

You may remember *Ormonde* never intended to go to *Sweden* until he had an answer from *Jerningham*.

COLIN CAMPBELL OF GLENDARULE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 21. *Bordeaux*.—Recapitulating the part of his last letter about his own, *Brigadier Campbell*, and *Lord Tullibardine's* movements and enclosing copies of *Brigadier Campbell's* and *Mr. Barry's* letters to *Lord Tullibardine* (calendared *ante*, pp. 58, 59) and of *Barry's* letter to *Dillon* of 4 March, calendared in the last volume, p. 99.—You will see by them the present ill state of that affair and yet nothing is wanting to make all right but money. *The Highlanders* will never act their part without *swords*.

No doubt *Mar* will write a kind and encouraging letter to *Barry*. *Enclosed*,

Copies of the said three letters.

MARK WOOD to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 22. Brussels.—As he has had several letters from his friends in Scotland pressing him to come over to put his affairs in such order as his circumstances will admit, asking his Grace if he may be permitted to do so, and assuring him that he shall always be ready to espouse the interest of his gracious Sovereign.

ROBERT FREEBAIRN to JOHN PATERSON.

1717, Sept. 22. Rome.—Forwarding the enclosed, which he found that evening in the French post-house, adding that he and Mr. Carnegy were to leave that place Sunday morning.

The COMTE DE CASTELBLANCO to [? DAVID NAIRNE].

1717, Sept. 22. Rome.—During the illness I have just been suffering from I had the consolation of hearing of the King's good health. I doubt not you have informed him of the violent attack I have had, but I am now quite out of danger, Providence having visibly preserved me by Don Alessandro Albani having pressed me not to leave on Monday morning as I intended. The illness having attacked me at 5 that afternoon, I would naturally have been in the Campagna or in some wretched tavern, attended by Drummond, who would not have failed to have given me for a remedy a good dose of brandy and another of tobacco grilled in the Highland fashion. I leave you to imagine what good effects that would have had. I am obliged to keep a strict regimen, but the moment I find myself fit, I shall go in for my punch and my English ragouts. As for news there is nothing extraordinary that I know of.
French. Torn.

The DUKE OF MAR to JAMES III.

1717, Sept. 22. *Liège*.—Explaining how he had been delayed there on account of Capt. Ogilvie and his cousin as in the postscript to his letter to Dillon, calendared *ante*, p. 65.—I reckon they will be here to-day and, as soon as I have got the cargo and heard all their story, I'll set out immediately and write my answers from *Paris*, which I'll find some sure way of sending to them at *Dunkirk*, where I'll order them to wait, by which I'll have received *Queen Mary's* commands before writing my letters.

Since my last I had yours of 14 Aug. and *Dillon* sent me one he had from you at the same time. Your hopes of the affair of the *Princess of Modena* gives me more pleasure than most things could and I hope you are sure of it by this time. You do *Lady Mar* a great deal of honour in what you propose about her, and she has charged me with her dutiful returns. She would gladly have done what you proposed, were it not that, if she make not a visit to *Evans* (England), she would lose all she has in his hands, so she is now going thither to order her affairs

so, that against next spring she may come to us without loss, if we go not to her, which I am afraid we shall not so soon. When I see you, I shall show you how she was obliged to do so, and she is not a little pleased with the hopes that she will have a mistress to come to, and such a one as that to whom the world gives so good a character.

I enclose a letter I lately had from *Menzies* with my answer, and, when I see you, you shall see what I have done as to *Cadogan*, it not being fit to send it, and against that time I shall know what effect it has had. I despair of its having much, though such an advertisement was not to be neglected. The worst that can happen is my being exposed and thought a fool, which matters not much. It will be odd if it neither succeed with him nor *Lord Ilay*, from whom there is not yet any further answer, but against I am at *Paris* I shall know of the last having the copies of what you sent *M. de Mezières* for him and what effect it has had.

I doubt not but you have heard of D[uke of] G[ordo]n's being come over, which looks a little odd. I have heard several things of him since he came, which it's needless to trouble you with, but I enclose a letter giving what is most authentic, and I thought it the fitter to send it, that I believe he will certainly see you ere long, and in the meantime get some of his friends to write to you. There is a terrible war between him and his cousin, as they call one another, Lord S[eafor]t[h], which I wish may not draw others into it. As soon as Lord S[eafor]t[h] heard of his coming over, he wrote to me that he would be obliged to print something in his own justification, and that he hoped I would forgive seeing some of my letters in it. I wrote back, that as to the letters I had ever written to him or his cousin, whom he calls worthless, I should be very indifferent who saw them, but that I thought his printing any thing of that affair at this time could have no good effect, but might have several bad consequences as to his master's service, who had expressly forbid anything of that kind. Lord S[eafor]t[h] and I are now very well together, but whether he'll take my advice I know not, but I shall soon, when I come to *Paris*, where I expect his answer. I was told some time ago that he heard the K[ing] had written to D[uke of] G[ordo]n, which he took extreme ill, so I thought it fit to send him word how that was, which I thought would have quieted him, but he complains of it again in his last to me. I have wrote to him very freely, which you shall see at meeting, which perhaps, though I did it like a friend, he will take quite otherwise. If he does, it is not the first time I have been so served.

I thought it was fit, when I came to this country, where I heard the *Earl Marischal* was, to acquaint him of it and also to *General Hamilton*, which I did by as civil letters as I could. The first answered me very dryly, but gave me occasion to write to him again, which I did in the same manner as before, on

which he came and stayed with me three days, and all the time appeared in very good temper, and as easy as could be. I told him how he might write to *Ormonde*, which he did not know before, and he asked my advice what he should do, which I told him was to wait somewhere hereabouts, till he should hear from *Ormonde*. So he is gone to-day to *Rheims*, where he desired me to tell *the King* he desired to stay some months for the language, if he pleased and if *Ormonde* did not send for him. I hope you will think I have done in this all that could have been expected, and perhaps more than some others would, but I thought it for *the King's* service. Notwithstanding all this, his grudge to *Mar* is still the same, as you shall judge when I see you, so all that *Mar* or any body for him can do that way is plainly lost. *General Hamilton* seems easy too, and is still here as he has been these two days. He is also to wait hereabouts till he hear from *Ormonde*, and desired I might get some subsistence sent him, all he had got and a 100*l.* of his own besides being out.

Postscript.—*Capt. Ogilvie* and *Mrs. Ogilvie* are arrived. They have brought a large packet, but those from whom they are, not being sure of my being in these parts, have addressed most of them for *Dillon* and *Queen Mary*, and any I have refer me to them. I would not open them, so it is little I yet know by them, till I get to *Paris*, but I have reason to judge there is not very much in them, as indeed it is not much they can have to say from thence just now. Since I left *Paris*, *Dillon* has sent them word of a *sum of money* that *the King* had in his power to have upon occasions, which is contrary to what he and I concerted, and I'm afraid it is a blunder, though I'll say nothing more till I see what reason he had. It will have the consequence I before apprehended on their being told of this, that they would not think any more of *money* which I had earnestly recommended in all mine to be provided. I enclose one I take to be from *Lord Oxford* and hope you'll forgive my putting one in your packet for *Hay*, which I had from *James Murray*. I delay sending you those I had, till I be at *Paris*, and see *Queen Mary's*, to which they refer. There are several for *Ormonde*, but, since they are addressed to *Dillon*, to him I'll carry them, though I have a much shorter way of sending them now from hence and as sure. To-morrow I'll see for my horses and set out without fail next day.

Dillon writes me the 18th of *Ormonde's* being at *Danzig*, and supposing he has wrote you the particulars, which he does not to me, I refer you to him. I dispatched *Sir H. Stirling* thither some days ago, and I believe he may be of use. *Holograph.*

WILL. MURRAY to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 23. Brussels.—My affairs in home being in disorder when I came from Scotland, and my friends acquainting me that they are more since the death of my eldest brother,

and of my brother Alexander, who in February last perished in Virginia amongst the snow, makes me, since by the Act of Indemnity I may freely demand any thing that's resting me, incline to make a private trip over, if permitted, to put my affairs in order. I therefore desire you to let me know if I am allowed to go over, and, when there, if I may accept the Indemnity, my friends having given out that I am in the north of Scotland, being fully determined not to act in any of those affairs without his Majesty's leave.

Sir H. STIRLING to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 23.—Yours of the 17th with the enclosed came safe last Monday, the day after my arrival here. That for *Cadogan* I dropped into the posthouse on Tuesday night, so he must have had it Wednesday morning, since he arrived at *the Hague* some days before, and has not yet stirred any where from thence. It is yet uncertain whether he goes to *France* or if he will make his *public* [? entry] &c. I forwarded my cargo as you designed, which I hope will come safe, and will be most agreeable no doubt, for I find by one I had this evening from *Jerningham* from *Danzig* that *Ormonde* has been very impatient at not hearing from these parts for a long time, nor had he got what *Sir H. Stirling* wrote him upon his going to see *Mar*, but by this time I hope he will have got it, and will soon get *Mar's*, which will make him easy again.

Jerningham tells me he let slip a fine occasion to go on, which I am afraid will not easily be retrieved, for want, he said, of knowing what to do, but *Mar's* will certainly determine *Ormonde* to dispatch *Jerningham* the first opportunity. *Sir H. Stirling* has writ to the latter pressing him on that head. I have not been able to learn anything of *Görtz* nor will we, till it be from *Sweden*. By next I hope to be able to send you the letter left by him which I mentioned formerly. *Count Velling* has promised nothing shall be done to give umbrage in what we were afraid of and will certainly acquaint the *King* or act in concert with friends in *England*, but how far he can promise a thing of this kind I question much, since *Görtz* will have the direction of that matter, and *Jerningham* shall be acquainted to mention it to him, which is all that can be done, since it's like they'll be the first that will meet. We have nothing here of the *Elector of Hanover*, though what you heard of him may be true. *Sir H. Stirling* has obeyed every article of your last, and sets out in three or four days, and is in hopes of overtaking *Dr. Erskine* about *Danzig*.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to [JAMES III].

1717, Saturday, Sept. 25.—Acknowledging his of 26, 27, 28 Aug. "I am very glad the *King* approves the measures we took concerning *Lord Peterborough*, and indeed less could not be done considering the many and reiterated advices sent from

England on that account. The Roman news is not satisfactory and *Alberoni's* behaviour towards *the King* is very consistent with the character he always had. I hope however, when *the Pope* and *King of Spain* come to a true understanding, that *the King* will reap the benefit of his good offices in favour of the latter.

"As to the letter you mention that concerns *Ormonde*, which *Mar* addressed to *Dillon* to be sent to *the King*, I do not remember any circumstance relating to that matter, but am morally sure I forwarded all the letters directed to *the King*.

"Gordon the banker is always punctually reimbursed what he lays out for *the King's* service, it is certain the sum he advanced to young *Leslie* was in view of promoting *the King's* interest, and believing him acting by *the King's* special commands he lent him what money he desired. It is as certain that young *Leslie* has spent the best part of his little fortune (and as he insinuates to me) in *the King's* service, so that on the whole poor Gordon is like to be a great sufferer if not relieved by some other means than young *Leslie's*, who is not in a condition to pay four *pistoles*. *Leslie*, the father, is settled at St. Germain's, he is in good health and I believe a very zealous and honest man. I told him two days ago that *the King* enquired kindly about him, which was a great comfort and satisfaction to the poor old man.

"*Inese* sent you *Mar's* letter of the 12th by which you will see that the latter reckoned to set out for *Paris* the 19th or 20th, and, though we expect him daily, *Dillon* has not yet any further news of his arrival in this neighbourhood. I do not doubt but I shall hear from him this day or to-morrow, and am sure he will go to *the King* without any delay. I expect only *Mar's* arrival to send Johnson *alias* Kelly to Lord Arran and the Bishop of Rochester to advise them about the distinct party from *the King's* mentioned in *Mar's* of the 12th instant, but upon this, I must have an ample explication with *Mar* before Johnson parts. The returns from *England* are arrived on this side, so that I see no manner of obstacle that can hinder *Mar's* going to you offhand.

"I received no news from *Ormonde* since my last to *the King* but have wrote and sent yours to him according to directions. He is in the neighbourhood of Danzig, where I presume *the Czar* is or will be soon arrived. *The Abbé du Bois*, who you know is a great favourite, parted for *England* two days ago, and I am assured he is to be chief factor there from *the Regent*. This choice occasions jealousy and various reports here, as doth the arrival of the famous Count Douglas, who, I am told, has been in private with *the Regent*, as also with *the Abbé du Bois* before his departure. Be that as it will, I am better pleased this nobleman should be here than in your parts.

"*Stair* had several couriers from *King George* this week past, and private conferences with *the Regent*. Many things are whispered about on this account, but of these *Dillon* will say nothing until better informed."

FATHER ARCHANGEL GRÈME to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 25. Calais.—Explaining that he had not written because he did not know his address.—Therefore being unwilling to correspond with anybody on this side except yourself, I made the Jew send word to Dil[lo]n of everything I had to say, because I judged the latter would not fail to give you timely notice. Count Douglas, Moore the late Bishop of Ely's son, and McDonald, a son of Keppoch's, being all three great villains and tools fit for Pet[erboro]w's purpose, I thought it convenient in your absence to tell the Jew to give notice of their arrival in this country, and of what else occurred here since you left Paris. Col. Hailes, a brother of Sir John's, took his journey thither yesterday, and a Mr. or a Sir Richard Prater (I know not which), out of the west of England came here in a boat the same day from Honfleur. He is one of ours, as I understand, and has been living at Cherbourg these two years past. He stays here for his wife.

We have reiterated complaints from England about the dismissing of the gentlemen that are gone over, people taking that for a mark that there is nothing to be done and no more hopes, but that makes little or no impression on the better sort of the nation, who, I suppose, know better things. The Jew has taken a house in town and desires earnestly that F[lin]t and his wife be allowed something monthly to subsist on, that he may not be longer burdened with them. At the same time, if you could order me a new supply of money I should be very much obliged, for, as I am resolved never to send to Dicconso[n] the account he asks of me of the 90 *livres*, which I disbursed extraordinary in maintaining Archebold, Avery, Leonard and Englis, because I could not do it without using your name, so I don't reckon any more on the payment of that sum, and besides, unless you see me recruited whilst you are in Paris, I know not who will supply me in your absence. As to getting me leave to go abroad without a companion or at least with a fixed one that I can take when I please, the only way to obtain that will be, if somebody of distinction asks it of our Provincial in the Queen's name.

(Concerning the quickest way of sending Lady Mar's trunks to London.)

I have a letter from Patt. (Peter) Smyth at Bordeaux telling me: 1. If he were sure the King would take it well, he would endeavour to get a licence to go home, because he thinks he would be of more use there and less burdensome. 2. Tul[li]bard[in] and Glen[darue]l are for letting no other body stay

in Bordeaux but themselves, and will not so much as allow the other gentlemen to visit one another though in the country. He says he'll stay there till either the K[ing] or his general, who ordered him to remain there, sends him orders to remove. I have answered the first article that I believe the K[ing] will be very well pleased to hear he goes home, provided he behave himself as he ought, when there, and as to the second I told him that he ought not to call in question the two gentlemen he names, they being authorized for what they say, and that, if he continues not to obey them, as all the other gentlemen have done, the world will readily believe that mutineering is a thing attached to his family.

COLIN CAMPBELL OF GLENDARULE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 25. *Bordeaux*.—Last post I received a packet from *Brigadier Campbell* with a letter from *Barry* to *Lord Tullibardine* in which he is pretty full. As *Lord Tullibardine* is at some distance, to lose no time, I have herewith transmitted a double of *Barry's* letter and of *Brigadier Campbell's* letter to *Glendarule*. I wish something may be done soon effectually in this matter, for the prosecuting of it will necessarily take up time. A branch of this affair I most humbly recommend to you, that is that there be ordered for *the Highlanders* 8,000 *swords*, though you should entirely cut off *Torbett* (it may be wanted) and retrench the number of *targes*, but as soon as possible, for *they* will be most necessary. Any number under 10,000 is not too many of *swords*, for *the Highlanders* will be found very near entirely unprovided with *swords* as well as of *fusils*, and, if you expect any good of *the Highlanders*, you will provide *them* their full number of *swords*, whatever retrenchments be made in other things. The price of *swords* seems not high, therefore the greater number, the better. A letter is come from Mr. In[ese] by *Queen Mary's* orders to *Smith of Methven's* brother and the rest here to obey *Lord Tullibardine's* orders, so I have written to him to come here, or at least so near it that no time may be lost hereafter.

JOHN CARNEGIE to JOHN PATERSON.

1717, Sept. 25. *Rome*.—I received yours yesterday. I will forbear to write home till I receive the King's commands and talk fully with you on that subject, for I do not apprehend I can suffer by so small a delay. I will on all occasions do my best to merit the King's favour, and, if I fail in my duty, it will be through ignorance or mistake and not out of design.

I set out to-morrow for *Florence*. Mr. *Freebairn* and I will do all we can both in our way to and when at *Florence* to get informations of *Douglas*, and endeavour to observe your directions concerning him. I am not at all surprised he

undertakes so horrid a thing, considering his former behaviour in France, and I am fully convinced that the K[ing] has good ground to imprison Peterborough. I lost Mr. Græme's direction, but he is at Leyden and he goes there by the name of John Angus, student.

The COMTE DE CASTELBLANCO to [? DAVID NAIRNE].

1717, Sept. 25. Rome.—Requesting him to express to his Majesty his gratitude for his concern in his illness, adding that he continues convalescent. *French. Torn.*

Sir JOHN O'BRIEN to [? JAMES III].

1717, Sept. 25. Bologna.—Enclosed is a copy of Lord Peterborough's reflections on his arrest to Auditeur Michilli, who was sent to him on his request. I got another copy for Mr. Sheldon's use, in case he parts before this comes to you. In my humble opinion he gives several weak and incredible reasons, and, though some other appear plausible, I see none obliged to believe them.

The Cardinal, who came to town last night, sent for Mr. Cockburne this morning to tell him Mr. Rangone of Modena wrote to him, desiring leave to see my lord at Fort Urbano. Mr. Cockburne answered that he could do nothing in that without consulting me, so the Cardinal desired to have our sentiment on that head in the afternoon. We both considered that Mr. Rangone, being a particular friend of my lord and a great favourite of the Duke of Modena's, may by my lord's instructions write to *Lord Stair* in his name, and besides get his master to write in his behalf to *King George*. I think the later they are informed of what is past the better, in order to give the King's friends time to send the most convincing proofs they have against him. After making this reflection we went to the Cardinal, and told him we expected Mr. Sheldon every moment, who would do in that as he thought fit, that it was too serious an affair for us to take it on ourselves, that his Eminence was best judge and may do what he thought most convenient, telling him at the same time that it was of consequence my lord should not see Mr. Rangone, before the King was advertised and sent his orders. I hope his Majesty will approve of what we have done, and, to do the Cardinal justice, he is very ready to comply with anything that regards the King. He wrote to the Governor of Fort Urbano to use my lord very civilly, but to let no stranger speak to him without an order in writing from himself. My lord gave out at the Court of Parma, that he had several conferences with the King of Sicily as he passed by Turin. Pray make your remarks on this as also on his refusing the employment of 8,000*l.* a year and 4,000*l.* pension and the Elector's orders in Scotland about his Majesty. With note by James III, "Nairne sends you the reflections here mentioned with remarks on them." *Enclosed,*

Reflections of LORD PETERBOROUGH to be placed under
the eye of the CARDINAL LEGATE.

In the first place he cannot believe that the cause of the arrest of himself and all his suite can be that of which he was informed by the two English officers after his arrest, namely, that he was come to Bologna with evil intentions against the person of King James, since he cannot persuade himself that this King has induced himself to believe that the said gentleman is capable of an action so infamous, which would make him abhorred by the whole world, even by the very enemies of the King, and also that the King wishes to make himself known to the princes of the world and to his very enemies as a poor-spirited creature, by showing a fear grounded on a ridiculous and imaginary thing in the person of the said lord, who cannot comprehend with what motives and objects the King wishes to hold him up to the world as an infamous assassin.*

Remark.—Nothing is less ridiculous or more solid than the repeated informations of considerable persons, confirmed by the conduct of the accused.

The said lord, in order to live his own life in quiet, has avoided all the employments he might have hoped for at the Court of King George.

Remark.—His character and humour are then much changed since two years ago, when he descended even to mean actions in order to be employed.

Yet more as a discourse than as an exculpation he lays before his Eminence :—

Remark.—A long discourse, which is nothing to the point. *That the cause of his coming to Italy and Bologna, where he has been many times, as he was last year, has been only his private affairs, which he expressed verbally to Auditor Michilli, regarding his engagement to Signora Catina, conformably to what has been discovered from the numerous letters found in her possession after his arrest.*

Remark.—He is then no minister, but merely a private gentleman.

To remove this extravagant notion, it is enough to remind the world of my lord's vote in the English Parliament, when the promise of 100,000 doubloons was made to whoever should take King James, dead or alive, since the said lord vigorously opposed a like resolution.

Remark.—This is a fact hitherto unknown. It may be true, but has nothing to do with the affair in question. *Should any scoundrel wish to undertake such an enterprise, induced by the said reward, he could not obtain it while King James was in Italy, because the resolution promising the said reward is in force only in the British dominions, and when King James invades England, Scotland or Ireland, and not otherwise.*

* One copy reads for *nemici*=enemies, *amici*=friends.

Remark.—It is true that the Parliament made no promise except in the case named, but, according to the advices received, it is the Elector who promised the like sum to my lord for such an attempt.

Were such a thought possible for a gentleman, it would be only due to a desire to serve and please King George, but this is inconceivable, this being not a time when any necessity for such a design is to be seen, while the present possessor of the throne has no reason for fearing King James, in consequence of the treaty with France, of all King James' partisans being brought low and of King George being supplied by the Parliament with a naval armament and everything he requires.

Remark.—This contradicts what was found in a memorandum written in my lord's hand setting forth the weakness of the present English Government. It is well enough known that that Government is aware of its own weakness and of the solid foundation of his Majesty's hopes. My lord himself said to one of the officers who arrested him that the King of England had at present a good game to play.

That King George cannot have these ideas, because it is known, as also it will be known to King James, that at the time of the late Revolution orders were given by the King to all the officers in the war in Scotland to let King James escape without hindrance, King George not wishing to be embarrassed with his person, being obliged by the resolutions of the Parliament to proceed to cruelties towards the person of that prince.

Remark.—This fact is hitherto unknown to all who are at present with the King of England.

Such a notion could not come into the head of anyone whose condition was not desperate, or who was not an enthusiast or perhaps maddened by the pure idea of devotion, as in the case of the murderer of that King of France, but this is not the character of Lord Peterborough, which is well known to all the princes of Europe.

Remark.—Lord Peterborough's character is indeed well enough known, which will be sufficient for a remark on this article.

That the execution of such a design will be impossible, supposing it had been conceived, because anyone undertaking so desperate an enterprise, besides all the perils to be encountered in executing it, would not be able to live an hour in England itself, since he would be exposed to the fury of the people, knowing very well from everyone that King James has not a few partisans, nor would he be safe in any part of the world, from which it is submitted to consideration whether my lord be of so little judgment.

Remark.—My lord has never been suspected as the actual perpetrator, but as the head of such an enterprise. There

are other people in the world of the above-named character whom he could have employed, without appearing in it himself and hoping that his management of it would never be known.

The two English officers told him, when he was arrested, that coming into Italy he had travelled by unusual routes.

Answer: This is an argument of little force, because from a letter of an English Secretary of State, delivered by him to one of the said officers before his going to Fort Urbano, the reason may be gathered of his having avoided all the Emperor's dominions, because the Emperor's ambassador had complained to King George on the suspicion he had that my lord was working and making proposals contrary to his interests in the affairs of Italy, and that, the Emperor having these notions against him, he had been warned by the said Secretary on his return from Italy last May to avoid the Emperor's dominions, in order to prevent any trouble or arrest which might embarrass the Court, and for that same reason he had on his return to Italy observed the same rule, and, if obliged to avoid the Emperor's dominions, he could take no other route but what he did, and he was accompanied only by a butler and a servant.

Remark.—This is an excuse for the fact, but not for the haste and mystery of his journey.

It was also said by the said officers that my lord had caused suspicion, because in crossing the mountains of Genoa he had engaged an armed escort. Answer: That this is a weak enough ground for suspicion, because, it being true he was accompanied as above, he did it solely for the protection of his life and baggage from the robbers in those mountains, besides the consideration that those parts were distant enough from the residence of King James, the said escort not being continued on his journey.

Remark.—There is nothing to be said on this.

Anyone with such design would need to have and carry with him a considerable sum, in order to have dealings with anyone, whereas my lord had nothing considerable, having only letters of credit at Reggio for 300 doubloons and for a like sum at Venice, since he was to stay at Venice only three weeks and then to return to Paris immediately, and was to have gone to Venice on the Tuesday after his arrest, which may be certainly proved by the said Signora Catina, by all the persons of the house and by all his friends.

Remark.—One does not see that the want of a considerable sum in his possession serves to justify him. On the contrary, it may be supposed that in such an affair, to avoid suspicion, he would have had only a little money with him. Further, this does not prove that he had not credit for considerable sums, and it is known that he

denied having so much as he really had. Whatever were his designs, his prompt arrest has hindered his having much negotiation with anyone whatever, and in the like cases confidences are not made too lightly or suddenly.

All this can be attested, on the word of a gentleman of honour, by the Marchese Rangone of Modena, to whom my lord had communicated his opinion to the effect that that gentleman should take his own measures, since he was thinking of taking the same journey in my lord's company, whose intimate friend he was, having become acquainted with him in Venice. Further, it should be considered that since my lord's arrival at Bologna he has negotiated with nobody, has gone out only once and has written no letters except to a Venetian gentleman of the first rank and one to the Duke of Parma.

Remark.—All this proves nothing. He may even have taken all these steps the better to conceal his purpose.

If my lord had such a design, he would not have been with a household of only six persons, five of whom are Roman Catholics, and one a convert in Bologna, known to the Cardinal Archbishop, and the one most trusted, having in his hands all my lord's more important affairs.

Remark.—This is also a poor excuse. What does a servant more or less matter? or does he believe people are so simple as to believe that every Catholic in the world is an honest man?

It being most certain, as has been said, that my lord was to leave Bologna for Venice in two days, it may be further considered that, had he stayed at Bologna, he would not have been so near the residence of King James that he could have any fear of him, and, to exclude the possibility of my lord's having such a design, it is submitted for consideration that my lord, after having been a little while in Venice, before returning to Paris was to go to the mountains of Reggio to stay some days with the Abbé Gazzola according to promise, as he had told the said Marchese Rangone, Signor Sante, a Venetian who has been arrested, Signora Catina, many of his friends and all his household. If my lord had had that atrocious design, he would not have sought afterwards to stay even an hour in Italy, having naturally to think of his own safety.

Remark.—All this is frivolous, for, as has already been said, no one has ever suspected him of executing anything by his own hands. The account of his future travels has nothing to do with the principal affair.

Divine Providence has been pleased to help in making the truth evident, by a writing in my lord's hand, which he had by him, and which, he understands, is in the hands of his Eminence, which contains a discourse on the affairs of Italy, which shows openly the intentions of that

gentleman and totally disproves the most unjust opinion conceived against him.

Remark.—This is a sketch of political ideas, from which it is not possible to draw any conclusion in favour of my lord. As all the princes of Europe are named in it, it ought to be kept carefully, and the original be sent back to my lord by Mr. Sheldon. After his insisting so much on this document, it will be strange if he does not show it, but it is believed this is to be left to his discretion. It should be added that it does not appear by this document that he is employed here by any person whatever.

It is also submitted that my lord on his last return to England had all his grandchildren brought to Paris from London, where he has left them to stay, before his present journey to Italy. If he had come to Italy with evil designs on King James, he would have let them remain in England, nor would have left his own kindred in a Catholic country, where they would have had no safety, after he had committed such an outrage, whereas they could have enjoyed complete security from King George, to whose service the commission of the atrocity against King James' person would have ensured.

Remark.—Everything in this article is excuses dragged in by the hair.

My lord has been informed that King James has been moved to suspect him on his coming to Italy, and to procure his arrest, by the numerous letters of advice from England on the said particular from many of his partisans. He believes that the cause of these letters being written was the following: On my lord's return to England the last time before his return to Italy he was offered an employment from King George, perhaps to make him remain in England, worth 8,000 doubloons, and besides a pension of 4,000 more. During his stay in London King George made him many public advances, admitting him to converse with his mistresses, going where my lord was, and other things, to oblige him to accept his offers and to make him remain, and, though he declined, wishing to live his own life in quiet, nevertheless the partisans of King James, seeing the above advances followed by his immediate departure from England, conceived reasons for suspecting him, and therefore sent advices to the King by the above-mentioned letters.

Remark.—Read the second remark. It should be added that the advices were that he had actually received 10,000*l*, sterling and that from the little that is known, either of the present Government of England or of my lord, one could not see the least possibility or reason for the offers or refusals here mentioned.

My lord omits many other reflections on the inconsistency of the said suspicions, referring himself to what the Auditor

Michilli is to represent verbally to his Eminence, as my lord informed him.

The reflections are in *Italian* and the marginal remarks in *French* by James III. 20 pages. There are two other copies—one containing the reflections and remarks, the other only the reflections.

GEORGE HOME OF WHYTFIELD to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 27. Paris.—After nigh a twelvemonth's confinement and lying under sentence of death the greatest part of the time I was freed by the Act of Grace. I arrived here last week, and left my eldest son indisposed at London to the care of some good people. You may firmly believe that necessity, not choice, has made me leave a wife and six children. I am not ignorant of that heavy load the King and Queen have already on them, and I would it were otherwise with them and us. Mr. Hart, who was a surgeon to Lord Linlithgow's squadron, came in company.

England has been very much in a ferment for a long time, but I perceived sensibly that their spirits were beginning to flag and cool. It was to be wished that some method were taken, either to raise them to that former pitch or to prevent their sinking lower. The divisions betwixt the father and son, the dissatisfaction of the clergy at the Court, the animosities in the House of Commons amongst themselves and their wranglings with the Court are proper handles for statesmen to bring their affairs into greater confusions. A great many of the sea half-pay officers are gone into the Muscovite and Swedish service and some of their land officers were beginning to take that course, which has startled the government not a little. Their silver money is very much drained, which occasions a great clamour. One shall scarce get a guinea changed in sending through a dozen places. There is a difference amongst the Nonjuring clergy, with which I acquainted Dr. Leslie before I left St. Germain, and I believe there will be a difficulty to get all parties satisfied.

If you think I can be any ways useful, let not my bones be spared, for I ever hated an idle life. My design was to have waited on his Majesty, but money running short has sadly disappointed me, and I am grieved I should have the misfortune of neither seeing my prince nor your Grace.

LORD TULLIBARDINE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 27.—In mine of the 10th I mentioned I had written to *Barry* and also that *Brigadier Campbell* went to him to get certain information about the *swords* and *fusils* concerning which your last took notice he had got directions. His to *Dillon* is of an old date, as you will see by a double, and likewise of their letters to *Lord Tullibardine* with other names, which are enclosed, lest *Glendarule's* should miscarry,

who has sent you before other doubles of the same. He stays in *Bordeaux* to open any that come for me that no time may be lost, I being still obliged for privacy to be at a distance. The affair these papers concern is so fairly stated that there is nothing left for me to do, but to commit what they say and the whole scheme to your just consideration.

TOM. BRUCE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 27. *Brussels*.—Last Wednesday the black colonel arrived here. Either he knows for certain or at least suspects that *Mar* was at *Liège*. He tells me he expects to see his nephew at Paris, and Mr. Camp[ion] tells me that one of his company told him he was certainly at *Liège*. They went from this on Friday by *Dunkirk*, and say they will be eleven days by that way. Mr. *Campion* saw Mr. Wes[com]b “and has no good opinion of him, and the other day, when Wes[comb] was with me, he dropped some unguarded expressions through vanity and in overacting a part, which gave me some bad thoughts of him. *Falconbridge* tells me that one, who served him formerly, served lately *King George’s* factor at *Amsterdam* and told him that Mr. Wes[comb] was every post day with the factor shut up with him. Whatever be in it, I treat him as if it were so. The last time he was with me he fell again complaining of *Jerningham* and *Falconbridge* tells me he was upon the same subject with him. Upon this *Falconbridge* took occasion himself to complain of *Jerningham*, and really not without ground. He tells me that upon *Jerningham’s* coming last year to *Brussels* he showed *Jerningham Mar’s* letter, in which he signified that he (*Falconbridge*) was to assist *Jerningham*, but that *Jerningham* had never spoke to him directly nor indirectly of any sort of business. I remember *Jerningham* desired me not to speak to *Falconbridge*, for that he would do it himself. I complied, but was very much surprised when *Falconbridge* told me so the other day, and I was put to my shifts for an excuse; though I was in no fault, it being always my way not to meddle in anybody’s business further than I am desired; and really I wish I had spoke of it, for I persuade myself *Falconbridge* might have been helpful at least in preventing a step, which *Jerningham* seemed to be too forward in with respect to that affair. *Falconbridge* tells me that he told *Jerningham*, that, if *the King* would give him an authority, which he would not use, unless there were some necessity to show it to some proper person or other, he would perhaps be in a condition to do him some service at *Brussels*, and would do so whether or not, without asking or expecting any allowance, and that, even if *the King* had occasion for him at *Amsterdam*, he would not grudge to lay out some of his own money. This he says he told *Jerningham* at his first arrival here, with no other view [but] to serve *the King* either with *Brussels* or *Holland*, and that he

believed *Jerningham* has been jealous, as if he meant to take business out of his hand, and therefore he kept up that affair from him. He says that, if he had had any such design, he would never have first told it him.

“*T. Bruce* tells me that last night he was in the tavern where *de Wilda* uses to be. He knew not of *de Wilda's* being there, but it seems the master of the house told *de Wilda*, who desired *Bruce* to take a glass of wine with him. *Bruce* has not seen him since he sent him that paper of which he gave you a copy at *Liège*. *De Wilda* first made him some compliments for it, and then in his usual manner, he entered immediately in business without the least ceremony. He begun with the project of a *niece* for *James*. *Bruce* told him that he heard that *young Mr. Burnet* (? *Prince of Saxony*) or *Bavaria* had already been about that bargain. *De Wilda* said that he was not sure but that such offers were made, but that he knew so much of *the Emperor's* mind in that point, that he would not comply with either of the two, unless he were necessitated to it; he gave for his reason that, if *the Emperor* should only have *daughters*, these two, being men of a great stock and trade, would be able to carry away too much from his effects. That therefore he had reason to believe that *the King* would be more welcome to the bargain, that when he was at *the Emperor's* house, he (*de Wilda*) had spoke of it to *mother Amelia*, who received it well, and who, he is confident, will bring *the Emperor* to it, in case he is otherwise backward. *Bruce* told him that, though he knew nothing in particular of *the King's* affairs, yet he had heard that he was very well disposed to deal with *the Emperor*, and that no doubt of all things he would be desirous of that bargain, but that he had heard, that *the Emperor* was not inclined to deal with him in any business. To that he answered that *the Emperor's* servants were not fit to be spoken to in that or any other affair of that kind, that the only way was to speak directly to himself, without their knowing of it. And upon this he went the length all of himself, to offer either to get a messenger introduced from *the King* to *the Emperor*, or a letter from *the King* to him put into his hands, without any man knowing of it except one man, a favourite of *the Emperor's*, and a confidant of his (*de Wilda*); this he undertakes most frankly to do, either of the two, as shall be desired of him (who this favourite is you were told at *Liège*). I know, said he, *the King's* late losses at sea have diminished his stock, but either before or after the offer is made, I will be glad myself to take a day's journey to *the Emperor*, and negotiate it; and I know I shall have interest with him, for, when I was with him before I came from thence with *the Marquis de Prié* to *Holland*, I was with him alone several times for several hours, and he was so sensible of my plain free dealing with him, that at parting he embraced me twice before his servants, which is not his ordinary; and he offered to make me his bookkeeper, but I refused it, being very well

employed as a broker at home. *De Wilda* told further that, *the Emperor* being now grown old and infirm, he would certainly look out for some partners, that he thought none was more proper for him than *the King*, and that the mentioned bargain being made, which he advises first of all, he doubted not both *the King of Sweden* and *the King of Denmark* would come into it. *Bruce* observed that at this period he made no mention either of Mr. Ballantyn (? *the King of Prussia*) or *the Czar*, and waited some time to see if he would take any notice of them, but, finding he did not, he asked *de Wilda* whether or not these two might show in the business. He said for Ballantyn, he could not see what encouragement could be given to engage him against his friend *the Elector of Hanover*, who drove the same trade with *the King*; and as to *the Czar* he said there was no need of him, for that *the King of Denmark* had one Mr. Lindsay (? ships) in his service, who would be sufficient for the business. *Bruce* told him no doubt he was in the right as to this last point, but that it would not be an easy business to bring *the King of Denmark* into the bargain. He said that *the Emperor* was sensible that, as is mentioned in *Bruce's* paper, it was advantageous to him to have dealing with *England*, and that, if the mentioned bargain were made, he did not doubt *the Emperor* would look upon *the King of Denmark* and Lindsay as very necessary, and would find means to engage them. He told further that, whilst he was with *de Prié* at *Holland*, *Görtz* being informed of some warm words he had had with *the States of Holland*, he proposed that he (*de Wilda*) should undertake to manage a bargain betwixt *the King of Sweden* and *the Emperor*, but that he refused it, unless *the Emperor* would appoint him to do so, and that, some incidents happening, he heard no more of it. But, said he to *Bruce*, do you push on your bargain as I have told you, and I shall pawn my head that *the King of Sweden* and *the King of Denmark* shall be engaged. He said little less than that, if *Bruce* had anything to offer in writing, he would get it put into *the Emperor's* hands. I know that *Bruce* has all along told him that he had no particular concern in *the King's* affairs, but he apprehends that the landlord of the tavern may perhaps have said something to make *de Wilda* believe otherwise, and this makes *Bruce* the more shy, judging that a man of that open forward way might run too fast, in making an expression or paper pass for authority, where there is none, and so run things on the wrong side of the post.

"*Bruce* asked him what he thought of *Spain's* business. He answered that he had been present with *the Emperor* and his servants when it was proposed to make a bargain with *Bavaria* to give him a niece and exchange *Flanders* for his effects: that *Prince Eugene* was for that bargain, and that at parting he saw *the Emperor* take him aside and say to him, I would not have thought that you would have gone into an advice which seems to prejudice my demands upon *Spain*, and I

hope you, who have always been my chief lawyer, shall likewise gain me that cause. *Bruce* told *de Wilda* that he believed *the Emperor* having lost that cause before so many courts, he would find it very expensive and difficult to pursue it further. *De Wilda* said he was of the same opinion. But, said he, that is a private separate concern of *the Emperor's*, and I would not advise *the King* ever to mention it, let him only push the bargain I have spoke of, as to other matters they will follow after, he may keep only in generals as to them, unless as to *Holland*, touching whom he may speak freely. He has still some suspicion that *the Regent* may impose on *the King*, and he has some jealousy of *the Pope* as none of *the Emperor's* friends, and as one who may mislead *the King* and therefore presses that no time may be lost.

"I have given you a long story but have no other insinuation to make upon it but that you may, if you think fit, tell *Mar* of it, and that upon the whole matter (without regard to what I have here told you) all other matters duly considered perhaps it may be advisable that for some short time *James* should forbear pressing *mar[r]iag[e]*, unless he thinks his mercat offers so as that the mentioned proposal to *the Emperor* may be the groundwork of setting up a trade in one place, in case it shall fail him in another."

I had to-day a letter for Mr. Thomson, and I know no other but Mr. Camp[i]on, who in *C. Kinnaird's* key goes by that name, but he knew neither the hand nor the matter. I immediately knew the hand to be *Menzies'* and I judge it to be for *Kinnaird* by the contents :—

London, 10 Sept. o.s.

D[ear] C[hables],

The letter to *Menzies* is come very safe. In it our friend desired me to write again this way, but last night a lady told me he was gone from your neighbourhood, and was already as far as Nieuport and Dunkirk, where he has had the last cargo.

This letter, when explained, was shown to such friends as are within reach. They give thanks for any glimmering of hopes. All the world is out of town, and so this place produces nothing but speculations about the Spanish expedition, and what we are to do ; if we are to part with the *Assiento*, South-sea, bullion &c., to preserve the tranquillity of Italy or the town of Cagliari. We guess and reason much on the Abbé du Bois, Lord Cadogan and other such phenomena, which in the meantime are quite above reason. Gideon is still expecting you.

I am to send a copy of this to-night, if not the principal to Mr. *Kinnaird*.

I got last night by Mr. Ham[ilton], who came with your friend, the new key, which I shall use henceforward. Nearly 3 pages.

ANNE, LADY CARRINGTON, to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 28.—I take the whole in yours of the 4th that relates to my nephew in the sense in which you write, and esteem him happy in your friendship, by which I hope he will be rendered useful to the public as well as himself. I am satisfied of his being a person that abounds in principles of loyalty, honour and honesty, but, whether he has skill to manage these good qualifications so as to make them turn to account at Court, is beyond my judgement. I have acquainted him that his friend you mentioned is here.

His case is hard, and none, I am sure, can make him easy but yourself. I should be sorry any judged so meanly of him as that he kept that money by way of reprisal, which were a poor one compared with his loss, but I really believe it is not in his power, for we know not how to correspond with my sister with any freedom, for, though he is much straitened, he cannot get one shilling from thence. All I can add is to recommend him to your prudent management.

FATHER ARCHANGEL GRÈME to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 28. Calais.—I know not by whose authority Mr. Dempster, who styles himself private secretary to the Queen, has writ to Caron, the interpreter for the English here, desiring him to take upon him the management of the king's affairs here in place of Monsr. Pigault, who was discarded for reasons you have doubtless heard of. He scarcely have found an unfitter person than this Caron, who is a little pitiful burgher and besides a man of no brains and of as little conduct. Such interlopers can be of no great use, but it seems Mr. Dempster resolves to have a correspondent here, though he should have no other news but what he may gather from the smugglers.

Mr. Brinsden, Lord Bolingbroke's secretary, is just arrived from Paris and a going over. I have a sort of suspicion, but am not certain that the Jew has orders from Daulmay to advance him money; what I am sure of is, that the Jew complains our managers have sent him orders to pay 500 *livres* to somebody here, though he has never had a farthing of their, or rather the King's, money, and that he would be glad to have them told not to bid him lay out any more without letting him know how to get it in again, because he says he is not able to do it any longer.

The private letters from England seem to insinuate as if the present ministry were to be changed and the Tories to be taken in.

JAMES III. to DON CARLO ALBANI.

1718, Sep. 29.—Congratulating him on the birth of his son and requesting him to express to the Pope his lively gratitude for all the bounties with which his Holiness does not cease to overwhelm him. *French. Entry Book 1, p. 210.*

L. INESE to the DUKE OF MAR.

[1717,] Thursday, [Sept. 30], 8 at night.—I intended to have waited on *Mar* and went to *Dillon* to know where I could find him, but he told me he could not direct me to him, till a lodging was found which would be this afternoon, and now by what *Mar* writes I find he is not yet fixed in a lodging. If I can find my way to him to-morrow I shall certainly be with him. I shall send his packet to *Queen Mary* early to-morrow.

MAJOR JOHN HEPBURN to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 30. Xaintes.—Requesting him to speak to the King on his behalf that he may by his Majesty's recommendation serve some prince till the King has occasion for him.

GENERAL HAMILTON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 30. Liège.—I delayed writing in expectation of seeing Mr. Hooke, who in a letter to me was sorry his illness had deprived him of the happiness of seeing you. What you told me makes me conclude his credit at Court is not what it was in the late reign, the present acting on quite a different view, and his circumstances must oblige him to follow their measures. Mr. Smith I expect this evening. I don't know that he received more than the month of April, if he has, Mr. Gordon can certainly inform you.

My own particular concern stands thus. I received from Sir William [Ellis] at Av[igno]n the months of February and March, 15 *louis d'ors* for travelling charges, and borrowed 160 *livres* from him, but, when I came to cast up accounts and the journey I was to make, I was under a necessity to draw bills on Mr. Gordon for 800 *livres*, and, except that druggist suit I bought at Venice, I had not above 10 *crowns* left when I came to Pesaro, where I received credit on Leghorn for 100*l.* which Mr. Booth paid me the day before I left that place. I received from him 149 *pistoles* some *livres*, I think 22 April last, since when I have not received a farthing.

I give Mr. Oliphant an account from time to time how matters stood, but I never had any answer.

When we left Pesaro, for the more expedition our baggage was reduced to a very narrow compass, and indeed Mr. Smith, when we came to Cologne, had not a rag to his back, so out of my own money I lent him 20 *pistoles* to buy him common necessities, and told him he must repay me, for it was not reasonable our master should be at any charge on that account. I have set down a particular account of every sixpence extraordinary I have laid out for myself, which I would have sent this post, but my papers are not here.

For near these 3½ months I have been at Aix. To avoid putting my master to greater charges, I have for the first time in my life eat at a 2 *shilling ordinaire* and though but indifferent lodged paid 4½ *shillings* a night. As I am at the

same charges for Mr. Smith, I beg you'll lay this matter before the Q[uee]n and I'll endeavour to follow what instructions you send me.

I have been obliged to draw a bill on Mr. Gordon for 500 *livres* to clear my quarters at Aix, being resolved to stay here till you honour me with a return. 3½ pages.

THE DUKE OF MAR TO QUEEN MARY.

1717, Sept. 30. St. Denis.—*Dillon* promised me to see your Majesty to-day, to give you an account of what passed betwixt us, and what I had resolved on what *the Regent* had said to him. I also gave him three letters I had by Mrs. *Ogilvie* to show you and a packet for yourself that came at the same time, with the key that some of them as well as two of mine are wrote by. I send now other two I had which were in *Dillon's* packet by the same messenger, both of which deserve serious thought before being answered. I can say nothing to these more than to the other three, till I speak with you and receive your commands. I also enclose *the Bishop of Rochester's* letter to *the King*, which was left open to me, with which I believe you will be pleased. By *Lord Oxford's* to me, you will see he desires that *Capt. Ogilvie* should go to *the King*, and, since he does so, it cannot well be refused, though I but guess at his reasons for desiring it, and *Capt. Ogilvie* himself must be made believe that *Lord Oxford* has wrote to you of some business that makes it necessary for him to go thither. This made me order *Capt. Ogilvie* to come to Paris. I thought Mrs. *Ogilvie* might have returned to *Dunkirk* to have waited there the returns to her cargo, but she said she had several things to speak of to *Queen Mary*, whom she was desired to see, therefore I ordered her to come along with *Capt. Ogilvie*. She told me of some things said to have been sent over in a message by *Dillon* which vexed me. I scarce knew how to doubt of its being so, what she said being so particular, and I thought it had been occasioned by some new reasons he had found since our parting, for making it necessary such a message being sent, I mean the part of it for which I knew there was foundation, and I did not know but he might have found out a ground for the rest of it too, but by what he tells me it is all entirely false. It is strange such stories and lies should be invented on purpose as it were to make mistakes and misunderstandings amongst friends. We must be more on our guard in future as to any verbal accounts we have. I see *Dillon* is vexed about this and I do not wonder at it, nor should he at what I wrote to him upon it.

I am heartily concerned at what *Dillon* told me of there being now no further prospect of marriage with *the Princess of Modena*, and the more on the late accounts we have had of *the Princess of Hesse*, but most of all on *the King's* account, who,

I fancy, has set his mind much on the first. I hoped to have found this on my arrival quite otherwise by what *the King* wrote me lately, but it seems there's no help for it. That though in my humble opinion ought not to divert his thoughts from a thing of that kind somewhere or other, but I'll refer what I have to say on that head till I wait on you, as I do several other things necessary for me to speak of.

The steps taken in the affair of *Lord Peterborough* cannot be enough commended, and your Majesty had righter thoughts of that matter at first than others of us. What has been done in this, will, I hope, prevent any more wicked projects of that kind.

It will be necessary for me to stay a few days about this place, but I am so impatient to be with *the King*, it shall be as few as I can, therefore I'll be the more glad of waiting on you soon, and you'll let me know your commands by *Dillon* or *Inese* and when and in what way I should attend you.

I rejoice I did not hear of your illness, till it was over, which I hope it is now perfectly. $3\frac{1}{2}$ pages. *Holograph*.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Friday morning, Oct. 1.—I waited on *Queen Mary* yesterday afternoon, and remitted to *her* the papers you gave me for *her*. At my return home I received your note of yesterday.

Since you can't get St. Mandé and Gordon could not find a convenient place for you in the Faubourg St. Antoine, it becomes a necessity to take Mezières' house. You'll be more convenient and as private there as elsewhere, provided your servants keep close, and you see but few people. I'll do what I can to excuse the matter near *the Regent*. After all I don't see how your staying 4 or 5 days should displease him or *Lord Stair*, though it came to his knowledge. The former can't be spoke to this day, having reserved Fridays to be free from all business.

In my opinion you'll do well to come to Mezières' house this night, and, though it should be discovered, I hope our reasons will prevail to excuse you. I forgot to tell you at Bourget that [W.] Gordon sent me a letter for *Lord Stair* and, as you make no mention of it, I keep it by me till I see you. I enclose *the King's* letter to you and a packet concerning *Lord Peterborough*, which you'll return to *Queen Mary* after perusal. I have another packet for you of no great consequence, which you shall have to-night. I send two bottles of good wine for your dinner.

Sir H. STIRLING to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct. 1.—I wrote to you the 24th in answer to yours from *Liège* and promised to write again before leaving these parts, which you'll be surprised I have not done ere now, but,

when I tell you this delay can be of no bad consequence to my affairs, you will, I hope, be easy.

I have to-day been with *Prince Curakin*, who tells me that *Görtz* is still about *Riga*, not, it seems, having got an occasion of going on, and, till that happens, there's nothing to be done, and, though I find *Prince Curakin* has no great opinion of the latter, yet he thinks, after he has tried all ways possible, which he no doubt will do, in all probability he, *Görtz*, will even be forced to come into *the Czar's* measures, as what he will find his account best in. I do not find the rest of *the King of Sweden's* people here know much of the matter and depend all on *Görtz*. By our accounts *Gyllenborg* is arrived in *Sweden*, but how he stands affected, or what interest he has you are best able to judge. *Sparre* is still about *Hamburg* not having got a pass from *the King of Denmark*, which is a loss, and *Gen. Rank*, I see, returns with him. I told you how I disposed of what was intended for *Cadogan* and it must have been with him, as was designed. He will make his public [entry] &c. in a fortnight or three weeks, and then go for *England*. It's said by his people that *the Emperor* and *the King of Spain* have agreed to submit their affair to *Holland*, *France* and *England* and that it will be speedily and happily terminated, but, as matters stand, I do not see how that can be so easily brought about, but this you can likewise be better able to judge of. *Cadogan* has agreed to bring *England* debtor to *Holland* for 3 times eight thousand pounds, out of which they have agreed to pay the arrears due to the British regiments, who have already arrested it for that effect, but why that is to be given or out of what fund is a question not easy to be answered, but in consideration of this sum they are allowed to break the three remaining regiments, which the poverty of the State renders them incapable of maintaining. What has happened to *Peterborough* occasions abundance of speculation and *Prince Kurakin* tells me it's generally believed he was sent a spy on *the King*, which has occasioned his usage, though I find *Cadogan's* people know better things, for in reasoning on the news, where it was advanced that the fore-mentioned person's papers had been seized, they had the imprudence to contradict it, saying they knew the contrary, but added that, as he had no public character, though they had [been seized], it could have done no injury to *King George's* affairs. This makes me imagine that what was suspected is certainly true, and I am hopeful proofs will be found about him to satisfy the world of the villainy of his owners.

The Czar and *the King of Prussia* met and parted good friends, and are likely to continue so, which makes it the more probable that *Prince Kurakin's* opinion of *Görtz* will prove true, which I hope it shall. If you have any commands for *Sir H. Stirling*, Mr. Gordon's correspondent in *Holland* will know his address, and, though he should be gone from hence, it will find him at *Danzig* or thereabouts.

The enclosed copy of Baron Görtz's letter to Fagel on his leaving Guelderland will not, I fancy, be disagreeable to you, which to me seems very much of the nature of a declaration of war, if he had power proportioned to the resentment he seems to bear both to the King of England's Germans and the Dutch.

The SAID LETTER.

Indignantly replying to the memorial of Mr. Whitworth, which said that the States of Guelderland, by setting him at liberty, had placed him in a position to renew his dangerous practices against the sacred person of his Britannic Majesty and his kingdoms. If Whitworth means thereby the care that all ministers in general ought to have for the service of their sovereigns and that he himself has taken in particular to defend his master's interests against the evil designs of the German ministers of the King of England, he cannot be justly reproached with having gone beyond the limits of his duty. As Whitworth has devoted all his energy to make the said evil designs succeed, one can justly retort on him his unusual expressions and accuse him of every day carrying on intrigues and practices against the sacred person of Görtz's master and his kingdoms.—

I hope your High Mightinesses will have explained to his Majesty wherein I have had the misfortune to displease them, and what were the motives and proofs that had led them to treat me in a manner inhuman and unheard of in the Republic by a detention entirely incompatible with the friendship deserved by the sentiments with which his Majesty has always regarded them. French. 2 pages.

EXTRACT from a DUTCH NEWSPAPER.

Describing the arrest of Lord Peterborough at Bologna and his detention at Fort Urbano there.

JAMES PATERSON to JOHN PATERSON.

1717, Oct. 1. Palermo.—My indisposition is the reason of my not writing before, having been very ill of a fever and a bloody flux of which I am almost recovered. I had a letter some time ago from Mr. Oglethorpe, who told me my brother was at Paris, but I have had no further account of him since. I beg you'll let me know what is become of him and how all friends do. We have an account here some days ago of the Earl of Peterborough's being taken up at Bologna with some of his associates for intending to murder the King, which if true, I hope he will have the punishment due to all such villains. It has made a great noise here, so I desire you'll let me have the particulars. I must desire your interest to procure the Duke of Ormonde's or the Earl of Mar's letter to

the Viceroy here, he being very well acquainted with both by reason of his being Envoy in England. Our fleet has been out this month against the Turks, I not being in a condition to embark by reason of my illness. We had an account here that the Spaniards are landed on Sardinia with a great number of troops, but have had no account yet whether it be taken or not, but, if true, it cannot hold out long, as the Emperor has but few troops there.

THE DUKE OF MAR TO JAMES III.

1717, Saturday, * Oct. 1.—I wrote to you 22 Sept., and enclosed one from *Lord Oxford*. I set out from *Liège* the 24th and should have been in *Paris* the 29th, but that morning I wrote to *Dillon* and sent it before, telling him "I thought it was best for him to acquaint *the Regent* of my being to be *in Paris en passant* to receive *Queen Mary's* commands for *the King* and that, if he had any message to him and would be pleased to charge me with it, I would take it for a great honour, that I would not be *in Paris* without letting him know it, and that I was to stay but a few days. I desired *Dillon*, if he approved of this, to do it immediately and to send one out with a coach to meet and carry me to any place he thought fittest, and that, if my being *in Paris* should be thought inconvenient, I believed I could have the place near it where I had been in April last, and, if he did not approve of what I proposed, that he would be at the trouble to come and meet me himself. The last he did a post from *Paris* and told me that a day or two before he had seen *the Regent* and been some time with him, that, after he had acquainted him of *Peterborough's* affair and he approved of it, he asked him for me and said there had been complaint made him that I was *in Paris*, that he (*Dillon*) told him it was not so, and that, if I had, he would have been the first to inform him, but that he believed I was coming that way and might be there *en passant* in a few days, if he had nothing to object to it. *The Regent* told him he was glad I was not *in Paris* and that he would tell them of it, but, since they plagued him so about it, he begged for his ease that I might not lodge *in Paris* when I arrived, but that for any short time I was to stay I might be at any place near it. *Dillon* notwithstanding of this thought I might go privately to *Paris* and stay till I got another place, but I by no means thought that fit, so resolved to come here to *St. Denis* to wait till a place should be found for me, and I sent my cousin along with *Dillon* to see if the place I formerly had could be got. I gave *Dillon* the packets that were for him and *Queen Mary* brought me by *Capt. Ogilvie* and *Mrs. Ogilvie* and also some letters I had by them to show *Queen Mary*, and he gave me those in his packets for me, which I brought along here with me to decipher, which after I had done, I sent them yesterday to *Queen Mary* and wrote her what then occurred to me upon them and other of *the King's* concerns, and desired

* A mistake for Friday.

to know when and how I should have the honour to wait on her and to receive her commands, which was necessary for me to do before I could write answers to *England*.

"In the evening my cousin returned to me with account that the place I had sent him to see about was disposed of, so that I could not have it, and that *Dillon* thought I should go to *Paris* till a place could be found. This I still thought would not be right as to *the Regent*, who very probably would get notice of it, so I wrote so to *Dillon* and desired he and *Inese* might think what I should do and that I would continue here till I heard from them, which I expect this day and *Dillon* was to see *the Regent* this morning.

"When I met with *Dillon* two days ago I found him out of humour upon my having thought that he had sent such a message to *England* as *Mrs. Ogilvie* told me he had. He showed me in writing what he had sent, which indeed is not as I had been told, so I do not wonder to see *Dillon* vexed at it, but neither should he wonder at my believing what was told me, since it was by one who has been so often trusted in going and coming and things referred to her, and the more that the sum that she mentioned was just what I knew there was ground for. I told him that the construction I had put on it, was that something had occurred to him and *Queen Mary* since I had seen him, to make them alter the resolution we had taken of letting nothing of that money be known to *England* and that he had discovered something by *Poniatowski* to give foundation to the rest of the message, but that, after what he had told me, I saw it was not as I had been told, and that I fancied his messenger had exceeded his commission, which had occasioned the mistake. This he would not allow of, having a very good opinion of the messenger, but would have it that it was a lie only, made by *Capt. Ogilvie* and *Mrs. Ogilvie*. Had *Dillon* sent me an account of the message when he sent it, it had prevented all this mistake, but that he did not, and how should I have doubted what *Mrs. Ogilvie* told me so particularly from *England*? It may be that she has told wrong, but it is hard to think how she could have fallen upon the exact sum of *the Pope* and *Francia*, so I am still apt to believe that the messenger has learned something of this about *Dillon* and told it there, though he had no commission to do so from him. I told *Dillon* that he might be easy upon this, for we should be more wary of trusting *Mrs. Ogilvie* again, and that *Lord Oxford* had desired I might carry *Capt. Ogilvie* along with me to *the King*, which since he so earnestly desired, as you will see by his letter to me, it must be done, though I could but guess at his reasons for it, and that there must be another appointed in *Capt. Ogilvie's* place to take care of the boat. I thought it was fit to give you a full account of this, and, if it be a lie that was told me, it is odd, as you once wrote me, that people there should invent things on purpose as it were to make misunderstandings amongst people on this

side. *Dillon* told me that he has a letter for me from you and several papers to show me, but he has not as yet sent me any of them. He gave me an account of *Peterborough's* affair, which I am mightily pleased with after the odd ways he took, and I hope it will in time coming prevent all thoughts by everybody of such wicked designs. I confess I could not give credit to this affair, when the first information came of it from *England*, but *Queen Mary* was more in the right I find now about it than any of us, and the measures, that were taken in it since I went to *Liège*, were extremely right as the event shows. I hear everybody approved of what has been since done in it, but I leave it to *Dillon* to inform you of all that. I was in great hopes upon my coming here to have had the agreeable news of the affair of *the marriage with the Princess of Modena* being fully agreed, but to my great concern I find it is quite otherways, which gives me no small trouble and chiefly upon *the King's* personal account, who I believed to have a great mind to it, and what adds to it, is an account I have had from *Sir H. Stirling* of *the Princess of Hesse* which does not at all please me, though he says there is a cousin of hers there who is far from being despicable, but that cannot be well proposed as long as the other is in the field. We will have time to talk of this at leisure and also of another, whom I had a long letter about last night, which I will keep for you, from one who had been in company with one of *the Emperor's* people, and who directly proposed to him *the Emperor's niece* with pretty good assurance of success, and that he would undertake to manage it, but I confess I can scarce think that would be practicable at this time, though you can better judge of it by the accounts *Walkingshaw* would give you, and, would it do, it seems to have more advantages than any. *The Bishop of Rochester* and *Lord Oxford* both write fully and pressingly upon the affair of *the marriage*, as you will see, so I need say no more of it just now, only I beg that, though this of *the Princess of Modena* fail, the *King* may not lessen his thoughts about a thing of that kind which is daily more and more for his interest. The answer I am told that *the King* gave to *the Duke of Modena* was like himself and what I cannot but approve of. Who knows but even that may bring it on again?

"There is a very handsome letter from *the Bishop of Rochester* to *the King* which *Queen Mary* now has, and a long and sensible one to *Mar*, and also from *James Murray*.

"*The Bishop of Rochester* seems still uneasy at *Menzies'* not giving him an account of the money he entrusted him with and, after what has been wrote to *Menzies* from hence to do so, his neglecting it so long is intolerable. I am afraid that he cannot well do it, there came but about four fifths of it (and not so much) from him to this side, and I fear there will be but an ill account of the rest. One of *Menzies'* most intimate and best friends told me, when I spoke to him of this

affair, that *Menzies* should never be trusted with a thing of that nature. If he give not *the Bishop of Rochester* satisfaction in this, there will be an end of any service he could do there, but more of this at another time after we see further what *Menzies* does in it."

Sunday (Saturday) morning, the 2nd.—Since the above, I am come to *Paris*, *Dillon* having wrote to me, and *Inese* also advised it, who was with me just after I got *Dillon's* letter. I am in *M. de Mezières'* rooms, where I am to be very quietly the time I stay, which will be very short. *Dillon* is to be with *the Regent* to-day, because he was not to be seen yesterday, to give him an account of my coming to *Paris* for a few days, and the reason, which is absolute necessity by no other place being to be found, but that, if he do not approve of it, I will be gone immediately. *Dillon* thinks he will not be displeased. *Dillon* is now in very good humour again. We had a long conversation last night, as I had with *Inese* yesterday.

I cannot name the day of my setting out till I see *Queen Mary*, but it will certainly be next week. (Begging him to write to him on the journey.)

I have a great mind to see *Venice*, which, I am told, will detain me but a few days longer on my journey, and will save my going there another time, if you have nothing to say against it. I think it is not fit for *Mar* to own himself by his own name in any place he is going to till he be with you. *Holograph. 8 pages.*

JAMES III. to CARDINAL ORIGO.

1718, October 1.—Your zeal and affection for me have appeared in such a manner in all your conduct relating to Lord Peterborough's affair that I cannot express how sensible I am of them. The bearer, my Vice-Chamberlain, Lieut.-General Sheldon, will assure you of my gratitude. I recommend him to you, and I beg to give him a letter to the Governor of Fort Urbano, that he may be able to speak with Lord Peterborough, and to assist him at the same time with your advice, information and credit in whatever he may be in need of relating to this affair. *French. Entry Book 1, p. 209.*

JAMES III. to CARDINAL DAVIA.

1718, October 1.—I have charged my Vice-Chamberlain, Mr. Sheldon, whom I am sending to Fort Urbano to speak with Lord Peterborough, when passing through Rimini to see you on my behalf and to thank you for all the marks you have shown of your zeal for me on this occasion. I refer you to Mr. Sheldon to explain everything relating to the present state of Lord Peterborough's affair. *French. Ibid.*

POPE CLEMENT XI. to JAMES III.

1717, Oct. 2. Santa Maria Maggiore.—After reciting that by letters of even date he had appointed James O'Shiel to be

Bishop of Down and Connor, whom James had nominated to the Pope for that office, and that no mention of such nomination for reasons of expediency had been made in the said letters, declaring expressly that such omission should be no prejudice to James or to his rights. *Latin. On parchment.*

POPE CLEMENT XI. to JAMES III.

1717, Oct. 2. Santa Maria Maggiore.—Identical with the last except that it relates to the appointment of Thomas Flynn to the bishopric of Ardagh. *Latin. On parchment.*

QUEEN MARY to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct. 2. Chaillot.—“If I had not expected to see you last night I should have writt to you, to tell you how impatient I am for it. I hope nothing can putt it off longer then to-morrow night about 6 o'clock to whicch time I shall putt off the many things I have to say to you. I sent you by *Dillon* all my letters from *England* and others from *the King*. I have read all those you sent me, whicch I keep to give you to-morrow, and till then I need say no mor.” *Holograph.*

L. INESE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Saturday, 2 Oct., 3 o'clock.—I could not get to wait on *Mar* to-day, but have just now the enclosed for him from *Queen Mary*, with whom *Mar* is to be to-morrow evening at 6. He must take none of his own people with him. I believe *Dillon's* footman, Bourguignon, who may be trusted and knows how to call at the place, may be fit to wait on him, but this, I suppose, he will concert with *Dillon*. I endeavoured but could not myself see *Queen Mary* to-day, but I hope I shall to-morrow at 4, so I can scarce hope to see *Mar* till Monday.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to JAMES III.

1717, Oct. 2.—The morning after Frank Strickland's return hither *Dillon* told *the Regent* that he received *the King's* orders to inform him of *Peterborough's* arrest and the circumstances, which he heard with attention and patiently. He approved *the King's* manner of proceeding, and said he could not do less after the reiterated advices he had of the ill design. The *Regent* showed much concern for *the King* and seemed well pleased that this was communicated to him by his commands, and indeed *Dillon* thought and thinks still that so doing was very necessary in order *the Regent* should be fully informed and prepared beforehand to answer *Lord Stair*, when the matter comes to question.

The Regent asked if *Peterborough* was seized by *the Pope's* orders. *Dillon* answered the Cardinal commanding at Bologna sent a detachment of his troops to arrest and convey him to Fort Urbano. I was much surprised to find that *the Regent* knew the message *the King* received from an

unknown person and from an unknown hand, and asked how he came by it. He answered, "Puisque je vous en parle, vous voyez bien que je suis informé." It may be that *the King of Sicily's* factor here sent the advice to his master and the same time informed *the Regent* of it. If it were sent by the latter, I have some reasons to believe he would have spoke to *Dillon* of it, who has been frequently with him since this report was publicly known. On the whole *the Regent* and chief people approve *the King's* behaviour and so does everybody in these parts. I don't see how *the Pope* can avoid supporting him. He will however be impatient to know the issue of this matter and *Sheldon's* conference with *Peterborough*. Several copies of the letter relating to this affair have been sent to *England* according to directions.

Mar came to town last night, and, since he writes to you, I will say little of him. I enclose a copy of the last message I sent to *England* and hope *the King* will excuse the many blots, it being a *brouillon*.

SIR H. PATERSON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct. 2. Antwerp.—I suppose you have heard from *Lady Mar* before this of her being got well to Brussels. She stayed three days and had several visits from L[ord] Els (? Ailesbury's) family and others. We came here last night and go to-morrow for Holland by Utrecht. The weather has been very good and I hope will continue so a while.

T. Bruce tells me he wrote a long letter lately to *Mar* and that he is since informed that *de Wilda*, whom he named in his letter, is going to *Vienna* about some affairs of these parts. *T. Bruce* is persuaded that person could be of service to *the King* there, so you may let *Mar* have his thoughts of it, again he meet with that gentleman.

I understand since I came here that *Du[ke of] Gordon* has been very friendly to *the Jacobites in Flanders*, and offered them money and said he would supply any of those that wanted. I wish *Mar* saw his friend and namesake that's with him, and I am persuaded he will think it reasonable some accommodation should be made there, even though some compliances should be gone into. We have it here in the newspaper that *Lord Peterborough* is stopped in *Italy*, which gives a great deal of speculation, and I wish that matter was made clear.

THE DUKE OF ORMONDE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct. 2.—Last night *Ormonde* had yours of 15 Sept. You will see by my last of 21 Sept. what *Jerningham* was directed to do, but now he is to go without delay to *Sweden*.

"The *Czar* stayed two nights here and went this morning to *Riga*. *Ormonde* is to follow and to stay until he has an answer

from *Jerningham*. You may believe that *Ormonde* does not intend to return this winter in hopes of seeing a good conclusion of the treaty.

"I was in hopes of seeing *Görtz* as he passed near this place, but I fear it will be difficult. *Ormonde* saw *Dr. Erskine*. *Lavalin* (? *Dr. Erskine*) told *Ormonde* a pretty odd passage of *Poniatowski*. After they had walked together for some little time before the stathouse in *Amsterdam* talking of the King, *Dr. Erskine* desired him to go with him into a tavern, where they had formerly met, that they might there talk fully of the King and his interest. *Poniatowski* excused himself. *Dr. Erskine*, when they parted, sent to have him dog'd, and found that, when he left him, he went into the tavern where he met *Nipousy*, the King of *Prussia's* minister, and stayed with him till 5 in the morning. They are or have been at *Paris*. *Dr. Erskine* has not seen *Görtz*. *Lavalin* was in *Berlin* and the other not half a league from thence. It is strange they should not have met. It proves unlucky that there is so much time given enq* the treaty.

"I am sorry there should be any disappointment in the affair of the Jew, but obliged to you for acquainting of me with what you mention for reasons that you give. *Dr. Erskine* told me that he was sorry that *Sir H. Stirling* was to come to this way, because the *Prince Kurakin* told him that he and the Prince were to negotiate with *Gen. Rank*, and that he desired that *Sir H. Stirling* should be in a place where he might inform him of what passed. This negotiation is only on some particular things relating to the great one that is to be in the *Isle of Aland*, but, since you have sent him, I hope he will be of service where you design he should reside, and I shall do him what service I can. The King's being settled will be a great satisfaction to his friends. It would have been more for his interest, if he could have had the *Landgrave of Hesse's* friend. I wish him all happiness in what he is about.

"I am glad to find in yours that our friends agree so well, but know not any thing of what you mention relating to a proposal from the *Elector of Hanover* to *Ormonde*. *Mar* and *Ormonde*, I am sure, would make the same answer to it. What you inform me of it shall be a secret.

"Should the *Elector of Hanover* go off, I fear it would be worse for the King's affairs. I wish you a good journey and am sorry our corresponding is at so great a distance. . . . I have not heard from *Dillon* since his of 19 August." 6 pages.

The COMTE DE CASTELBLANCO to [? DAVID NAIRNE].

1717, Oct. 2. Rome.—I beg you to assure the King of my profound respect, and to inform him that at the last audience his Holiness after conversing on various subjects spoke to me

* This is a mistake in the cipher for "for." *Ormonde*, using cipher No. 3, writes x,a,l, which equals "for" in cipher No. 4, but "enq" in cipher No. 3.

of his own accord of the letters of recommendation, on which opportunity I found it proper to communicate to him the applications that had been made to me to obtain them, he having determined with all the kindness imaginable to order them to be written, and they are to be delivered to me this week, and I hope to be able to set out next week to pay my court to the King. *French. Torn.*

FATHER ARCHANGEL GRÆME to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct. 3.—I have this minute a letter from London of 20 Sept. (o.s.) from a very good hand containing the following paragraph:—I cannot but tell you how odious your old acquaintance *King George* is become to his customers by his foolish management in brewing his wines. In short his son and he are fallen by the ears and cannot be reconciled. Inevitably they must go to ruin, if they do not fall on other methods of pleasing their customers. I am convinced, if *the King of Sweden* knew their present management, he would not lose the opportunity of making his fortune on their ruin. As to your question about the number of troops in Great Britain, we have near 22,000 men, but so many disaffected are amongst them that we can scarcely reckon on 15,000 including the garrisons. Moody (? Sir J. Norris) is arrived from the Baltic with ten men-of-war, but I am told Admiral Byng continues there with ten ships of the line and two more of 40 guns each in conjunction with the Danes. The Parliament is said to meet in November, and it is whispered they design to reduce ten men per company and two companies of each regiment before they meet, in order to make the country easy and that people may have no reason of complaint, but this wants confirmation.

Orders are come from the Court of France to turn all strangers out of this town, and I am afraid the Jew may be included in the number, unless he be powerfully recommended. *I am* also in some fear of being comprehended in this order, but hope *my* way of living may make *me* excepted out of it. The news of the Earl of Peterborough's being arrested in Italy goes current here, as does also the league between the Regent, the King of Sweden, the Czar, and the King of Prussia. You know better than I do what truth is in all that, but the noise of it will undoubtedly put people on their guard, and make the stocks fall considerably. I am desired to let you know that, if you think *the Emperor* can be of any service to you, Abbot Fleming or Bishop Leslie are the only men to be employed with success for gaining him, because they are both very well known to him and in great esteem with him. Mr. Myns (? England) is said to be wearied of *King George*.

J. MENZIES to L. INESE.

1717, Monday morning, Sept. 23[–Oct. 4]. London.—Being obliged to go a little out of town to dine with *Lady Oxford*

where there is to be other company, "I leave this with the enclosed prints to show you our remote speculations in the dark on the present appearances of affairs abroad, for at home we have nothing new from friend or foe, the Court and the whole world being in the country in a strange state of inaction. Nobody, no party knows what to do and so they do nothing.

"We have heard nothing of *Mar's* motions since his of the 17th (n.s.) to *Menzies*, nor any account of the cargo's being received which was sent to *Capt. J. Ogilvie*, his cousin (*Mrs. Ogilvie*) being super-cargo. *Menzies'* part of it was addressed through *Inese's* hands to *Dillon*. It was *Mar's* own positive orders that in his absence anything of that nature should be addressed to *Dillon's* hands, and *Menzies* plainly obeyed. But *Capt. Ogilvie* writes that he was going first directly to *Mar*, who in that case will no doubt satisfy *Dillon* as to the second orders, which will prevent any occasion of mistake. There is no manner of ground from this side when there was a plain obedience to a plain order.

"I wrote formerly and *Mrs. Ogilvie* herself could partly tell that nobody here would meddle with the packet for *James Murray* of 13 Aug., and he was at so great a distance and shifting of places daily that it was long before he received what I wrote to him by order of friends, or I received any answer. They would not part with him where he was and so he sent me his desire and authority to open and read and translate whatever was for him. He sent directions too about the necessaries for translating, which were in the hands of other friends, who were also out of town. All this took some time, but at last I went through all that knotty labour as fast as the everlasting hurry I am kept in among friends could possibly allow.

"Very few here understand the long paper fully, it being an answer to a memorial which very very few ever saw or heard of till now, nor the first neither."

QUEEN MARY to W. DICCONSON.

1717, Monday morning, Oct. 4. Chaillot.—"*Mar* came two days ago to Paris, and he was with me last night. I hope he wont stay many days. He desires to see you, and 'tis necessary he should. I agreed with him that you should be with him on Wensday morning at ten a clock. He lyes at M. de Mezièrs' house. I send you here what the King has writt to me relating to money affairs. I shall be glad to see you on Wensday in the afternoon, as you go back to St. Germain, to know what has passt between you and *Mar*, and I hope you will also be able to give me som account of the businesse the Duke of Berwick writt about, for I have not yett answered his letter. I name no day for Lord Middleton coming this week, for I shall be taken up with writting these two days to dispatch Mr. Booth, and *Mar* says he will see me once mor. I intend to go to Paris on Munday next, but

Lord Mid[dleton] shall be advertised two days befor. Shew him this letter, and what els I have to say to him I shall send by you on Wensday." *Holograph.*

FANNY OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct. 4. Mezières.—I received yours, which has vexed me thoroughly and surprised me. "I beg you'll write to me more particularly on the account of the Doctor (Lord Ilay). I am persuaded my mother is not in fault, she's too great an enemy to the young Fury (Anne Oglethorpe) to have trusted her, they never see one another, besides she knows no particulars; as for the eldest (Anne Oglethorpe) knowing my being there I am sorry for it; but there is no remedy, she will never forgive it me, that is what I may reckon upon as well as on her vengeance as much as lies in her power; but I am in despair for my friend's sake, I am persuaded she will have hurt him essentially and I am afraid this business will prove of terrible consequence to him. It's what I always dreaded some such back stroke, he had the same apprehensions and I find with reason, I cannot comprehend from whence it is known, I wish it does not come from MacMahon, but I own I dread it. My mother has been in the country these three months, she does not love talking, she knew nothing but in general. We have not heard from the Doctor since you have gone, though I have writ to him upon some private affairs, which had no relation with yours. It surprised us, but I fear there is some snake under the grass that time will discover. It is impossible else that a man, that have lived these ten years with me like my father or brother, should grow so cold at a time that he had real business with us, that he gave himself into and gave proofs of it. I can never believe people change so without reason, I fear that the young Fury has sent him some message or that she has talked of my journey which has vexed him, for you know the secret was what he wished as well as us. Fury nor her friend (Lord Oxford) ought not to be vexed at your sending me, since certainly he found the effects of it, and everybody, if you be remembered, was surprised at the Doctor being for him, so, contrary to their expectation, he found the good effects of it then and owes you the obligation. If they are vexed, 'tis only because they did not do it themselves. But you may be sure we shall not write that we know anything to them. As to the Doctor, if I had a pair of wings, I would fly to him to unravel the secret and know from whence proceeds this alteration. I dare swear that you will find that some people to discover the truth has made him be told that they were let into the secret or some such story, for a certain lady is capable of saying anything to find out anything that is kept from her and, upon knowing that I was in town in private, she may have conjectured my business was with him, having often attempted it herself,

and upon those conjectures she has pumped him and Mrs. Ogilvie. It is but that way or Mr. MacMahon, to whom our master may have dropped some words, that I think can have discovered it. Be it as it will, it is very unhappy and, I am afraid, prevents his writing to us, for you know he did not act reservedly at all at first and you was contented with him. There is some damned mischief that in hurting us hurts the master's affairs also. The reason why I believe more firmly that it comes from MacMahon is her taking no notice to us of it. There is but the consideration of not hurting him could make her keep her temper. You can find that out when you are in Italy, but, as you say, the best way is to be silent, for it cannot be repaired by talking. I do expect to find a heavy enemy in her now, for she thinks I have injured her, but I was not the mistress to discover another body's secret. It was for the service of my master, so, if it was to do again, I would do it, but it will be a cruel thing if it hurts the Doctor. Let me know more plainly, if you please, what you know about it, for we are entirely in the dark. Has the young F[ury] writ to you about it? Have you owned it and is it by your orders that person has spoke to him? You know he seemed resolved never to open himself to anybody but us. I don't know, if he has altered his mind, but, if I am not deceived, knowing his character as well as I do, I believe he will think just as he did that there has been something said to him that has vexed him against us, but, whenever we come to an explanation, he'll come back, and I am persuaded, if there is not more than I know, he'll be a friend to our master. But that ought not to hinder you to apply to others as you say, so our master is served no matter by whom, and [it] would be unjust to lose any occasion to do good to the cause to wait his motions, so I can assure you I'll say nothing to him that can hurt you. The packet for him that was sent from Italy is not yet arrived to his hands, it is in the Ambassador of Sicily's, who writes word that my mother is in the country, and that he keeps it to give to her, believing it family papers. If unluckily he should give it young Fury, all would be lost again, though all measures has been taken to prevent it. I shall only write to him to tell him his silence makes us uneasy. As to young F[ury] if she writes to me, I'll deny everything if you think proper, for she will pretend to know more than she does to find it out. I can assure you the complaint of our writing is unjust, and my sister has broken off her correspondence both with Lord Arran and Sir Edmund (Redmond) Everard by not answering their letters, which they complain of mightily, for fear it should be thought she writ things was not proper. M. de Mez[ières] writ a civil letter to a certain person in answer to one of his and to rejoice upon his being at liberty. He referred the account of all the affairs to you in it and said only in general that, since you had been at Paris, you had put many things on foot that was quite dead

and hoped you would all succeed with time ; general terms that signified nothing, and that I believe we then told you. If you saw the letter, you would find there was no harm in it. It was in white ink, because Mrs. *Ogilvie* carried it or was to carry it, and that she thought it dangerous to carry a letter for him otherwise. This was the only one upon honour we have ever written but to the Doctor, wherein we name you or yours to the eldest. We never said but that you wrote by your friends all you knew ; we have the copy of the letter to that Lord which, if ever we meet, you shall see. Y[oung] F[ury] has written to my sis[ter] last post and complains of nothing. That reprimand is indeed wrong, for we are very innocent, and it is impossible to have been more cautious than we have been, knowing too much the ill consequences of those things. I beg you'll believe I tell you the truth. As for my mother we never say anything to her at all of you, but you that saw most of the letters we received when at Paris is partly a judge of the falseness of this accusation, and upon my word it is without grounds. I shall always receive your schooling with submission, but, when we're not guilty, you will allow me to tell it you. As for Sir Hugh I believe it was by your orders I writ to him. I know it was by the neighbour's (Baron Sparre), who was afraid to miss him, and I said nothing but to go and find the other with caution. Perhaps that was too plain, I am sorry for it. The Envoy of Swede[n] knows where Potowisky (Poniatowski) is. M. de Mez[ières] happened to be out of town, and so missed him, for the other desired mightily to see him, as Dumont (? Dillon) told us the night we was going away. As I do not doubt but D[illon] is the Envoy of Sweden's friend, it will be very easy for you that way to have a conversation with him. I am very much afraid you have not all you want and that is fit for you at home. The uncertainty of your coming there is the cause of it, but Nany, I hope, will take care to do the best she can and a pretty handmaid repairs many other faults. Pray have the fear of God before your eyes and do not be putting fancies in her head that may create jealousies in her hubby's. I have just received an epistle from Campion, who has travelled, I think, over all the world and is now at Brussels. My sister has received one from the neighbour from Hamburg of 23 Sept. He was to part from thence in the minute. The reason we brought the strong box was not knowing if there were not diamonds ; my sister did not care to leave it out of her hands for fear of an accident which would have been a very disagreeable thing, but wish you had it in yours now ; could not Mrs. *Ogilvie* charge herself with it ? If you stay any time, as unexpected things happen, you would do very well to take the Chevalier Vernoullet's house that you might make use of in an occasion. I do not pretend to excuse Lord S[tair], I should have too much to do, but I believe he is obliged to be more rigid since Lord Cadogan's being here.

"You are now going to Italy, I will take care to write to you as soon as I hear any news from the Doctor, who, I do believe, as soon as we have discovered what has been said to him, will go on as he began. I see plainly they have vexed him against me, but, when one is innocent, those quarrels do not last long. I shall make it my business to undeceive him but dare not put pen to paper till I hear further and further detail from you. I am sorry my brother is not at Turin. I hope by this time he has seen our master. I am sure we are all ready to sacrifice a thousand lives for his service, but hope he will not try us in so sensible a part as suspecting Theo[philus] to be capable of a villainous action, and we had vanity enough to flatter ourselves that he would never think any of us guilty of the least infidelity to him, as it is the greatest misfortune can ever happen in our lives and an irreparable one. I wait with the greatest impatience to hear from my b[rother] how he was received."

M. de Mez[ières] and my sister beg you'll cease your thanks, they having done nothing to deserve them, and desire you'll never believe any stories that may be told you without knowing the truth from them. The friend (M. de Mezières) has an idea that makes him uneasy. Was not Lord S[tai]r your friend, he should apprehend that he'll get an order from this C[our]t to have you seized by way of reprisal for Lord Peterborough and to treat you as he'll be. After what has happened to Görtz, every thing is to be feared and you had better be very cautious how you travel. Your safety depends on the other's friendship for you and on your travelling very secretly. Pray leave the papers for us that Mrs. *Ogilvie* brought with her at home. 'Tis the genealogy of my mother's side to finish the Chevalier's affair. Shall I send the strong box by the coach to Mr. Gordon? If my brother was at Turin, he'd have hoped that you'd have sooner chose his house than the *cabaret*.

If D[illon] is not friend to the Envoy of Sweden, he'll not so easily speak to him, for he avoids all the English for fear of being suspected. The friend would have deferred his coming to the country, had we been certain of your arrival. Lord Peterborough is a bold stroke. If he's innocent, it's the cruellest misfortune ever happened to a man, for his life, after being so dishonoured, will be but a burden to him. Methinks it's difficult to believe that the first base action of a man of quality is to turn ruffian to one's own King. Methinks people come to these sort of crimes but step by step. I believe his answers must be very curious. Such unaccountable things happen in this world I grow weary on't. Should Lord Peterborough be innocent, it's a great misfortune in our opinion that Sayers was sent to my sister. It's a cruel thing to have any hand in a man's ruin, but she could not send him away without letting him see you all. What say you to Brinsden being gone with his credentials to London? The Nuncio sent to my sister to ask her the picture of Douglas, which she gave in writing.

In case you stay any time in Paris, there's a woman cook at the Duc de Lorges' next door, whom Nany knows, who can make your kitchen and buy everything that's necessary. If travelling improves folks, how many fine gentlemen we shall have, when our master is returned to our country.

COL. HARRY BRUCE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct 5. Sens.—I had troubled you sooner, but I was in doubt where to reside after I came from Paris, and you told in your last you would favour me with a line before you went to Italy. I hope this finds you before you part that I may hear from you. I found Col. Elphinstone and another of our gentlemen here. We designed further up the country, but chanced to fall into a private part near this, where we pension for some time and part at pleasure. This is within two days of Paris, and I judged it most proper, so as to be in readiness when occasion offers with respect to our Master's interest.

My long stay at Paris and one thing and another was a considerable charge to me, more than what my little interest at home or subsistence could bear, so that I'm run too much out, more than I ought. Do in this as you think fit, but I beg I may not press your inclination, and I hope you will pardon me in this.

A strange account came here yesterday written by a gentleman from Versailles to one in this part. I am ashamed to rehearse it so far beyond nature to entertain such a hellish, wicked design as they say Lord Peterborough and his accomplices had upon the King's person in Italy.

ROBERTSON OF STROWAN to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct. 6.—We have been in these parts much longer than we could wish, our hopes and fears ebbing and flowing alternately as the North Pole shined or disappeared. It seems again to have a favourable aspect. The Act of Grace, before it appeared, amused us much, and now, when it is seen, it falls short of our expectations. At first it was writ from England that the two Dukes and Borlom only were excepted. I wish it had been so, on condition all, who have left their country, could have had the just notice of the advantages that might accrue to the King and the common cause by despising the usurper's favours, as much as I know it to be the resolution of some of my acquaintances. It is a hard matter to put on a resolve so glorious, especially for a man not enured to the calamities of banishment and loss of fortune. It has been my luck to be so tried before now, which is an advantage for patience not many of my country men have experimented. I hope I am not thought a grumbler either at home or abroad. What passed between Glenga[rry] and me publicly at Aberdeen preserves me from the suspicion of the former, and the few favours I have asked on this side leave no room for discontents

since my arrival. In a word I dont believe any man of common honesty or prudence will offer at a change of climate, till he consult your Grace.

The other day Lochiel told me your last to him signified your speedy removal, yet I am hopeful this will overtake you before you reach Ur[bino].

Postscript.—Recommending Mr. Wilson, who had lived with him 8 years more as a companion than a domestic.

JOHN FULLARTON OF DUDWICK to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct. 6. Rotterdam.—I have been much importuned by my friends to come home not only before the late Act, but since, they assuring me that I can be as safe as others, who have come home without licence or having any oaths or engagements put on them, which I never did nor never will take, seeing they will not readily get one to accuse me, and it will be very difficult to prove my having been abroad, if I get once quietly home. However I would not determine, till I should know the King's mind or have your allowance, and so wrote to you more than six weeks ago, but I have no return. I have spoken to some who, I presume, know your mind, who confirm me in the opinion I always had, that, if we can be safe at home, we can be of more use to our master and less charge to him than abroad. I had also a return of one I wrote to General Gordon, who is of the same mind, save that he desires me to wait a little longer for your return. All this has determined me to take the opportunity of a ship going for Aberdeen in a week or two, provided I get no orders from you to the contrary, and I go as firm in those principles I always professed as ever, and resolute, wherever I am, to do my duty to my lawful prince.

QUEEN MARY to W. DICCONSON.

1717, Oct. 7. Chaillot.—“I send you Mr. Jerningham's accounts of which I desire you will take a copy and lett me have the original again to send to the King. I know not how to writt to the Duke of Berwick till I see clearer into the affair he writts about. Pray lett him know that is the reason I defer writting to him. I hope you gott safe to St. Germain's last night.” *Holograph.*

W. DICCONSON to L. INESE.

1717, Oct. 7.—Concerning the allowances to Sir Hugh Paterson and Mr. Hepburn of Keith.—I met Mr. Southcott at last, and asked him about the 3,000*l.* which Martel (Mar) ordered me to enquire after. He told me it was on a mortgage and that he had acquainted the Queen with it, who thought it not a proper time to recall it. I intended to have asked her what the meaning of this mortgage was, but being so straitened in time could not do it.

FATHER ARCHANGEL GRÈME to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct. 7. Calais.—I received a packet from you before you took your journey with three letters in it for England, but nothing for me but the bare cover, so I think you marked up your minute book as if you had wrote to me the same time, though you only addressed the packet to me to be forwarded, for it is impossible any letters for me should be lost, the master or rather the *commis* of the posthouse here being very careful of them.

I have a great reluctance to correspond with Dic[conso]n or with any other body about the C[our]t of St. G[ermain]s, because I know secrets are very ill kept by them, and besides I am afraid they are not so much in your interest as they ought to be, but, since you seem to have a better opinion of them, I shall endeavour to stifle my doubts and fears in order to comply with your commands, yet I should like better to correspond with Dil[lo]n, if you thought it equally proper.

Daulmay, for ought I know, may be Dil[lo]n, though the Jew says he's a near relation to Mr. Symson (? Ormonde). What's certain is the Jew had orders to pay 200 *livres* to F[lin]t and 300 to another, whom he does not name, for I was forced to employ my credit to help him to raise that sum.

'Tis no wonder I stand but very indifferently with some people of my coat about Mrs. Harrison (? the Queen) for, as they know very well I could never be brought into their false underhand dealings, they very justly conclude I will certainly still oppose them to the utmost of my power, and make it my business to convince the world by my actions and words that a true Roman Catholic King of England is obliged in conscience to observe his coronation oath and maintain the Protestant Religion as it's established by law in the three kingdoms. What I say is not out of any liking for the Protestant Religion, for I would willingly sign my religion with my blood, but merely out of a principle of honour and honesty, which obliges every man to stand to his legal oath, or at least not to take it with a design to break it. I have so often declared my sentiments on this subject that I am not at all surprised I am become obnoxious to some hot-brained churchmen of ours, or rather to some of our ecclesiastical politicians, who think that a King is no ways tied by the most solemn promises and sacred oaths which he is obliged to make to his dissenting subjects for maintaining their religion, but, let them think or say what they please of me, I shall ever glory in contradicting such unchristian principles.

I have writ again to Peter S[mi]th to tell him how much you disapprove of his impertinent letter to the Marquess [of Tullibardine], and wish he may make sufficient atonements, but have said nothing of your just reasons to complain of some of his relations, lest that should make him fancy you

capable of resenting the iniquities of the family to the third or fourth generation, and consequently make him fall short of his duty by way of despair.

I need say nothing of the six Swedish frigates, which have been here these eight days and are still in Dunkirk Road, for doubtless *Capt. Ogilvie* has informed you of them. Letters from England of 23 Sept. (o.s.) assure us that at the meeting of Parliament, if not before, half the troops will be broke, and that several officers are endeavouring to sell their commissions at any rate. All strangers whatever, except such as myself, are ordered to leave this town, so I hope we shall have no more spies or idle tattlers in it. I should be very glad to know from you P[eterboro]w's story, and that he has been punished according to his deserts, because everybody thinks that, if he finds mercy, it will be of bad consequence to the common cause. 4 pages.

T. BRUCE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct. 7. *Brussels*.—I saw your friends part in good health, from Antwerp Sunday the 3rd. I sold the berlin and two horses next day for 45 *pistoles*. As I passed Brussels, I was much afflicted for a quarrel, which happened two days ago betwixt Mr. Campion and Mr. Ratcliff. The former has received three bad wounds in the body, but none of them mortal. I saw him, and he's in a fair way of recovery. They were in company with Col. Windham and some other gentlemen. All were in their cups, and, talking of Lord Bolingbroke, Windham said he was a great villain. Campion said he would not take on him to vindicate Lord B., but that he had been long in friendship with him, and should be sorry to think he should deserve such bad names. Windham said he deserved the name of a villain and that any body who thought otherwise was a villain. Campion made no answer, but Mr. Ratcliff asked if he was not of opinion that Lord B. was a villain, and Campion answered him much in the same words he had spoke to Windham. Then, said Mr. Ratcliff, you are a villain. This passed about 4 in the morning and about 8 C. called on R. and a few minutes after Windham called on C. but missed him. The affair between C. and R. I believe is entirely made up, but I have some apprehension of a dispute between C. and Windham, which I wish may be prevented.

Mr. Wes[com]b is in much debt. Our landlady at Antwerp told me he owes her 170 *florins*. *Falconbridge* told me he owed lately to a banker at Paris 150*l.*, that he paid 50 and that the banker is to arrest him for the 100. Besides what I wrote lately touching *Falconbridge's* complaint of *Jerningham*, he told me this morning that about a month ago *the Marquis de Prié*, the *Emperor's* chief man at *Brussels*, challenged him

for having sent 352's* factor last 664 (? twelvemonth) to him about *the King's* business. *Falconbridge* told *the Marquis de Prié* he had never done any such thing, and that he had never meddled in any of *the King's* business further than the letter he had given him from one of *the King's* friends. *The Marquis de Prié* said that 352's* factor had been with him and had told him it was at the desire of one from *the King* and that he always [thought] *Falconbridge* had been the person, because he had given him that letter a little before. *Falconbridge* assured him he was not the person, he knew of no such person, nor of no such affair. He told *Falconbridge* he could not think the factor would have done it unless some such person had desired it of him, and that he should even think it strange for the factor to do it unless he had a *commission* from *the Pope*, and *Falconbridge* might remember he had talked freely with him on occasion of the letter he had given him, and that, if anything were to be moved to him touching *the King*, he would rather talk of it with him than *the Pope's* factor.

I would not have written this story, but that I imagine *the Marquis de Prié* taking no notice to *Falconbridge* of this till lately, though he saw him frequently, may have some meaning, as if he would have *Falconbridge* say something to him touching *the King*.

When *T. Bruce* was at *Liège*, he told *Mar* that a gentleman had been some time at *Brussels* with *Falconbridge* and that he was to be again with him in a few days. That gentleman is now with *Falconbridge*, who tells *Bruce* that talking the other day of the affairs of D. (? the King) that gentleman wished he had an opportunity to serve D. with *the Emperor*. *Falconbridge* told him he wished so too, but that D's funds were small by reason of some late losses, and that the lawsuit with *the Emperor* would be chargeable. The gentleman said he was sensible of that, but he would be willing to be at some share of the charges out of his own pocket. *Bruce* said to *Falconbridge* that he believed *the King* was very uncertain whether or not it was proper at present to move with respect to *the Emperor* and that he believed it might be some time before anything of that kind would be resolved on, and he has not taken notice to *Falconbridge* that he either spoke of that gentleman to *Mar* or that he has written about it, so as to that and every thing of that kind here *Mar* is entirely at freedom.

I have sent the enclosed from Will. Weir, advocate, the case, as he writes, being of general concern. As to the particular towards the end I do not understand his insinuation of my being known to M[arquis de] P[rié] nor do I think that course fit to be followed, and I continue my resolutions to be quiet for some time, and from the beginning of this affair. I have always been of opinion, the more haste, the less speed. Over 2 pages. Enclosed,

* Probably a mistake for 552 = the Pope.

WILLIAM WEIR to his cousin TOM BRUCE.

"I have been on the other side of the water this fortnight and left your lady and children on Saturday in good health as are all there. Your lady desired me to tell you, she had got your letter, and would have written you more frequently, but was in expectation of your homecoming, and what letters she had written to you she thought had miscarried. While I was there Major Campbell had a letter from our cousin, Mr. Alexander Hamilton, acquainting of his endeavours to have got you included in the licence lately procured for my Lord Forbes' brother, of which no doubt he has acquainted you, and what interest was used for that gentleman's licence. This made us think it necessary to put all oars in the water, and accordingly your sister wrote by an express to the Duke of Montrose at Glasgow, who returned for answer that several had applied to him for such as were in your circumstances, but all that he could say was, that he knew a resolution had been taken to grant no licences. What the King might do in time he would not determine, but he was of opinion no licences would be granted in haste. Your neighbour, Sir Peter Hacket (Halkett), has written to the Earl of Rothes about you, and your sister has also written to Drummellier to write to the Duke of Roxburgh. I was this day with Mr. James Grahame, advocate, and he told me he had advised some of his friends to lay aside thoughts of applying for licences and rather wait the expiration of the three years which expire 13 Nov., 1718. And the reason he gave for advising his friends so, was, that the Laird of Pourie had just now given 500 guineas for a licence, and that, seeing the way was paved for giving money, the same would continue. However for my own part I can never think the government would give gentlemen their lives and fortunes, as is your case, and oblige them to spend their fortunes abroad for want of a licence to come home. As for the interest that was made for Mr. Forbes by the Abbot du Bois, and even the Regent of France, I take it, it has been used for a remission before the indemnity, which would no doubt facilitate the licence which was less. As for Pourie giving such a sum of money, I suppose it is for a remission not a licence, for he broke prison and consequently is excepted out of the indemnity. However, as your presence at home would be much for your advantage, I am clear for using all endeavours for procuring a licence to you, and, in case our own people be faint or have not weight to effectuate it, I wish you could fall on some way to get the Marquis de Prié, to whom I understand you are known, and whose intercession at this juncture may have weight, to recommend you to the favour of those at the helm."

3[-14] Sept. Edinburgh.

JOHN PATERSON to BRIGADIER CAMPBELL.

1717, Oct. 7. Urbino.—Last Tuesday, the day I had yours of 6 Sept., William M[urra]y arrived here. I communicated to our best friend here what your fellow traveller and you proposed as to him, and as you both desire, he is to be dispatched to Lord T[ullibardi]n, and he is to be ordered as much money as will be necessary for his journey. I have directed him to go to Bordeaux by the route you mention, and there to address himself to Robert Gordon. (Requesting him to make his compliments to all friends with him and his excuses for not having written to them.)

I am at a loss to understand who are the persons who, you say, are a great charge, though they have of their own, and therefore expect you will explain yourself particularly. I am unwilling to think any one can think of being a charge, if he knows any way of being provided for elsewhere, but, if there are any such, it is fit they should be known. I wish, as you do, both on the King's account and that of many of our friends the Indemnity had been more comprehensive, for it will be absolutely impossible for him any longer to support the extraordinary expense he has been put to of late, though he is still willing to do all in his power, and money is now short every where, which 'tis fit people should know, that they may judge accordingly what is fit for them to do. 'Tis true this Indemnity is very narrow, but, as it is, some gentlemen are already gone home, and others think of following, in which they are certainly in the right on many accounts, which will easily occur to you. Such of them as are not attainted are applying for particular privy seals, which, I have reason to think, will not be hard to obtain, and others, who are of less note, think they will be safe enough, and that if they go quietly and live cautiously and discreetly, without giving offence, the Government will take no further notice of them. I have given you this trouble, that, if there are any gentlemen with you in these circumstances, which you will know better than I, you may let them know at least that their going over at this time will be noways disagreeable to the King, but rather otherways, if they can find their own account in it, but I believe the less you mention the King, the better, and I must likewise desire you not to name me. I presume 'twill be enough that you tell them in general that you have this from good hands and that they may depend on it. You may communicate this to Lord T[ullibardi]n and your cousin Colin. Pray tell Lord T[ullibardi]n I had his letter, and will write to him by his friend W. M[urra]y. The King never had his health so well as he does at present.
3 pages. Copy. Torn.

FANNY OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct. 8.—I wish you dont think I trouble you too often, but 'tis to chide you. Why are you still in my apartment? It was well for the first night, but after that

you should have gone to t'other side of the house. My sister has writ to-day to her servant about it, and has a thousand pardons to ask Mr. Erskine for his being so ill lodged. Nany was bewitched not to put him in my room and you in my sister's.

One Courtney is going to England, a very faithful dexterous man, in case you have any letters to send. (Giving his address.)

My sister bids me send you the enclosed to her from the D[uchess] of Orm[onde], for it shows their thoughts of you now. She had writ to her several times before on the same subject. The eldest (Anne Oglethorpe) writes the kindest letter in the world, makes no complaints. I'm persuaded she has but a confused idea of things, but she does not name me, and one must not give her a light into what she cant know but from ourselves. It's either, I'm afraid, Mrs. *Ogilvie* or MacMa[hon] that has tripped in this occasion. The only letter ever writ that named any of you but in general terms was in answer to one from Ox[ford]. That only gave an account that you and Or[monde] were in perfect union as well as the neighbour (Sparre), who you had made a perfect friendship with. If we were where you are, you should see the copy, and, I'm sure would not then blame us, but according to the proverb, some people may stumble over a block when others dare not over a straw. If ever we err, it is not with an ill design on your account, for no people ever had a more sincere friendship for you than *M. de Mezières* and his mate. I wait with impatience to hear from you if the eldest does know what has passed about the Doctor (Ilay). She is more mistress of her temper than she appeared to be till now.

My sister sends you an Amiens pie. Are not the grapes good? I am glad, since I could not eat them, you do. You'll vex my sister to death, if you give money to the servants. You know 'tis not the custom in this country, and it's looked upon as a greater affront than seeing a woman's foot in Spain. The Ambassador of Sicily sends us word that Lord Peterborough was disguised in woman's clothes. I believe he made a very ugly lady.

T. BRUCE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct. 8. Brussels.—I was called early this morning and found Mr. Campion had been in a fever all night. I got a physician, who is also an able chirurgeon. He has some doubts about one of his wounds, whether it has touched his guts or not. This may prove very dangerous, and a fever to one of a bad habit of body may likewise prove uneasy. After the next dressing the doctor thinks he can make a true discovery of his condition.

Sir D. Th[reipland] and Major Er[skine] were at Antwerp as their friends passed. The major's funds are somewhat low at present, and he is quite out of clothes. I believe as much as would furnish him a suit would be very seasonable. His

being looked on as a relation to people of quality really sometimes puts him to some small charges.

It's believed Prince Eugene will be at Brussels this winter. Mr. *Falconbridge* told me so, and that he had it from the gentleman that stays at his house.

Since I wrote, I have seen Mr. C. dressed. None of the wounds are mortal, so the only remaining danger is the fever, which is somewhat abated.

JAMES III. to the MARQUESS OF TULLIBARDINE.

1717, Oct. 9. Urbino.—Your absence has not in the least diminished my kindness for you. I am sensible your situation is far from agreeable, but affairs go not always so quick as we could wish, and, while they are depending, you cannot be in a more convenient place than where you are, and where you will continue to be as privately as you can. I think the same as to the gentlemen in those parts who cannot behave with too much prudence and caution. *Copy.*

The COMTE DE CASTLEBLANCO to [? DAVID NAIRNE].

1717, Oct. 9. Rome.—I am charmed to learn by your letter that the King continues in perfect health. Pray assure him of my gratitude for all his kindnesses. During my illness nothing vexed me more than to hear the conversation of people about Lord Peterborough's imprisonment. You may believe my duty obliged me to let them know that the King in the mountains of Urbino was more King of England than the Duke of Hanover at London, without being obliged to give account to the public, though he has not failed to inform the persons it concerns. The panic fear is calmed which had seized them at the beginning, they being at present occupied with that which has been caused them by the seven thunderbolts which fell yesterday. You see that in this climate the summer is too hot and the winter has more fire than is necessary. My convalescence continues and I hope to be soon at Urbino. The agent of the Duke of Lorraine here has begged me to send you this letter. *French. Torn.*

The DUKE OF MAR to JAMES III.

1717, Saturday, Oct. 9.—The repairs my chair wanted as well as the dispatches for *England* in answer to Mrs. *Ogilvie's* cargo occasion me to stay here longer than I thought, when I wrote to you last on the 2nd, but the beginning of the week or Wednesday at furthest I shall set out, and I am exceeding weary of this place, never stirring over the door. *Dillon* wrote to *d'Uxelles* of my being here, in order to his acquainting *the Regent* of it, and that the reason of my coming was because I could get no place to go to for the few days I was to stay.

Dillon has been to *the Regent* since, who spoke to him of other things but not of that, which he would certainly have done, had he been angry at it, so we have been pretty easy on that head since, and I do not doubt *the Regent* has acquainted *Stair* of it, who says nothing, and I am in great doubt whether to send him word of my being here, for I should be sorry he should think he has reason to believe any part of the old friendship to have failed on my side, and you may remember he wrote to me last winter he would be glad to see me on the returning as well as going, but I am a little piqued still at the complaint made of my being here before I actually was, though his not disturbing me now has a little taken it off, so that I will advise with *Dillon* about it.

I saw *Queen Mary*, whom I never saw looking better since I came on this side the sea, which I was glad of, especially after the bad accounts I had heard of *her* health. We had a good deal of talk for near two hours, and I am to be with *her* again to-morrow to receive *her* last commands. Since *Booth* was going much about the time I designed, we both thought it best to go together, which *Queen Mary* approved of, so he and *W. Erskine* go in the new chair together. I am expecting to hear of accounts from you by the last post every minute, but I have heard of none yet and I hope they may be good when I do. They have a story in town these three days, that *the Pope* has repented of *Peterborough's* affair, and that the last is now left his own master, which I can scarce believe the first would be quite so hasty in. I long to know what he said to *Sheldon* and all the rest of his story since the former accounts.

I had a letter from *Mistress Fanny Oglethorpe* full of great concern on account of her brother's being suspected to have knowledge of *Peterborough*. The lady calls me to witness that I knew of his being to go to *Rome* and *Malta* about his nephew's affair, before there was any account of *Peterborough*. and of money that was to be remitted to him, all which is indeed very true, and I do not believe it possible he can have any hand in it, and I remember last year, when *Peterborough* passed *Turin*, this gentleman wrote to me of it, and that he had not seen him, so I believe it is long since their communication was given up. I am to write to her, that all of them may be easy about it, and that I am sure you would not suspect him, which I fancy you will think right.

I do not yet find my health at all good, that of my stomach being still very uneasy to me, and I imagine the physicians of the country where I am going are not very good, at least for people who have been used to live as we do, therefore, before I leave, I think of consulting *Monsr. Scheracque* upon it, but nothing he shall order me shall keep me here longer than I have told you.

I delay saying anything of all I have wrote to *England*, till I kiss your hands. Nearly 3 pages. Holograph.

The DUKE OF MAR to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1717, Oct. 9.—I had yours of 18 Aug. (o.s.) from *Capt. Ogilvie* and *Mrs. Ogilvie* on 22 Sept., and I am since come to *Paris*, though only *en passant*, where I have seen yours to *Queen Mary*. I wish you had been a little fuller in both or at least in one, and by what you said in mine I expected to have seen the other so, on two very material heads, which you but just touch, I mean that of my cousin's (the King's) marriage and his returning from his travels. We on this side want full and good advice in what concerns the family so nearly, and I expected to have been helped by your counsel how those affairs are to be followed out in the most likely way for their succeeding, as well as to be told of the things themselves being necessary. You may easily believe we want help and therefore in your next I hope you will advise us fully in the right methods to pursue those things which you so wisely lay down as necessary, and, that you may be the better able to do so I will tell you of our cousin's situation with regard to those two points and some obstacles in the way of his following them out.

(Concerning the projects for the King's marriage and particularly that suggested with the Princess of Hesse, to the same effect and in almost the same words as the corresponding passage in the next letter.)

As to the next point of our cousin's returning from his travels, it is certainly high time for him to do it, and to set up in some convenient place for following his trade to advantage, without which his stock can never increase, but the question is in what way that is to be done, and where a convenient place is to be found for him to set up, at least for some time, till he see further about him. The difficulties in all this are obvious to you and the rest of his friends with you, so I need not mention them, but I hope you will think seriously of it and advise as soon as possible what you think is to be done, and, if it be found impracticable at this time to bring these things about so well as we wish, what is the next best, and how the inconveniencies are to be best obviated and supplied.

I have had a very full and satisfactory letter from *the Bishop of Rochester* and have now again wrote to him. I am extremely glad to find so much harmony and good agreement amongst you. Long may it be so, which, I am sure, will contribute most of any thing to the advantage of the trade of the Company.

I can only guess at your reasons for desiring me to carry *Capt. Ogilvie to the King*, but it shall be done, and he shall have all the good offices in my power and upon your recommendation I am sure *the King* will be kind to him. I cannot carry him with me, and it was necessary he should first go back to his former abode for his things, and I take the opportunity of sending this so far with him. You know your own reasons for what you desire best, but I firmly believe you can never find one who will be more faithful to you nor for the business

about which he was employed. Since he is now to leave it, there's a necessity of another's being employed about those affairs to reside where he did, which you would think of as soon as possible. If you know of a fit one, good; if not, we must see for one here. In the meantime *Capt. Ogilvie* is to concert with one he can trust there and who was formerly helpful to him to take care of what may be sent, either from your side or from us, so there need be no stop in our affairs of that kind. *Queen Mary*, as well as I, expected that *Mrs. Ogilvie* after making so long a journey first to me and then to the other, which she says she had positive orders to do, should have some thing material to say to us, but, if she was charged with any such thing, she has forgot it. *Queen Mary* thinks her being sent again should be reserved, till there be some thing very material to send by her, which her coming often may prevent her being fit for. She was now thought the fittest for carrying a message to *Lord Oxford* and *Mr. Caesar* concerning an affair of which they formerly gave an account, and in which *the King* now expects from them as soon as possible any further light they can give, and their advice what is further fit for him to do in that matter, which comes now to concern the reputation of his conduct very nearly with all on this side as well as with you. She will be with you, I hope, long before this, and it is fit that one be sent back upon it, who can make more dispatch than she can.

I sent a stated account of the Company's concerns to *James Murray* about the beginning of August in answer to a paper from him by the direction of some of the other traders, of which I ordered a copy for you. *James Murray* being out of town, when that packet came, was unlucky, but I doubt not of his being returned long ago and of your seeing that account. I wrote some time ago to *Menzies* to inform you that by an accident of one of *the King of Sweden's* people being detained, who was empowered to state the account on his part with *the Czar*, that affair was forced to be put off for some time. However, that is, I hope, only a delay and will come on again as well in a little time, if not better than it could have done then. Where they are to meet and fit that account now, I am not yet very certain, but I have reason to believe it will be near *the Czar's* abode, and *Ormonde's* being now in that neighbourhood will do well for that end. He is, I believe, if he has not by this time, to send one to *the King of Sweden* about his own going thither, whose return he will expect before he advances that way, and in the mean time he will be ready to go to any place appointed for fitting the account.

Now as to the supply pressed in my two former on account of the Company, I would not have it understood it was meant to be by a general collection from all who are partners in any manner in it, for the inconveniencies of that are manifest, but could not ten or twenty of the most substantial be got

to advance it, who might get it in again in their own way. Nothing can be done effectually without ready money, and, though perhaps some may be got from the partners on this side on an occasion, yet that is neither certain nor will be sufficient to furnish the necessary quota to those we propose to trade with, and it would be pity to have all lost in so fine a prospect of trade for want of a little stock to put in hand at first. *The King of Sweden* and *the Czar* have been both told they may expect this from us, and without putting them in hopes of that there was nothing to be expected from them. This you will consider with the rest of our friends, and you will, I know do in it what is possible.

It was a great pleasure to us to hear of your recovery (*i.e.* acquittal), and he wrote to one to make you a compliment on it, which you would not have been without, had there been an opportunity then of sending it. 6½ pages. Copy.

The DUKE OF MAR to the BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

1717, Oct. 9.—Yours of August last, received 29 Sept. (n.s.), gave me all the pleasure one is capable of, on hearing anew from a worthy old friend after a long silence. Your accounts “are full and satisfactory and wrote in so clear and candid a manner that it adds much to the pleasure of hearing from you, and that to *the King*, which you sent me open, will, I am sure, give him no less satisfaction, which is wrote in a way worthy of him from whom it comes, and of him for whom it is designed; but the more we are pleased with them, the more will we be desirous of having more of them, which I hope you will not grudge favouring us with when you have anything material to say. I took the liberty of showing them to *the Queen*, who, I can assure you, has a just sense of them and desires to have her compliments kindly made you.

“I am very glad, as I am sure *the King* will be, to know of the harmony and good agreement that is amongst our friends with you, and long may it continue, which I am sure will conduce more than anything to the advancement of the trade of the Company, and I persuade myself that it will not fail at your door. *The King* has now wrote to our friend *James Murray* to continue in town or about it, which I hope he will do, and, when you have not time to write yourself, I hope we may hear from you by him.

“I am now only *en passant* making a visit to *the Queen* and am in a few days to set out to meet with *the King*, where, at so great a distance especially, we will want and long much, you may be sure, to hear from you, and what is a passing in your parts. I heartily wish you could find out and propose some way for us to be nearer to you, in case the designed partnership in trade should miscarry, which I still have reason to hope it will not, or be put off for some time longer; for the inconveniencies of being at so great a distance are unspeakable, and, if that cannot be brought about to our mind

and wish at present, to advise with our friends how those inconveniencies can be obviated and lessened in some manner. We will long to have *the declaration* with your amendments ; it is hard to know when there may be occasion for it ; but 'tis good to have it in readiness, and soon may there be use for it.

“ Since the account I sent of the affairs of the Company about the beginning of August last, I made the trip I told then I intended ; but, as I desired J. M[enzies] to inform you since, my journey chanced to be in vain, for by an accident which happened to one of those who was to have assisted principally in fitting and stating the account betwixt our two principal merchants, there was a necessity of putting that affair off to a further time and another place. That is a delay indeed, which is seldom agreeable ; but I hope it will come soon on again in full as advantageous a way as it would have been then. I am not yet positively sure where the place of meeting is now to be ; but I believe it will be near to both of those merchants' abodes, and in a very little time. Our friend, who was a going to one of them, is now in their neighbourhood, which is lucky enough. I believe he has sent one whither he intended to go, to prepare his way, and will in the meantime be ready to be near at least to any place where the meeting is to be for fitting of the accounts. I have a friend in Holland, of whom I have wrote to *James Murray*, who knows our other friend's address, by which you may correspond with him quicker than we now can, and he will be glad, I know, to hear often from you. This is most of what I can say of the Company's affairs in general at present, further than the last accounts in August, which I gave you of them, only as to another point, of which I have now wrote to *James Murray*, and to save repeating he will acquaint you with it.

*“ There is one thing I mentioned in the former accounts you had from me, which you touch again in yours to me, that I am now in no small concern about, and in which I want extremely to have your advice. It is in relation to *the King's* marriage, which for many reasons seems so necessary for his interest, and without that I see not how it can be kept from sinking.* Some of his friends here thought it was reasonable and fit to send one or two we could trust, to see that lady, whom I formerly mentioned we had thoughts of for him, before that the thing was proposed ; this accordingly has been done, and they have given us a report of her no ways suitable to what we hoped she was and wished her to be. It is hard to say anything amiss of a young lady, but I know to whom I do it, and on this subject it is fit to speak plain to you. They tell us that she is not at all that agreeable person we were told by some ; that she is fat, and appears likely to grow very much so, and consequently not very likely to have children ; that she has bad teeth, which gives us too good cause to apprehend a thing we formerly heard

of her having a bad breath, which I am sure *the King* could never bear ; but to us his friends, that of her not being likely to have children is enough, in my opinion, to make us think no more of it. But notwithstanding of all this, should *the King* still pursue it, there is a thing which I have but of late got notice of, which I believe would disappoint him in it, besides its having other ill consequences. I was told from one of our principal merchant's people, with whom *the King* is endeavouring to be in co-partnership, that that merchant (the King of Sweden) has a design there for himself, and I believe it was upon the suspicion that *the King* was looking that way that made him send to inform me of this. Now to be sure that merchant could not take *the King's* interfering with him, in a thing of this kind, well, and he would likewise most certainly get the better of *the King*, who is not in a settled way of trade, nor has as yet so great a stock as he has, by which *the King* might both disoblige his friend and lose his mistress to boot. This thing is very unlucky, and the more that it is hard to tell where *the King* can set on next, and there is no where one to be found who would be so agreeable to *the Church of England* ; but the question is, what is the next best to be done. In my humble opinion it is better for him to be married to anybody, provided she be young, tolerably handsome and well born, than to delay it much longer. I know very well that there are inconveniencies in most other matches that can be proposed for him, with any view of success ; but the inconveniencies of both sides ought to be balanced, and then I fancy most of his friends will be of my opinion as above. This deserves all of your most serious consideration, and I beg you may lose no time in speaking to such of them as you think fit upon it, and let us have your opinion and advice upon it as soon as possible, which *the King* will be as impatient for and more than I am. It was long before he could bring himself to the thoughts of it in his present condition, and sure I am, were it not upon other considerations than personally his own, he would not be for it yet ; but he is over that now, thinking himself indispensably obliged to it. I know him to be of that temper that marriage will either make him happy in some respect or very miserable, so that he has the more reason to be careful of making a good choice of one who will be agreeable to him.

" There is one thing in yours which I beg you may explain in order to there being some course taken to prevent any inconveniency that way. It is *what you say in relation to the Roman Catholics' expectations being raised so unaccountably. When we know it further you may be sure *the King* will give orders about it, and will be very much displeased with any folly of theirs, especially of that unseasonable kind ; but just now we are entirely ignorant of it, and, when you explain it more fully, I wish at the same time that you would let us know your opinion how to have a stop put to it.

"I am astonished that John M[enzies] has not yet given you full satisfaction in relation to the *money* notwithstanding of my repeated letters to him for that end. I have now wrote to him once more of it, wherein I have told him my mind very plainly and what I must think, if he do it not forthwith, which if he do not, there must be another course taken as to him.* I have enquired about it since I came last here, and I find there was sent over by him almost four pieces (4,000*l*) of your parcel, which was given to the merchant who got the rest from us. I hope he can give a good account of the rest, which he says in general was necessarily laid out there; but this he must show. However, were there anything of that kind to be done again, I think there is no occasion for putting any of it into his hands. You shall know what he says to me about it as soon as I hear from him; but in the meantime may you not call for him and ask him plainly about it upon what I have now wrote to you? I am really much vexed about this thing, and set to rights one way or other it must be.

"It is very agreeable what you tell me of the inclinations of people with you not being altered unless it be for the better, but as to their hopes being sunk for want of proper encouragements, I am at a loss to know what those encouragements are which have been neglected to be given them, and by whom, and to know how that is to be helped in time coming, in which it behoves all concerned to do to their utmost.

"I am very glad of what you tell me as to D[uke of] Rutland, but it is odd how he can have any apprehensions as to these two gentlemen you mention, when that affair was done and fixed in the manner it was so long ago; but, to make him easy in that point, you may by yourself, or who else you think fit, assure him that he needs not have any fears that way. One of those gentlemen, as I hear, is dead, and I am not sure but the other is so too. I am persuaded *the King* does scarce know them, and I am sure none of them ever lived with him, at least since he lived by himself from *Queen Mary*. I had not so much as heard of their names since my being in this country, till I got yours. *If you think it fit, I will speak to *the King* to write to him, which I am sure he will be ready to do, if that will give him any ease, and he will be willing to receive it.*

"I did not think you would have asked for that letter of *the King's* for you, which was in my hands, after the affair, about which it was, is so long over, so I destroyed it; but if you have a mind, I shall send you a copy of it, when I go to *the King*, which I believe he still has. The three from *the King* which you mention to have been written for some time ago, are now sent enclosed, I having wrote for them just upon my hearing from *James Murray* about them, and he had sent them enclosed for *James Murray* in my absence from this place, where I found them upon my return, and I hope they will give the gentlemen satisfaction and much the more I know that they come by your hands.

"You have heard, I know, of a thing *the King* has done of late upon an account principally he had from your parts, and some other concurring circumstances since. He wants now to be advised by you and other friends there what is fit for him to do further in it, and I heartily wish your advice may come in time. I believe I shall speak to a friend of yours about this who is going your way, and who will be with you long before you can have this letter the way it goes; but he could carry no letter with him, which makes me mention it here.

"I am very much pleased that *James Murray* seems agreeable to you, and there is nobody who you can chose who I will like better to correspond with, and I doubt not of his following the directions you give him and of his diligence and faithfulness." *The passages between asterisks are printed in the Stuart Papers, pp. 14, 6, 7, 10, notes. Over 7 pages. Copy.*

The DUKE OF MAR to JAMES MURRAY.

1717, Oct. 9.—I told you in my last, which I am sorry you were not in the way of receiving when it arrived, that I was about making a trip then on a certain affair, as I accordingly did, where I received the packet in which yours was enclosed, but, the cover being addressed to another to whom I was soon going, and other letters, as they told me, being in it, I would not open it till I met with him, which I could not do till 29 Sept.

Yours with the two enclosed gave me a great deal of satisfaction, and what I have wrote in answer to one of them, which perhaps will be shown you, will make this shorter. You will deliver the enclosed to *the Bishop of Rochester*, and, to save repetition, I have referred him as to one point to you, which is in relation to the supply. (Suggesting an advance by ten or twenty people with other observations to the same effect as those in the letter to Lord Oxford.) If this can be done with you as proposed, good and well, but if not, there's no help for it, and, as we used to say, if those as much concerned as we will lose the hog for a pen'orth of tar, they have themselves to blame. There is certainly no doing of it in a general way without evident destruction, so not to be attempted.

The reason of the delay in fitting the accounts betwixt our two principal merchants I have wrote to others, so will not repeat it. Sir H. P[aterson] in Holland knows how to send letters safer to our principal factor *Ormonde*, who is now attending the fitting of those accounts, by which friends with you may correspond more readily with him than we can or than you can with us, so I enclose his address, in case it may be useful.

Your account of your conversation with the youngest of the gentlemen I mentioned gives me a clearer view of his way of thinking than an agreeable. However it is good it is

not worse, and it may be better for us than it is for himself. I am glad though that they cannot say they are neglected, and, notwithstanding all he said to you, I think by no means they yet should be, though on his backwardness they were unreasonable to take it amiss, if we should make applications elsewhere; but this perhaps is as good thought or very gently insinuate to him as said plainly. I have really a kindness for those gentlemen, and would be wanting in nothing to show it. I never had a quarrel or difference with them, but on one account, and I still will hope to see that cause taken away, which would make our interests the same every way. I am persuaded they think our trade at a very low ebb, else he would not be quite of those sentiments he told you, and in that they may be mistaken, but, granting it to be so, then is the time for them to get all set right as to themselves without hurting them any other way in the mean time. They have more in their power than they are aware of, and this, I am sure, they will agree with me in, that there's no other way but ours to retrieve the trade of our country.

When I came here, I found the enclosed for you from *the King* on what I had formerly wrote to him, which was sent in my absence to G[eneral] D[illon] to forward to you. There were three enclosed in it for those you mentioned to me at your first writing, but, because of *the Bishop of Rochester's* saying in his last he would deliver them himself, I have sent them to him. *The King* is very sensible you are not able to stay in town about soliciting his affairs without some help, so he has ordered a bill for 100*l.* to be sent you, till he can do more, which is enclosed, and there's a letter for you from your friend John Hay, which came at the same time.

I am now going to be at so great a distance from you that it will be an age before I can expect to hear. I wish to God any way could be found to bring us nearer, the disadvantages of the great distance being unspeakable, but, having mentioned this to others of our friends with you, I will say no more here.

I hope to hear as frequently from you as you can, and you shall hear from me when I have anything to inform you of worth your while. I shall be glad of some addresses to write to you by, when this way does not offer, or when I have nothing of importance enough to send by it. It is of consequence that I have answers to what I have now wrote to our friends with you as soon as possible, which I beg you may forward all you can. 4 pages. Copy. Enclosed,

The said address.

The DUKE OF MAR to MR. CÆSAR.

1717, Oct. 9.—Thanking him for his letter of 18 Aug. (o.s.), which gives so full and clear a view of affairs there, with which he knows *the King*, to whom he is going, will be very much pleased.

(Concerning the account of the affairs of the Company formerly sent by *Mar* and the reasons which had prevented the accounts therein mentioned being fitted as was then expected as in the letters to Lord Oxford and the Bishop of Rochester.) I cannot but say that some manœuvres of some of the *King of Sweden's* people were enough to have made the *Czar* think they were designing not very fair play, but I hope anything that was in that is cured, and the *King of Sweden* and his people cannot but see, after trying all, that it is his interest to clear and settle matters with the other and consequently fall into the trade we wish. For that end your seeing the gentleman you mention (*Gyllenborg*) was exceeding lucky and what I was afraid was scarce practicable. I know him to be a worthy honest man and a hearty well-wisher, as another of his companions is, with whom I am very well, and who is gone the same road with the other. They too, I hope, will keep the rest of their people right and steady and prevent any trick others of their folks may be inclined to.

I have told some of our friends how they may correspond with the Duke of Ormonde, which you will do more easily and quickly than you can with us.

What you say of the *King's* marriage is very just, and I hope he'll be of those sentiments himself, but there are some difficulties, of which I have wrote to some of our friends, particularly to *Lord Oxford*, to which I want mightily to have a speedy answer, and also concerning his returning from his travels and setting up his trade in some fit place, till he can be established at his own port, or, if that cannot be done, how the inconveniencies of his great distance can in some measure be helped. I do not doubt he will speak to you of those things, so I will not insist more on them. I find you were in hopes of our trade beginning sooner than it possibly could, even suppose the meeting had held at the first appointment for settling the affairs of the Company. Though things cannot be so soon, yet ere long I have reason to believe you will see the things you hoped for come to pass. What is well begun, we used to say, is half done, and it is so, I hope, with our Company and trade. I have mentioned to *James Murray* something concerning a part of the Company's stock, which I need not repeat, since he'll give you an account of it, and nobody is a better judge than you, both of the importance of that particular, and the right ways of going about it. It is a great pleasure to me that jealousies are now removed from amongst our friends, and long may the harmony we hear is amongst them continue, for nothing can contribute so much to the good of our trade.

Lord Oxford's recovery (*i.e.* acquittal) gave us both pleasure and comfort, and shows his good natural constitution. It will, I am persuaded, very much contribute to the advance of our trade, his activity as well as dexterity can do much, and he has

a particular talent at the right establish[ment of] a trade of that kind, but he will not be the worse of your keeping him in mind of it.

I must trouble you with my compliments to Mrs. *Cæsar*. I will be sure to let *the King* know the value you both put on what was sent her.

(Desiring to hear from him frequently.)

There is to be one with you before you can receive this, to know what further light can be given in the affair (Peterborough's), of which you gave *the King* advertisement, and what advice you will give him as to his further conduct in it. $3\frac{1}{4}$ pages. *Copy*.

The DUKE OF MAR to LORD ORRERY.

1717, Oct. 9.—Your good sense I know of, joined to the experience you have now had of a certain set, makes me conclude you are heartily weary of them, and that you would be glad of an opportunity of delivering yourself, your friends and country from such things and establishing in their room those, who, were you acquainted with them, you would find possessed of as many good qualifications as they are of the reverse.

People in a ditch, who do not endeavour to get out, must perish. You have more understanding as well as spirit, than to be one of those, and it is by the assistance of such as you that all are to be kept from sinking. You will forgive me therefore, I hope, for venturing to put you in mind of it. It will not be long, I am persuaded, before means will be found to give you a helping hand, but in the meantime endeavours with you must not be wanting to keep things afloat, and who knows what good success may attend that, when rightly managed, in doing the work of itself? Could I give any assistance either to the thing in general or to you in particular, I should think myself very happy. I have given those I am concerned in a just and right impression of you and the service you may be of, and, if you lay any commands on me, I will execute them with pleasure, and beg you to let me have your advice in whatever you think can be for the advancement of what we all ought to wish for. *Copy*.

The DUKE OF MAR to ANNE OGLETHORPE.

1717, Oct. 9.—Yours are always acceptable, and particularly your last of 19 August, which has not been long come to me, by your account of the good agreement amongst our friends. Long may it continue, and nothing can conduce more to the good of the Company. You will endeavour to make it so, I know, and I doubt not of *Lord Oxford's* taking such measures as will make it lasting. I have wrote fully to him and I wish he would take the trouble of doing so always to me, when he mentions things of such concern to the trade of

the Company. His advice is wanted as much in the methods for bringing about the things proposed as the proposing the things themselves.

Mr. Cæsar's letter was very full, for which I have now thanked him.

By what *Mrs. Ogilvie* tells me of the accounts that came from *Dillon*, it seems they have been exaggerated, and how that came about I can scarce imagine. She is to be with you before this can be and will have explained that matter. The person *Dillon* had the opportunity of sending by was one not known to *Lord Oxford* and had been sent by *Lord Arran &c.*, which was the reason of his being sent directly to them, and that was the reason also of my sending about the same time a cargo directly to *James Murray*, it being in answer to things he had sent me. I should have thought some folks, especially after the advice they had so lately given me, of doing all I could to put others in good humour, would not have judged hardly of things being sent that way so precipitately, and, had they had patience till they had seen what that cargo contained, they would have been satisfied with the reason of its being sent that way. They have seen it now, I know, so that apprehension of theirs will be over, but in future I hope they will not be so hasty in suspecting those that never gave them cause, which I could not help telling you, since I know your friendship there. There are no jealousies amongst us here now, nor, I believe, will there ever be, if there be no occasion given for them from your parts, but that will not be, I hope, no more than anything further of that kind amongst themselves.

Lord Orrery's verses are very pretty, which I will show *the King*. I have wrote to him in the manner you advised me, which I enclose for you to get delivered. As to the gentleman with you you mention for writing, we are now to be at too great a distance for any lights to be expected from us for him, but *Lord Oxford* and other friends with you can best supply that. I have enquired after Mr. S[heridan] you sent me word of and find he answers the character you give, and I believe he will be very fit for the business proposed, in which very likely I may employ him, if he be willing, after he returns from an affair he is now about with *Ormonde*.

I have little expectation of anything from *the Duke of Argyle* or his friend, so long as the first is so attached to his present patron, but *Lord Oxford* knows best how to order that affair, if at all practicable, and *Lord Orrery* may be a good help to him in it.

Though your friends be not at present here, I have new obligations to them for my quarters. *Lady Mar* will be with you, I believe, before this, so I need say nothing of her. We will long to have further light and advice in the affair with which *Mrs. Ogilvie* is charged to *Lord Oxford* and *Mr. Cæsar*. The person first sent with an account of that business is a very

honest good man, but his want of the language makes him not so fit as another for sending hither with messages.

Lord Erskine's friends are obliged to you for your civilities to him. His accident has been a terrible one, but I hope he is now got over it, and will not suffer further by it.

When you see *Lady Westmorland* my compliments to her. As *Lord Oxford* desires, *Capt. Ogilvie* is to follow me, but I wish he may find one of as much fidelity and attachment to him to succeed him.

I will not forget to speak to *the King* of the picture for *Lord Oxford's* young she friend, which he will certainly send, if there be any body where he is who can do a thing of that kind fit to go so long a journey, but his doing so is no small favour, for it is his aversion, and what he's unwilling always to be brought to. *Nearly 3 pages. Copy.*

THE DUKE OF MAR to J. MENZIES.

1717, Oct. 9.—“*Mrs. Ogilvie* will be with you before this, which may save me a good deal I would otherwise have to say to you of the way of the cargo she brought being delivered. None of those directed for others than myself were opened till they were put in their own hands, though I saw and was told there were letters in them for me, and that I received all when I was with friend Charles [Kinnaid], where *Mrs. Ogilvie* said she had orders to come, as well as hither after it, and yet I can find out nothing almost she had either to say to me nor others, so that I wonder what made *Lord Oxford* give her that needless trouble. By what she tells me, as well as what you wrote in several of yours, it seems the message sent by *Dillon* has been exaggerated, which is odd, and I cannot imagine their design in doing so, it might have bad consequences and could have no good. *Dillon* has showed me a copy in writing of the message he sent, and there was scarce so much in it as in the paper I sent about that time, which lay so long with you unopened, and no more of any kind; he is persuaded the messenger would say no more than he charged him with, so he was vexed that such things should have been said of it, and the more that, upon what you wrote in several and upon what *Mrs. Ogilvie* said, I wrote to him on it, seeming to believe it as indeed I could not well do otherwise, after its coming so to me, and I concluded he had got notice of things after I was gone, and that *Queen Mary* and he had resolved together on the message to be sent upon it. It is over now; but in time coming I wish people may be more cautious in what is said of anything that is sent, for such things may have very bad effects with people here, and create jealousies and misunderstandings, when there is in reality no occasion for it. What adds to *Dillon's* belief of the messenger having said nothing but what he had charged him with, is that all the letters which mention it at this time say nothing but

what was really in it ; but the other accounts tell us of, God knows, how many fine things, which I wish to Heavens were true : but enough of this.

"I am glad to find by yours to friend Charles [Kinnaird] that those for *Menzies* came safe, and that you informed our friends of what was in one of them concerning the meetings being put off for some time for fitting of those accounts. I have repeated the same account to some of them now, which is all I could yet say as to that matter. For some time to come our factor *the Duke of Ormonde* will be able to inform them of it quicker than I can, of which I have told them, and that my friend in Holland, *Sir H. Paterson*, knows how to send letters to *Ormonde* safe.

"I had a very full and satisfactory letter from *the Bishop of Rochester* and I am overjoyed of the harmony amongst them. Others tell me that he is quite reconciled to *Menzies* ; but *by a paragraph in his I find *Menzies* not having as yet made an account to him of what he had put in his hands, still sticks with him, as indeed it is no wonder, which you will tell *Menzies* from me, and it is unaccountable that he has been so long of doing it, after what has been told him about it again and again. I am persuaded he has better sense than to have delayed so long a thing which so nearly concerns his reputation, could he have done it as he ought, and, if he cannot, the best thing he can do, is to own it and tell the matter plainly.*

"You can scarce imagine what concern this ugly affair has given to his friends *Lord Mar* and *Inese*, who for being such will suffer in this as well as he. *In fine, there is a necessity of his immediately giving *the Bishop of Rochester* satisfaction in this matter, else no friend he has can vindicate or stand up for him, and cannot fail of having a very odd opinion of it.* By an account lately sent by a goldsmith there is a hundred pounds more given him, which it is necessary he should also give an account of to people here as well as of *the Bishop of Rochester's* money. I will expect to have no more occasion of writing on this subject ; let him own and tell me the truth of the whole affair, and he may depend on my doing him the best service in it I can.

"I have wrote both to *the Bishop of Rochester* and *Lord Oxford* of *the King's* marriage, and particularly of the person formerly named, of whom we have an account that makes that affair not at all advisable, and I will long with impatience for their answer about it. He had himself thoughts also of another, of which it is likely your friend *Charles Kinnaird* may speak to you when you see him ; but there is now no more to be thought of it, which is the greater loss that the first is so as I have told you, and I scarce see where he can set on next with any prospect of success ; but in my weak opinion it is better that he should fix it with anybody, provided she be well born, tolerably handsome, young and likely to have children, than wait much longer ; but it is too much for any

one to take the advising this on themselves, and I shall not be the person to do it, though I cannot help owning my opinion about it, which I think an honest man is obliged to do, when it is asked. There is none, in his circumstances, to be found for him without objections to them, and it cannot be expected otherwise; but the inconveniencies and advantages on both sides ought to be considered, and then I conceive my opinion, as I have told you above, will be found reasonable.

"As to the affair of the *money* you mention, it must be either gone about in the method you proposed or not at all; but having wrote of this to *James Murray* I need say no more of it here.

"The few days you said in yours of 20 Aug. in which you would answer all the other points of mine, to which that was an answer, are not yet come it seems, so I fancy you meant months in place of days, though let me tell you, by your way of doing, I must believe it will be the same thing, even then, if you meant it so.

"I am very glad of what you tell me of John Steuart, &c., which is what I expected of them.

"It is long now since we heard anything of *the Duke of Shrewsbury*; do you ever see him now, and has he and others of our friends any communication together? I hope he is well and, if you see him, my kind compliments will not, I hope, be unacceptable. *Mrs. Ogilvie* will tell you of *Capt. Ogilvie's* being to follow me, for so will *Lord Oxford* have it. There must be one to supply his place, of which I have wrote, and I wish they may find one as faithful and fit for it.

"We will long extremely to have returns from your parts, what they will advise further as to *Lord Peterborough's* affair, and what more light can be given in it.

"I told you in one not long ago, in answer to what you wrote me of *Cadogan* that all was done in it that the nature of the thing would allow of, which was by *the Duke of Mar's* writing to him, which he did in the best manner he could, and is sure of it having gone to his hands in an unsuspected way, and what he could not disapprove of. There is no answer to it, which is no more than what I expected, so it is not improbable but you may hear of it in another way, and then I hope *the Duke of Mar's* friends will not be unmindful nor neglecting of the thing I wrote to you in relation to that; but, unless this comes abroad by *Cadogan*, it must by no means be spoke of, and if it does come that way, it will not be very handsome of him; but *Lord Mar* says that he will be pretty indifferent, that perhaps people will think him a fool for mistaking his man and knowing so little of him; but he will never mind that, when his venturing of it can possibly be thought in any way to serve his friend *the King*. *The Duke of Mar* leaves this place in a day or two, and he bids me tell you that the great distance he is to be at will increase his anxiety of hearing from friends, and he hopes it will not

make them forget him. May he soon be nearer you again, and indeed his being so far as well as *the King* has so many inconveniencies in it that it is cruel and scarce to be expressed. It were to be wished that their friends with you could advise how it is to be helped, and, if it cannot for some time in so good a way as they wish, at least, how the inconveniencies of it may in some measure.

"*James Hamilton* will, I believe, be with you as soon as this, to whom I spoke fully, as also to *Kinnaird*, to whom I refer a great many things that are too long to be wrote. I will long to know of *the Duchess of Mar's* ending her voyage well." *The passages between asterisks are printed in the Stuart Papers p. 8, note. 5 pages. Copy.*

CAPT. H. STRAITON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 28[—Oct. 9]. L———. —As soon as I had yours of 9 July on the 10th instant, I sent for *Sir John Erskine* and his brother, and we have agreed on all the proper methods we can think of to carry on the *collection of money* with quietness and advantage. The first may be difficult, if the trade be made extensive; what the last may produce, time must tell, but we design to begin with the most substantial and sure friends, and have already done something that way, and shall go on with as much caution and diligence as we can, and always give you account as occasions offer or require.

Though *James Murray* has not come here as you expected, he and *Menzies* by the same hand that brought me yours have given me a pretty full and most acceptable account of matters, which I have fully communicated only to *the Bishop of Edinburgh* and the brothers above mentioned, and we are resolved to keep the main substantial parts as much a secret as we can.

Though I longed much to hear from *Mar*, I never was, I am not, and I hope never shall be a grumbler, for I am fully persuaded he ever did and always will do his best to promote *the King's* and Company's interest, and, though he may be sometimes silent, I concluded he is never idle.

I always had a particular respect for *Sir J. Maclean's* family, purely for their constant firm adherence to *the King* and his family, for I never had personal acquaintance with any of them, and having *the King's* and your orders to take particular care of *Sir Hector Maclean*, I should be very ill satisfied with myself, if I had been any way negligent, and I hope you will pardon me for repeating much of what's past on this subject.

Very soon after I had your first directions I sent to *J. Macleod, junior*, to inform him of what you had written concerning *Sir H. Maclean* and requested it might be communicated to some of *Sir H. Maclean's* nearest relations, and that

J. Macleod, junior, or some of them would come to me, for I was not able to come to them. I had for answer that *J. Macleod, junior*, was going to that country or near it, and would do as desired and give me account on his return, before which I had your second directions, and was glad I jumped with your thoughts in the choice of *J. Macleod, junior*. On his return I gave you account of what he said, and again sent to request him to come and speak with me, but to this minute I have not seen him, and at length I find he is over much on the caution, and that extreme may sometimes make one useless, and I hope a younger advocate will not be so over cautious.

About 10 weeks ago *J. Macleod, junior's*, nephew, the tutor's son, came and told me he had a letter from G[le]n[d]ar[ro]le, importing you had ordered me to give money for *Sir H. Maclean's* use. I told him I had money and also your repeated orders in general, but yet wanted direction what particular sum I should give. However I would immediately or when he pleased give him 30 or 40*l.*, which he then declined and seemed inclined to wait your orders for the particular sum, but some days after he told me he had considered the matter with some friends, and they were resolved to bring the youth soon to town and board him in the same house as *Sir Donald MacDonald's* eldest son, and put him under the same governor, which I much approved of, having *the Bishop of Edinburgh's* good character of him, so I immediately gave him 30*l.* as he desired without a receipt, because he had some little scruples about it. You can best judge if I have done anything amiss, and I hope you will correct my mistakes and give me more particular directions. *J. Macleod, junior*, is supposed to be gone to bring in *Sir H. Maclean*.

I need not trouble you much with *England's* affairs; he himself can give you accounts sooner and better than I, but I cannot forbear to tell you that *the English* disaffection to *King George* is great and general and is now obvious to the meanest capacity or weakest observer and so is *the ministry's* weakness and imprudent conduct. If *King George* and *the Germans*, the spring of all, are wise men, it's more than I can comprehend.

No doubt you have heard of the disagreement betwixt *King George* and *the Prince of Wales* and how they have different parties in the company, which heartily hate each other, and, that as much, some say more, than either hate *the Scotch Jacobites* or *the English Jacobites*, but I suppose you have not heard that the same humour is creeping fast into *the Whigs* family here, which is so obvious in *Glasgow* that the old staunch ones there will not drink *King George's* health, and the younger sort are generally turning both to *the Scotch Jacobites* and *the Tories*. In short *King George* seems to have very little anywhere to trust to but in *the army's* favour, and that it's thought will prove a broken reed.

The indemnity has been ill spoken of and much lampooned, yet it has done much good to your distressed partners, and all of them in this country, and I have seen some of the most significant of them, will frankly go in to the old trade, unless some of the late murmurers, that much overvalue themselves, and of these some few, I am told, are ashamed and pretend they will be glad of an opportunity to retrieve their mistakes. About a month ago *Stuart of Appin* arrived here, and went home without seeing any here. Whether he comes by direction, allowance, or at a venture I know not.

Though it's generally thought *the Parliament* will continue, *Lord Balmerino* assures me that *Argyle's* friends have earnestly solicited him to persuade *the Scotch Tories* to join with them in the event of a change, which seems to found a presumption that *the Ministry* is not yet fully determined as to that matter.

There is everywhere here a very plentiful crop, and farmers and others of skill say it is greater than that of 1715, so, if your company want any grain this place can afford, it may be reasonably expected it will be cheap.

Rait's letter was carefully delivered, and some days ago I desired him, if he had letters for you, to send them to me as soon as he could, for I had a convenient occasion. If anything from him comes, before the person going to *Menzies'* quarter goes off, you shall have it, but, if nothing comes, it may not be his fault for I am told he is very ill.

Your servant, *Capt. H. Straiton*, you know has been long ill, and was beginning to recover in spring, but this summer he took jaundice, which some thought would infallibly dispatch him, but he himself thinks it has in some manner proved his cure, being now better than he has been for two years, and, if his rupture will allow him to ride, he thinks he may yet be of some little use on a proper occasion. 3½ pages.

JOHN PATERSON to LORD TULLIBARDINE.

1717, Oct. 10. Urbino.—I enclose a letter from the King. The bearer arrived here but a few days ago, and, in obedience to your commands in yours of 24 August, I spoke to the King about him, and his Majesty readily agreed he should be sent to you, and ordered him some little money for this journey. I wish it could have been made more, but you know the King's circumstances well enough to believe that money is at present a very scarce commodity with us.

The Duke of Mar is now on the road towards us. As soon as I see him, I shall not fail to make him your compliments.

I have directed Mr. Murray to go straight to Bordeaux and then address himself to R. Gordon, and, as I suspected he would be shy of letting any stranger know where you were, I have given him a letter to Mr. Gordon. *Copy.*

JOHN PATERSON to ROBERT GORDON.

1717, Oct. 10. Urbino.—Recommending the bearer, Mr. Murray, who is going to Lord Tullibardine about some of his

private concerns, and asking him to put him in the best way of going where his Lordship is. *Copy.*

WILLIAM DALMAHOY to the DUKE of MAR.

1717, Oct. 10. Brussels.—As his friends since the late Act have without any previous notice to him assured themselves of a licence for him to return, so that the only stop is his consent, which he has absolutely refused till he knows his Grace's mind, desiring his answer therein. He was at Preston, and escaped from prison with Borlom and others and has ever since lived in these countries.

The DUKE of MAR to COLIN CAMPBELL of GLENDARULE.

1717, Oct. 10. Paris.—Since you tell me *Tullibardine* has appointed you to open his letters, I write to you directly in answer to what I've had from him as well as from yourself and *Brigadier Campbell*. I have a great many from you and some from them now before me (giving the dates of the letters in question and the dates of their receipt.) I hear there were two for *Bairly* (*i.e.* Mar) come to *Dillon* above two months ago, which address he did not know till lately, and now he cannot find them. He thinks they were in *Brigadier Campbell's* hand, and, if from him, he'll see 'tis none of my fault he had no answer.

I have considered *Brigadier Campbell's* to you and *Barry's* to him, which are very full and distinct. *Dillon* says he wrote twice to *Barry* since he had his of March last, in one of which he directed him to dispose of the ship, which it seems he did without having that letter, in which he judged right. The list of the cargo you sent me is very well, and I am sorry there is no immediate occasion for it. Most of the commodities can be had at any time and most places when there is, but that of the *swords* and *targes* cannot be found when wanted, unless bespoke beforehand, and they are the most necessary. At present money is not very plentiful, so is to be the more cautiously managed, but in a little time I hope it will not be so scarce. All that is to be provided just now in *Barry's* parts are those commodities of *swords* and *targes* and the quantity 10,000 of each. Let therefore *Barry* and *Brigadier Campbell* set about agreeing for them immediately and have them put in hand without delay, to be made by the best workmen and of such ware as the *Highlanders* will like. The sooner they can be ready, the better, but the payments must not be very soon nor all at a time. They will make the best bargain they can, and let *Dillon* be acquainted with the terms, that there may be no failure nor complaint about it. These commodities must be bought up as quietly as possible, that it may not alarm other merchants and so raise their price, or spoil our market where they are to be carried. When ready, they may be kept in a private warehouse, till we find a proper time for sending them abroad to the market, and then we cannot miss a good ship to hire, and the other commodities

can be had at other places as thereabouts perhaps too, which will be taken care of, for making up the cargo. This is all I need now say on this head, and I shall be glad to know what is done in it, which *Dillon's* being acquainted of must not hinder you from letting me know it too.

An accident in the affair *Mar* went about delayed it for some time. It was in relation to *the King of Sweden* and *the Czar*, but I have little doubt of its coming right again, and our friend *Ormonde* will be in the way to take care of *the King's* concern in that matter. Let not therefore Mr. Pillar's relations despair, for there was scarce ever more cause to hope well of Mr. Randle's (? a restoration) business. The less though said of *Ormonde* the better. I had a letter from him 'tother day and he was very well. *King George's* family is in worse agreement and more confusion every day, and they talk of discharging some of their servants to keep *the Parliament* in humour, who is like to grow very troublesome.

I am much surprised at *H. Straiton's* answer to *J. Macleod junior* about *Sir Hector Maclean*. You know I wrote to the first about him more than a twelvemonth ago, and I am sure you saw the returns I had of nobody's having been to ask him about it, but that it should be taken care of, when they came to him, which I hope you'll let *Sir Hector Maclean's* friends know. I shall write to *H. Straiton* about it and I think by all means you should order *Sir Hector Maclean* to be brought to *Edinburgh* where he must live as little chargeably as he can, for *H. Straiton* will not be able to give him much. Tell *Major Fraser* I am to write to his friend *Lockhart* but have no way of sending it but by *H. Straiton*, though that matters not much, for it shall be sealed. I had an account of your friend Kin[n]a[chi]n (*i.e.* John Stewart) and services from him as he went from Mr. Osselby's (? London). He bids him assure me that he and indeed all who were in his circumstances are still the same men they were.

Tell Lord G. Murray I'll do as he desires, when I meet with *the King*, and shall then write to him.

I have been very hurried since I came here, and shall be so the few days I am to stay. *The King* has wrote for my being with him as soon as possible. I hope *Tullibardine* will forgive my not writing now directly to him. As soon as I get to *the King* he shall hear from me.

I was very glad to find on coming here that *Queen Mary* had caused those people who had behaved in so wrong a way towards *Tullibardine* at *Bordeaux* to know themselves better. One of them I wondered at more than the rest, the Laird, old James [Malcolm of Grange], and I am persuaded it has been on some mistake. I hear he is not well and had got in with Mrs. Robert Gordon to take care of him, which made him so unwilling to remove. I believe he would give no trouble there, but would do what service he could. If *Tullibardine* would write and tell him he must come back again by himself to

his old quarters it would be a great comfort to the honest old man, but in this as he thinks fit.

I suppose you have heard of *Stuart of Appin* going to *Scotland*, which I can scarce think he would have done without it were on a sure foot and he told nobody of it that I know of. Nothing he can do will surprise me. We hear all strangers are ordered to retire from Calais, and perhaps the like orders are given at the rest of the French ports. $4\frac{1}{2}$ pages. On a separate piece of paper :—

The story your friend writes you of *Argyle* is odd, and, unless he'll explain it further, I know not how to judge of it or what credit to give to it. I found means of trying him and his friend in all the ways I judged most likely to take with them, but by what I can find we have not much to expect of them. They will not be so violent, I believe, as they have been, and seem resolved to be passive in the affair between *the King* and *King George*, which is better for us than themselves. They will do all they can with *the Parliament* against *Omers* which may turn to some account, and I believe the fear of *the King* will not keep them from doing so, but *Argyle*, I believe, thinks himself obliged in honour to stick by *the Prince of Wales*. In fine they cannot complain, I am sure, of any neglect of *Mar's* towards them or of not being sure of *the King's* friendship if they'll deserve it. I should be glad to know whom your friend means by "to whom they applied or said anything tending that way" and what authority he has for it. All this to yourself only, and no mortals must know of anything having been done about them, but you may let your friend know that, if they would listen and do as they ought, you are sure they would meet with all encouragement. *Copy.*

QUEEN MARY to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct. 11 and 12. Chaillot.—"I send you all my packetts for the King ; in the great one are all his own papers, in the other I send him the letters I had by Mrs. *Ogilvie*, tho' there is little in them. I do not writt to him, becaus a living letter, especially such a one as you are, is worth a hundred written ones ; you may assure him, that, as I can do little besides praying for him, so I do that most heartily, and hope God will bless and preserve him for all our comforts. I forgott to tell you iesterday, that Mr. Dillon desired me to writt a note to *the Bishop of Rochester* by the man that's going to him, for fear he should take it ill, that I writt to others, and not to him, so I shall do it, and take notice of the compliments I sent to him in your letter. I send you here all your own papers, and heartily wish you a good journey. I shall expect with impatience to hear that you are safe and well with my dear Peter (the King), who, I am sure, is very impatient to have you with him. I will not seal this till I have seen *the Regent*,

"Oct. the 12th.—I just com from writting to *the King* an account of what passed betwixt *the Regent* and *Queen Mary*. The last tells me that *she* was pretthy well satisfyd with *the Regent*, who gave *her* great hopes, or rather assurances of paying soon all he owes to *her*, and also som hopes of helping *the King* the beginning of the next year, which *Dillon* must now sollicit. *The Regent* spoke mor freely than *Queen Mary* expected of severall other things, whicch I am to weary to repeat here again, having just writt it to *the King*, but one thing I must tell you about *Peterborough* whos confinement he thinks ther was good reasons for, though he dos not absolutly condemn him, no more do I, unless mor is found against him. He sayd he heard the report of his beeing at liberty, but he did not beleeve it. He also told *Queen Mary* that he heard from *England* that when the news of *Peterborough* came to that family, the generality and chiefs of them laughed at it, and sayd *who cares for it or who will reclaim him*, whicch, I think, should putt *the Pope* at ease, and take away all fears of keeping of him safe, at least som time longer, and I hope he will do it. I am so weary that I cannot say one word mor, but to bid you adieu." *Holograph*.

THE DUKE OF MAR to T. BRUCE.

1717, Oct. 11.—A few days after I came here I had your long letter concerning your conversation with *de Wilda*. I am glad to see his friendship for our friend *the King* but cannot but think a little odd of his so overfrank way, and I'm afraid it is not all gold that he would make glitter. However I think you should keep on your communication with him, and do all you can to encourage him to serve our friend, who, it's true, cannot do much, if anything, at present to make it worth his while, but, if a man of his coat can trust to futurities or uncertainties, perhaps it may one day or another turn to account to him and the country he is most concerned in. As to *the lady* he proposes, it would certainly be the very best thing could happen, and no promises should be wanting that could bring that about, nay even if that could not be made to succeed, if he could bring *the Emperor* to give a helping hand or even allowance to any he has influence on to dispose of any of their *ladies* in that way, it would be of good service. Another thing in which he might be of good use, if he has the interest he pretends, is to get *the Emperor* to give *the King* a place of *asile*; it would be good service, though it were not properly in his own *teritorys*. These are the two main points just now, so, if you can bring him to undertake a management for anything of that kind, you may promise him what you think reasonable, as soon as our friend is in a capacity of performing. For our friend to write to *the Emperor*, before he knew it would be acceptable or in what he could succeed with him after what has passed there, were not advisable, but, if he can make that appear, a letter as he should advise would

not be wanting. The affair of *the Princess of Modena* I told you of, is quite over, and I believe will not come on again unless by means of *the Emperor*, so there is nothing in the way on our side to that of *the Emperor's* friend (i.e. niece); but, even should that be impracticable, his getting *the Emperor* to forward that of *the Princess of Modena* would do well, for, after what we have heard of *the Princess of Hesse*, I see none so fit save that of *the Emperor's* friend, and this must very soon be on or off one way or other, for *the King* has no time to lose in an affair of this kind, which it behoves him soon to get done one way or other. Could you prevail on *de Wilda* to undertake a journey to *the Emperor* about all this himself, I should have good hopes of it, and I'll long to hear from you on that subject. As to my old acquaintance, *Falconbridge's* friend, of whom you wrote in yours of the 7th which I had to-day, who is now with him, and his going to *the Emperor*, I believe he has not much credit personally there, so he could do little good, unless a prior interest were made for him, after which, I think, he might be of very good use in keeping it and promoting anything that concerned *the King's* affairs in that place, and in that case he would certainly willingly allow him what could be expected in his present circumstances. If you can bring *de Wilda* to make a journey himself to *the Emperor*, on his report the other might be sent after, if agreeable to the first, but, if he undertake it, that must be as he advises. If you be in company with this friend of *Falconbridge*, you may tell him you named him to me, when you saw me last, and that I had desired you, should you see him again, to tell him I had reason to hope we should yet meet and drink a bottle where we drank the last together, to which I believed he would be glad to contribute. This is all I can say on these heads till I hear from you again.

I find you are not yet accustomed to the new cipher, for you mistake the numbers of several in your last, which you'll be more careful of in future.

I am very sorry for my friend C[ampio]'s accident, which you'll tell him from me. As to what you write of *de Prié's* late conversation with *Falconbridge*, there's no need of saying much to it, and it only shows that *the Emperor* has now less confidence in *the Pope* than ever, and to be sure any application in future to *de Prié* shall not be by that canal.

I am to leave this in two days, and, as I shall be at so great a distance, it is fit you have a correspondent here. For this I have recommended it to my friend *Inese*, with whom I leave a copy of our ciphers and your address, and I have also given him your papers to get turned into French, of which you may remind him. I have spoken to him on your two last, and of what I was to answer, so you may write to him freely on those subjects and on anything else, but what concerns 583 (? religion), which may not be so proper. This though, I hope, shall not keep me from hearing from you sometimes.

You would no doubt hear of Lord Peterborough's affair, which I have not time to give you an account of, but I have ordered G[ordo]n to send you a paper about it. I return the letter you sent me, and think your sentiments in that matter are right. Powrie is come here, but his affair there is not yet done, and he tells me he will not trust to a privy seal, but he believes it will fail altogether. There is now little more than a twelvemonth to free a great many without anything from them, which is not long to wait, and it is not sure what may happen in the time, but as to yourself you are the best judge.

I have not heard from friend Charles [Kinnaird] since I left him. If you see him or write to him pray let him know so, and that I long for the account he promised. Tell him also the affair of the *Princess of Modena* is entirely off so must not be spoke of to any body. 3½ pages. Copy.

CAPT. H. STRAITON to J. MENZIES.

1717, Sept. 30[–Oct. 11]. L.—Your most acceptable letter of 15 Aug. came to me the 10th instant and the next post I acknowledged it by a line to Ja[m]es M[urray] which I put under cover to D. F[loyd] and desired him to deliver it to either he could first meet with. The full import of yours and James' [Murray's] letter I have yet communicated to no mortal but B[rewer] (the Bishop of Edinburgh) and the two brothers (Sir J. Erskine and his brother) and will do nothing of consequence without the advice and concurrence of these three. In the meantime we have agreed on the most proper methods we can think of to carry on the collection of money with quietness and advantage and design to begin with the most substantial and sure friends, and have already done something that way.

When I last wrote to Ja[m]es Murray both his and your address had fallen by my hand, but now I have found them, yet I know not how far it may be convenient to use them, therefore I wish you may with the first conveniency advise me about it, or send me new addresses, as you think most fit and please communicate this to James.

Mar in his last ordered me to send all his letters from this to you, so please forward the enclosed to him.

This will come under cover to D. F[loyd] by Mr. Berrie, merchant in Edinburgh, who knows nothing of me nor of the subject of what he carries, only he takes it as some papers of importance to David. However I am assured he is a very honest man and will be careful of everything committed to his trust, so, if you or James have any commands for me or others, it may be given to David and come safely with Berrie.

I have sent David a pretty long paper, which I very much esteem, and so do wiser heads than mine. I wish you and other judicious friends may revise and consider it, and at a convenient occasion make the proper use of it. I am told it was printed

at Paris, and that some copies were sent to London, which I suppose may have miscarried, because I am desired to send a copy. The copy I send I have not read one word of except the title and the addition to what is called *Lord Balmerino's* paper, but I am told it is pretty correct. However, if it be thought fit to be much made use of, you can find hands to help little mistakes or faults. (About sending a cipher.)

GEORGE MACKENZIE to JOHN PATERSON.

1717, Oct. 12. Paris.—Asking him to let him know, when convenient, how the King and all other friends are. He has seen the Duke of Mar, who has done what the writer recommended to Paterson with regard to the allowance.

ROBERT WRIGHT to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct. 12. Brussels.—I thank your Grace for procuring subsistence for me and my sons these last nine months, which being now withdrawn, I presume to represent my condition. I am entering on the 66th year of my age, and cannot work that I may eat. It is true I may go home by this Act of Indemnity, but I must pay for a licence and a gratuity besides. This money I cannot have, for, albeit I have yet some in Scotland owing me, they are for the most part attained or bankrupt.

I lifted two sums the Whitsunday before the King's standard was set up. This bought four horses with their furniture, and maintained us all the time the King's army kept together without receiving a sixpence of the King's money, and till I wrote to you last January.

I supplicate you to advise me what to do, and to intercede with the King to supply me, if possible, with so much money, as will procure me a licence to go home presently, or with subsistence for the time I must take to use all means to get money to carry me home. Your servant, John Paterson, bought some wines from my son James to the value of 21*l*. sterling and promised to pay ready money several weeks before we left Perth, and, when payment was sought, he was still busy and would do it next day. A great part of this is mine. When I was forced from Clackmannan, I had some banknotes for which Duncan Oldcorn promised to send me money, who found afterwards it could not be done safely, and so sent me the value of it in liquors to Perth. Mr. Paterson has been written to several times, yet never gave a return. I entreat you to order the payment of this in your own way.

I had the honour to wait on your Duchess while she was here, and to dine with her. She went safe to Holland. I shall pray and hope she shall go so to England.

JAMES III. to CARDINAL ORIGO.

1717, Oct. 12.—Mr. Sheldon on delivering me your letter informed me of what had passed between him and Lord

Peterborough, to which I attach little importance, never having expected any great enlightenment from that interview. All that has seemed to me to deserve attention is his proposal about his release on parole. The circumstances are such that I believe I can concur with it without inconvenience, making however a small change, which, I believe, will not displease him, for instead of the States of the Pope I consent that he should reside in the neighbourhood of Reggio on his simple parole and without guards, till his innocence be established. I have caused Mr. Sheldon to write to him to that effect, and, as soon as he shall have given his word of honour either before witnesses in your presence or in writing, I beg you to set him at liberty. I do not object to his going to Bologna, provided he does not stay more than two days there and that then he proceeds with all speed to his house near Reggio. I do not doubt that decision will be agreeable to his Holiness, to whom I have written on the subject. For the rest I refer myself to what Mr. O'Brien will tell you from me. I must repeat my most sincere thanks for all the zeal you have shown and all the trouble you have taken in this business. *French. Copy. There is another copy in Entry Book 1, p. 210.*

FANNY OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct. 13.—“The first part of the enclosed is entirely for you in answer to that I gave you at Mouchy. I wrote him word that you complained of the coldness and dryness of his letter, that he did not explain enough his designs, that his letter was not detailly. It is true that 'tis hardly possible for him to enter into particulars, since there was nothing in question then but things in general. *M. de Mezières* thinks that, since he has accepted *the pardon* and seems touched with the handsome manner of doing it, it is a good sign; in short his answer to the master's letter, though short, is quite different from the time he would not receive a message from him, and looked upon you as his enemy declared. Was he not quite altered on that subject, he would have desired *M. de Mezières* not to keep *the pardon* for him. He seems to write with the respect and deference he ought and is sensible of the master's goodness. His answer is laconic, but you know the danger of writing plainly from that country and, besides his temper, you know him better than anybody how difficult it is even in conversation to work him up to unbutton himself and to say the least word that can discover his intentions, and therefore it is more from him to write, though but a few lines, than one quire of paper of assurances from other people, and the subject is of such dangerous consequence that it is not wonderful that a man naturally cautious acts with a great deal of precaution. It is without dispute that, since he accepts *the pardon* he intends to merit it, or, if he did not design it to be of use to him, he would not run the risk of receiving it; and I have good reason to believe he will pique

himself with generosity, and that he feels the difference of *the King's* acting by him and the other's. *M. de Mezières* says that what you aimed at was to be in a way to correspond with him, and to soften him on *the King's* account. You have compassed more, since he thinks himself obliged to him, and, if you will look back how he acted in *Lord Oxford's* affair, you will find he cannot now be reckoned as an enemy, that he goes on as one could wish and that one cannot condemn him till there is an occasion to try him. I would fain have your opinion of this for perhaps we judge partially. The paragraph of the glass work is in answer to a project that was proposed to my sister, that I desired his opinion about. Rimer is a book he promised me for the Duke of Chau[*l*]ne[s], but perhaps it means also that he will write more at large when the old lady (*i.e.* Mrs. Oglethorpe) comes to town. As for his last line, that he did not think proper to send his letters the way proposed, I don't know if 'tis my mother left him a direction or if 'tis some other has made him that offer; he will explain it, I suppose, next time. If you think anybody else is in a way to talk to him freely and that they can persuade him to do more, you will do very well to make use of them. It is but for *the King's* interest we act and therefore shall be glad of anything that can advance [it], but take care that you are sure he will like it, for else it will only make him draw back without giving his reason. You know he has not many bosom friends and above all things charged that no living creature should be trusted but those that was. I take the liberty to write to you upon this subject founded on the conversation you say a person had with him. You see his hinting in the two parts of his letter his desire of having me to trip it over does not look as if he cared to trust anybody else; but upon all that you must satisfy your own inclinations, for upon my word our only view and desire is *the King's* advantage. It is plain the letter we sent him did not run no risk; was my voyage known, do you think he would not speak to me of it?, he thinks himself in great security. I tremble to think at the same time perhaps, if Mrs. *Ogilvie* has found out anything, it will be whispered over to all the party, which will be a cruel thing for us all. My mother, who has been in the country these six months, has seen nobody to talk to. Nothing was known till Mrs. *Ogilvie* came over, so all this is owing to themselves, and what is known is but guess. I should be glad you would send us word what you have said to her. I must beg, when you have done with the enclosed, you will send it us back, because, if ever your papers should be taken, his writing being found among them would be conviction enough to ruin him, which is not what you desire. You may send them back from Italy, if you have a mind to carry them, and we will take care to keep them, if you think fit. He says he received your letters dated May, which is a mistake, for *the pardon* is dated June, so he is mistaken in the month. Let me

know if you have any further orders for him. You will be in the right not to neglect any other measures you can take with other people, though it does not agree with my friend's interest, since it is *the King* that is to be served and not the others. My sister, since Mrs. *Ogilvie's* voyage he[re], writes word to Madame Mez[ières] that she desires I will never write to her any more, that she will never hear from me. I shall take care not to importune her, though I own I am sorry for it. I shall not seem to know why she is angry. When you are so good to give us a caution, we shall always follow it to the letter. I was the eldest's (*i.e.* Anne Oglethorpe's) darling, so she is more shocked to think I have failed her, which indeed I should never have done on any account but the master's. Our duty to him is preferable to friends and relations. Pray don't be lazy but write me your opinion of the Doc[tor] (*i.e.* Ilay) freely, and if you like his epistle. My real thoughts is, he will do as you please, provided the affair is kept secret, but, if it is once blown, there is an end of it. I am sure it is never come out of any of our mouths. I must once more beg you'll reckon on *M. de Mezières'* zeal in whatever lies in his power. Have you heard from your lady lately? Cannot Mrs. *Ogilvie* charge herself with the strong box? Harry, Nany's husband, we're just now informed, is gone to Paris to see his wife. Charge her to tell him to be discreet, for he knows you. 3¼ pages.

FATHER ARCHANGEL GRÆME to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct. 13. Calais.—Since mine of the 3rd and 7th nothing has occurred except the proposal made by a very honest and brave fellow who has a good boat at London, and is a sort of an overseer on the river. He offers to bring hither or to any other place not too far off 100,000*l.* for the King's use, provided I will only assure him that he shall not only be pardoned with his assistants, but recompensed in due time for taking the said sum from the East India Co. As I take what he proposes to be an act of piracy, I shall be glad to know, suppose you approve of it, and he succeeds, as I truly believe he may according to the scheme he has laid down to me: (1) where that money may be landed without fear of being confiscated; (2) to what place the bringers of it may retire with safety, for doubtless the hue and cry will be sent after them.

The six Swedish frigates said to be in Dunkirk road are turned to so many merchant ships bound for the Straits. If you dont get D[icconso]n to send me soon what he owes me, I shall be put to my last shifts.

GEN. GEORGE HAMILTON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct. 13. Liège.—Mr. H[oo]ke stayed here some days. I had leisure enough to discourse him fully upon what we talked together before you left this. I have got him over all

difficulties, and he is heartily willing to enter into any measures for the King's service, but it will be absolutely necessary for a reason I can't commit to paper that I should come to Paris, if you desire he should be employed in this affair. He does not in the least suspect that there's anything doing with Mr. Steel, but told me, that, if the R[egen]t were rightly managed, he could do our business with a wet finger without being anyways seen in the matter, which makes me believe he has the same person in view. Whatever be in this matter, really I think you could not do better than to make use of him, because that very reason you objected to me was the only thing that gave him so much credit in the late reign, and in this they had an entire confidence in his conduct. He has had long experience in affairs, consequently must know the way to manage different people's humours, but in this I entirely submit to your better judgment.

COMMISSION.

1717, Oct. 13. Urbino.—To Sir John O'Brien to be a colonel of foot. Minute. *Entry Book 5, p. 57.*

CAPT. H. STRAITON to THE DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct. 3[-14]. L. —.—Though I wrote you a very long letter 28 Sept. and according to your orders sent it to *Menzies* by a good hand, at *Lockhart of Carnwath's* desire I trouble you with this. He was yesterday with me, and at the very first proposal of the *collection of money* he not only frankly agreed to go into it himself, but promised to use his best endeavours to bring in *the Earl of Eglinton*, his two sons, and brother, and you know *bene possunt*, and that it will not be easy to find many here so well qualified for that trade as these four.

Lockhart told me he was some time ago visiting *the Earl of Eglinton* and found him not well in health nor easy in temper, but his wife assured him the chief reason of his indisposition and uneasiness was the great concern he had for *the King's* and his friends' circumstances and that he seemed to suspect himself neglected because not much applied to, so it's *Lockhart's* opinion you may write to *the Earl of Eglinton*, with which I most heartily agree, for I am persuaded the least compliment from *the King* or kind insinuation from you will make him not only more frank, but may likewise oblige him to encourage others. I know he loves his interest and is much on the cautious side, I will not say timorous, but I am confident his bias lay always to the right side, for he has been sometimes pretty free with me, and I have been long acquainted and in familiarity with him, and, though he is at a good distance, I can easily convey anything to him, and, if he comes to town, I think he will allow me to discourse with freedom to him.

Lockhart lately had a conference with *Argyle's* favourite C[ol.] M[iddleton], who pressed [him] much to join, on the event of a *dissolution of Parliament* with *Argyle's* friends, and at the same time told him that differences between *King George* and *his son* were risen to such a height that he suspected it would at length turn to daggers drawing, and that he sure the young man had a majority in the *House of Commons*, upon which the *Ministry* was once resolved to *dissolve Parliament*, but on second thoughts they are once in November to have a trial of the *Parliament's* skill, and, if it does not please, it is to be set off. This does not disagree with what I wrote last, and, though *Lord Balmerino* said nothing to me of C[ol.] M[iddleton], I begin to think he has been sent here on purpose.

It's said that the new magistrates are a set of moderate, if such can be, Presbyterians, Baillie Neilson, Provost. The Earl of Erroll is dead, and his sister will very soon be married to Mr. Alexander Falconer, advocate and son to President Falconer.

W. GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct. 15.—I sent you a letter yesterday which I am afraid will not come to you sooner than this.

I paid according to your order *Capt. Ogilvie* 750 *livres* and to *René Macdonald* 230 *livres*, and beg you will own by some letter the 200 paid *John Græme* for his journey to Italy, and to signify your opinion about allowing *Lady Dundee* and her 8 or 9 children the subsistence ordered for the deceased lord.

JAMES MAIGHEE to CAPT. OGILVIE.

1717, Oct. 15. *Dunkirk*.—Yours of the 5th came to me but to-day, by reason of my being absent, to meet the friend that always gave me such good intelligence. It was a necessary expense, otherwise I could not render the King the service I am resolved to do, while I live. You will be surprised how I discovered all the steps the Dukes of Ormonde and Mar and you make, or at least you'll see if I be right.

In the first place the Duke of Ormonde was several days concealed with Prince Kurakin at *Aix-la-Chapelle*; in the second the Duke of Mar did not open all the letters you delivered him at *Liège* but carried sealed to Court such as regarded them. This made his enemies conclude that he and the Duke of Ormonde were ill together, and that he is in some coldness with the King. By this you must easily see there must be a spy in the Duke of Mar's family, seeing all this came to my knowledge. Moreover the Duke made some advances to a person of distinction, which were not corresponded with according to his desire.

Now by this and what I am going to tell you, you see, if I had not lived well with the French ministry, entered into their secrets and corresponded with such people in foreign

countries as they ordered, I could be of no service to the King, though it was in appearance the greatest crime Lord Bolingbroke could lay to my charge as also others I wont name, though he knew I was but too sincere, for, had he followed my advice, with 50 men he might have hindered any troops being sent from Ireland to Scotland, which would have hindered the loss of the battle of Dunblane and all the misfortune that followed, instead of which he publishes me a spy and of intelligence with Lord Stair, and gives memoirs to the French Court to have me turned out of this town. Another fault I committed against him was to have discovered sooner than others certain correspondence he had and his slothful way of serving the King. All that surprised me was that any reasonable body would give in to his sense, for, if I did not really love the King, what is that engages me to put myself to the expense of intrigue, besides my danger with the French Court, if I were ever discovered, for, though they are but slow in recompensing strangers, they are very ready to inflict corporal punishments?

This I think sufficient to prove my innocence, especially considered that since '76, when I bought my employment in his Majesty's yard, I never had the least gratification, promotion or brevet, nor did they know I was in their service, till you reminded them I might be serviceable here, nor is it to blame that I should have a greater passion for the Duke of Mar than for Lord Bolingbroke, for I never saw either of them, were it not that I see the Duke serves the King with all the integrity and capacity possible and that Lord Bolingbroke did just the contrary.

I desire you to advertise the Duke that the French, Hollanders, and King of Prussia are making a league with the Czar to hinder the growing power of the Empire. The English nation has a difficulty to fall into it. It must be observed the league betwixt the Swedes and the French finishes this winter, and the French, if they can compass this league, are resolved to force him to such a peace as they think convenient.

You must also let the Duke know, that only he and the King know that I correspond with him, otherwise it will never be in my power to render them the least service, and you must desire him to send me a list of names by which I may correspond with him.

You must let the Duke know that Lord Bolingbroke's faction is corrupting several of the King's subjects both in France, Flanders, and England, and that in all appearance the Master of Sinclair is of intelligence with him; I am sure he is with his friends in England. $3\frac{1}{4}$ pages. *Enclosed in Ogilvie's letter calendared post, p. 155.*

ROBERT GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct. 16. Bordeaux.—My last letter was of 3 August about an affair that is now in the *Gazette*. Now a difference

has happened betwixt David George and his men about six months' pay he kept of them at clearing, and a good many of them being returned from the West Indies threatened to prosecute him before the Admiralty here, which I have hitherto hindered, and I hope I shall be able to keep them from making any great noise, till I have your orders about this, which I take to be of more consequence than it seems at first sight, being most of his seamen are very good gentlemen's sons, who came rather with a desire to serve the King than to get money, and would be pleased with what they have got, were they not assured that he has charged their whole wages and much more, and, if what they say be true, he must be a very ill man and very unworthy of the trust put in him. They have been advised to write to Mr. Inese, but are afraid they get no answer, because Capt. George stands mostly by him, but I told them that for that reason Mr. Inese would never hinder them from getting common justice. However, if there are any reasons why Capt. George's malversations should not be looked into, supposing him to be guilty, I shall if you order, endeavour to settle the matter, and in the meantime do all I can to keep them from making any great noise.

Postscript on a separate piece of paper. The worst part of this story is that Mr. George in his liquor gives himself airs of having as much interest at Court as the first minister, and this makes those fellows say they can get no justice of him, because he is a R[oman] Cat[holic], but I assure such as come to me that there is no distinction that way, or, if there is any, it is just on the contrary side in favour of the Pro[testants].
2½ pages.

JOHN MOIR, FREDERICK OGILVIE, GILBERT BRODIE, GEORGE FARQUHAR and GEORGE CRUICKSHANK to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct. 16. Bordeaux.—Enclosing a copy of their letter of the 2nd instant to Mr. Inese concerning the ill conduct of David George, their late captain, and, as Inese has not answered it, imploring his Grace's protection and begging him to lay the affair before the King, for they are assured that Mr. Inese is too much Mr. George's friend, because he has changed his religion. They are sure, if his accounts were examined by men that understand commerce, the King will get 8 or 10,000 *livres* or at least see that so much of his money has been embezzled. If his accounts are not examined by honest men, they will pursue him, but doubt not his Grace will give orders to prevent anything that may make a noise.

LIEUT.-COLONEL ALEXANDER LESLIE to the EARL OF PANMURE.

1717, Oct. 16. Bordeaux.—Requesting him to get something ordered by the King for his relief, he being afflicted

with a violent ague accompanied with frequent fits of gravel for two months, which has obliged him to leave the country for that expensive place to get remedies, which with the extravagant charges of physicians &c. have brought him into debt. His Lordship procured him a commission to be his lieut.-colonel, but he is subsisted only as major, and all others of that rank have 5 *livres* a month more. If that were made up to him from the settlement of the establishment, it would clear all the debt he has yet contracted.

J. MENZIES to L. INESE.

1717, Oct. 7[-18].—The other public prints will give all our present hotch-potch of speculations, conjectures and refinings on foreign affairs without any certainty or connexion, but I send you here the enclosed *Gazette*, which speaks so plainly and so remarkably the sense of the Government in the Earl of Peterborough's affair, as the *Flying Post* had spoke without hesitation for several days before. It is still a great subject of discourse here, and every body judges according to their light or prepossessions, but, if he is already set at liberty, it is the general opinion even of the Jacobites, that he was too hastily taken up.

As to business here, we have as yet none at all, all the world still in the country, all things just as they were or worse. We know nothing of when the Parliament will meet, nor what party or composition we are to work by, and whence or how we shall have light, God knows.

Now and then we hear a little talk of the Tories coming in, but these reports were always raised by some of themselves, for you may rely on it, they had never as yet the least authentic invitation, and indeed who should have given it them? Lord Harcourt was always thought to be one of the first that would come in, and it was often talked who would come along with him, in which there were gross mistakes as to the men. He indeed was willing, but the Government showed plainly their measures in all that matter, when they even excepted him by name out of the indemnity and put such a stigma on him.

We have not heard one word since 17 Sept. (n.s.) of *Mar*, where he has been or where he is, only by a letter from *Dillon* it appears he was not come there the 9th instant (n.s.)

I have had no news from *James Hamilton* nor anything from *Ormonde* but the translated letter. 2 pages.

Sir HUGH PATERSON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct. 18 and 19. *Rotterdam*.—"I received yours two days ago and delivered that to *Lady Mar*, who is now here, and very well. She waits for the first opportunity of setting out from this, the wind being cross at present, but the weather is not bad and I hope she will have a very good passage. I forwarded the other letter you sent enclosed to *Ormonde*,

though I was afraid there had been some mistake about it by your altering the address upon the back, yet I concluded it could be to no other.

“I have had several letters of late from *Jerningham* complaining that they have not had fuller information from these parts of the situation of trade, which *Mar* knows was impossible to give them. He complains of his having lost a good opportunity of going to *Sweden* by his waiting for these accounts. I am sure that all that could be sent him from this he had wrote to him, and, if these accounts he wanted could not be given him, it was not to be helped. I have not heard from him since his having seen *Dr. Erskine*, but by last post I have a letter from *O’Bern* from that place dated the sixth, in which he mentions his having been with *Dr. Erskine*, who with the *Czar* had made a very short stay there, they being now gone to *Petersburg*. He had likewise been with *Ormonde* and *Jerningham*, both whom he says were to leave the place they were in next day, and to go for *Reval*, where he reckoned they would be most part of the winter. *The Czar’s* effects (*i.e.* troops) being to be soon removed from that place would, I suppose, make *Ormonde* leave it the sooner. *O’Bern* says that *the Czar’s* people are not pleased with *Görtz’s* management, but *Mar* will know all this better from *Ormonde* himself, from whom I doubt not he has heard upon what has passed there. *Görtz* has been in that place, and it is probable *Ormonde* has seen him. *Prince Kurakin* told *Sir H. Stirling* the other day that there was nothing in that story of a treaty with the *Regent*, the *Czar* and the *King of Prussia*, and the *King of Sweden’s* people here know nothing of it, so, if it is true, they keep it still a great secret, and I should think that some of the *King of Sweden’s* people could not miss to know it, was there anything in it. *Prince Kurakin* is of opinion that the *King of Sweden* must still at last come in to the *Czar’s* measures, after *Görtz* has tried all sides, who goes to *Sweden* by the *Czar’s* assistance. There are accounts here of *Sparre’s* being got there, and I am very hopeful that *Mar* may hear something from him soon, which he promised to do by the first opportunity.

“*Sir H. Stirling* is still here but goes away very soon, he says *Prince Kurakin* has kept him, he has wrote to *Mar* since that of the first which he mentions to have received.

“*Cadogan* goes very soon for *England*, ships being arrived to attend him; it is strongly reported that that person is to go to *France* in place of *Lord Stair*, but it is more probable that he goes to wait of the *Parliament*, lest the *House of Commons* should have anything to say to him.

“*Lady Mar* would, I doubt not, let you know that she had seen him in a very comical way, he having been heartily refreshed and full of compliments. He certainly has received what *Mar* sent enclosed to *Sir H. Stirling*, for it was sent in a way [that it] could not miss coming into his hands. There is very little passing here at present, which *Sir H. Paterson*

can learn, that is worth troubling you with, and he says that he is afraid it will not be in his power to be so useful that way to *the King* as he could wish."

At *Mar's* desire telling him his present situation. It is two years since he received any of his effects at home. He resolved to live on any small stock he had left rather than trouble *the King*. That stock is now exhausted by the expense his wife has been obliged to be at lately in getting her affair done and by some other disappointments. He thought of retiring to some cheap place, but has continued there at *Mar's* desire, to whom he leaves it to consider the necessary expenses of living there besides other unavoidable charges. One chief reason for his mentioning this is that he may not be blamed, if he is unable to give *Mar* such accounts as he ought of affairs in *Holland*. *Mar* knows that *H. Maule* also lives in as retired a way. He does not doubt that a proper person rightly qualified, who could appear less noticed there than himself or *H. Maule*, might be very useful to *the King* there. *T. Bruce* spoke to *Mar* lately of a person now at *Brussels* as very fit for this. Now that *Mar* will be soon with *the King*, if he judges proper, he may speak to him of it and write to *T. Bruce*.—Concerning *T. Bruce's* acquaintance, who may be able to render *the King* some good offices with *the Emperor*. If what he undertakes could succeed, the writer hopes the King's late disappointment in an affair he designed would be no loss to him. It is the earnest desire of all his friends that he do something effectually of that kind soon, as what will very much contribute to his interest.—We have settled a communication betwixt this and *England* with *James Hamilton*. He is to write to you before he leaves this. (Concerning Lord Peterborough's affair, and the duel at *Brussels* in which Mr. Campion was wounded.) 5½ pages.

DOMINICK SHELDON to SIR JOHN O'BRIEN at Bologna.

1717, Oct. 19. Urbino.—I received yours of the 17th this morning, and am extremely surprised to find by the Cardinal Legate's letter to the King that Lord Peterborough should not only make difficulty to accept the offers his Majesty has made, but that he should now recede so much from those he himself made me. I have now but too much reason to believe he will find himself mistaken in several of those he pretended to me would be answerable for him, and can assure you that, had the King received the letters he has done since, before you left this, I do not see how in prudence he could have consented to the orders you carried with you. Wherefore pray discourse the Cardinal seriously on this subject, and, if Reggio or his own house does not please him, let not the Cardinal consent to any indefinite place in Italy, but oblige him either to remain at Bologna, or in the Duke of Parma's territories, who in that case, I think, ought to be also responsible for him, till he has given the King the satisfaction he himself proposed. I am heartily sorry the difficulties he

now makes should any ways lessen the inclination the King had to believe him innocent, but I hope he will think better of it, and accept, as he ought, what his Majesty has proposed.
Original and copy.

JAMES III to CARDINAL ORIGO.

1717, Oct. 19. Urbino.—I have just received your two letters of the 16th and 17th. However much inclined I have been to take a favourable view of Lord Peterborough, his underhand behaviour towards you does not correspond to the moderation I desired should be employed towards him, and does not support what I would gladly have taken at the beginning for a proof of his innocence. I can form no opinions about his reasons, which I am ignorant of, but he cannot have good ones for concealing from me where he is staying, and letters I have just received from Paris bring manifest proofs that he is not employed in this country in any negotiation and it appears to me that in that country they are no ways disposed to espouse his interests. I can therefore by no means consent to his proposal, but, as the Duke of Parma has written to me in his favour and has offered to be guaranty of his parole, I can see no reason the latter can have for refusing the offer I wish to be made him of exchanging the neighbourhood of Reggio for the States of Parma. If he refuses this last offer it will be *une chicane si manifeste* that I shall be obliged to beg you to hold him to his first proposal, which was to be on his parole at his house in Bologna. *French. Two copies. There is another copy in Entry Book 1, p. 211.*

GEN. ALEXANDER GORDON to JOHN PATERSON.

1717, Oct. 20. Toulouse.—We have lived here ever since our melancholy parting very privately, still in hopes ere long to be effectually employed in our master's service. We heard some time ago of the abominable and black design of a certain Earl, and with no small pleasure are now assured that he is secured and carried to the Castle of Urbino. I wish our master's too great clemency may not be the cause that such villainy remain unpunished. I doubt not that you, who are near his Majesty's person, will take all imaginable care of him. I entreat you'll let me know how you and other good friends are. We drink frequently your good healths, notwithstanding this country air does not agree very well with us, for almost all of us have had fevers, but are now mostly recovered save Strowan, who is still ill. I regret from my heart poor Mr. Maitland's death. I doubt not you have heard that Boyn the younger is dead at Rouen.

FATHER ARCHANGEL GRÆME to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct. 20. Calais.—What answer shall I make to an English gentleman of a considerable fortune and a very honest man as I am told, who offers to come over and bring some thousands of pounds for the King's use, provided he can have

assurance that on delivering his money he shall be made sensible that the restoration is at hand, and that it will be employed for advancing it?

I mentioned in my last a certain proposal about making you master of 100,000*l.*, if you approve of the way it's to be got &c., but, lest you should have some scruples about that proposition, here's another, which seems not subject to the same inconveniencies. Will you only allow a well-wisher to the good cause to put a trick on the stockjobbers by sending over a counterfeit *Paris Gazette* with news in it to make their stocks either rise or fall, as shall be found most convenient, and you may have a million sterling in a week or two without running any risk? Pray let me have your answer to all these questions, and you shall see by experiment I am neither obstinate nor visionary.

I have just now a letter from Will. Gordon, that he has orders to advance me 100 *livres* and 44 *livres* besides for two trunks and a box of *Lady Mar's*. He might have saved himself the trouble of remitting the 44 *livres*, by paying the carriage of them beforehand at the Paris Custom house. However I shall be sure to pay for them here and to see them forwarded, not doubting I shall be informed how to address them.

The Jew is really a very honest fellow and a man of mettle, but, betwixt you and me, Dillon neglects him a little too much by not answering certain letters of his, which I am sure, you would have thought worth your while, had they been addressed to you. Therefore I beg you'll allow him to address himself immediately to you in future, when he has anything material to represent to you, or at least that he may communicate to me anything he has to say to you, for I am persuaded he is both willing and able to serve you. Ch[arle]s Ki[nnair]d, whom you were to see, is on his journey hither, it seems to go for England, for I have letters for him addressed to me from his town. I should be very glad, if you would let me know the true story of Pet[erbor]ow, because both the French and Dutch *Gazettes* give a handle to our enemies to accuse us either of imprudence or want of courage.

Please advise me once more to whom I am to write in your absence.

TOM BRUCE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct. 20. Brussels.—Yours of the 12th came to me the 15th, *De Wilda* being out of town I found him not till last night. I told him I had communicated his kind proposals to a proper person, and had an answer about it. He asked me if *the King* had resolved on a letter to *the Emperor*, as he, *de Wilda*, had proposed. This obliged me to tell him what *Mar* writes to me on that head. He asked me, if the proposals had been made from *the King* by letter or by an ambassador. I told him, I knew not. He asked, if I knew which of *the Emperor's* ministers had been applied to. I told him, I knew not, but

that as to the present affair it seemed needless to inquire any further than what I had told him of a former application, seeing he himself was to take no other way of his own. He said the reason he asked that last question was not only with a view to the first step, but that, in case *the Emperor* should agree to the first step, his *ministers* must be spoke to afterwards. I told him he should be sure to have account of that so soon as there was occasion for it, and asked, if he was to see *the Emperor*, as he had lately expected. He said, he believed not, for the same affair which had given him the views of seeing *the Emperor* now engaged him to be at *Brussels*. I shall not be positive whether or not what he said lately or now upon this point was with a view to *have money*, but *T. Bruce* knows that touching *Brussels* to be true. However I told him that I hoped, as he had promised, he would send a letter to friends with *the Emperor* to clear what was designed. This he has promised to do this very night, and to let me know the result, which cannot be sooner than a month. I told him that, if it answered expectation, he should have a letter according to his mind from *the King* to *the Emperor*. I spoke nothing of *the Princess of Modena*, because he seemed to be pleased with *the Emperor's lady*, and I thought it not proper to amuse him with any new thing, till he has performed what he has promised, and in a few days I shall mention the others as a testimony of *the King's* confidence in *the Emperor*. These being thus mentioned only in the second place and as a reserve, will perhaps make *the Emperor* the more forward on the first, and, if that does not take effect, the other insinuation being made will be in *the Emperor's* view. For these considerations I chose rather to run over a great many of the other motives, of which he and I had formerly talked, touching the benefits which *the Emperor* and *Flanders* would have by the bargain, of all which he pretends to be most sensible. This is all I have to say of that affair, having as yet said nothing of the other, by reason that, as you say, I am not accustomed with the new cipher. I fear there are some mistakes in that, for I am at the same loss with *Mar's letter*, and have written to-day to *Inese* to explain it to me, and send him this open to read.

I shall do what you direct as to *Falconbridge's* friend, who has left this but returns in a few days. I find by *Falconbridge* his friend is still in the same temper.

Mr. C[ampion] is perfectly recovered. *C. Kinnaird* left this two days ago.

MEMORIAL to a FRIEND in ENGLAND from GENERAL DILLON.

1717, Oct. 20.—The late desperate situation of the Imperial arms before Belgrade and their unexpected deliverance may induce them to run into another extreme as great as that they escaped from. The orders lately from the Imperial Court to the Dukes of Florence and Parma and to Genoa exact as ready a compliance as if they were the most dependent of

their subjects. If the Kings of Spain and Sicily have entered into so great preparations without foreseeing what has happened they must have counted without their host, a reckoning never yet imputed to the latter. They who pretend to know him well are positive he must have had a security. He knows he has done too much to be forgotten or forgiven, when the Emperor has it in his power to show his resentment. The fate of Italy will be implied in the dispute, and there may be soon an end to the neutrality agreed to be preserved there. How far you will relish so great an addition of power to the House of Austria I cannot say, but think it deserves most serious consideration, especially since your present governor can't be secure at home or of use to his great ally, the Emperor, without being absolute master of your lives, liberties and properties.

The private articles between *the Elector* and *the Regent*, that are thought chiefly to have influenced *the treaty*, are kept still a great secret here, though this whole nation dislikes the said treaty, yet it's plain *the Regent* and the managers of those private articles must look on them as the very basis of *the Regent's* views, seeing a subsequent treaty incompatible with them does not open their eyes. Time, no doubt, will undeceive them, but then it may be too late for third persons, who suffer at present by this mutual confidence, whether real or dissembled.

In my humble opinion nothing can be more material than to break this juggling union as soon as possible. You upon the place can concert other guess measures towards it than I am capable of suggesting, yet I shall presume to offer an expedient, which I entirely submit to better judgement.

Dubois, now with you, having while he negotiated *the treaty* gone so far, as I am credibly informed, as to promise in *the Regent's* name that the *French* Protestants should be recalled, if it could be managed with due secrecy and timed so in the next session as to be moved and seconded, a vote may be carried to address *the Elector* to insist upon it to *the Regent*. It appears to me that one of two things must follow : that *the Elector* will either refuse it, and a refusal to propagate the *Protestant religion* may be usefully employed against him ; or, if he complies, which perhaps he may be induced to, in case he finds his account more in adhering to his subsequent treaty with *the Emperor, the Regent*, though ever so willing, will not be master to grant his request, and the motion coming originally from *the Parliament* cannot be kept a secret, which will so incense the *French nation* that perhaps they will not be appeased till *the Regent* breaks off all manner of dealings with *the Elector*, which, if compassed, would be of great and good consequences to an injured person.

Should this be found practicable, you want neither skill nor means to put it into a proper light, which seems the more feasible that there can be no ill consequence to any in

particular or to friends in general for making the overture. 6½ pages. Enclosed in Dillon's letter of 13 Nov., calendared post, p. 195.

JAMES III to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct. 21. Urbino.—“Since I received your letter from Paris, there went no post from hence till now, and so I think it is useless to write to you anywhere but to Bologna, where I reckon this may meet you without your jaunt to Venice has retarded you some days. You did well not to go by your own name. This is addressed as you desired. Mr. Cockburn will give it you, and tell you more of *Peterborough's* affair than I yet know myself. I expect you with impatience and shall say no more now, being to see you so soon. I wish your journey may have agreed with you as well as my physic has done to-day.” *Copy.*

T. BRUCE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct. 21. B[russels].—By yesterday's post I sent you a letter by the hands of *Inese*. I left it open, both seeing you ordered me to correspond with him in that particular, and also because it was the first of my correspondence with him, but I will not make an use of that, unless you direct so. This comes by *W. Gordon*, and, because in the new cipher I see no alphabet or ciphers for new words not included in the cipher, I shall express such words as formerly by *C. Kinnaird's* alphabetical cipher, till I have further directions.

To-day I went to *Falconbridge* to know if his friend was come to town. He expects him in a day or two. I told *Falconbridge* I had your directions to make your compliments to him. He said he was very glad of it, for his friend was continually talking of ways and means to *serve the King*, and particularly the other day said he wondered *the King had not endeavoured to have a wife*. I asked if his friend thought *the King* could do that. He said his friend believed he might do as I wrote last post, and that it might be done by the means of these *ladies' grandmother*. But, said I, if such a thing were thought of, where have we interest to do it? He said no man had greater interest with that person or with *the Emperor* as the *Grand Master of the Teutonic* [Order], with whom his friend had daily correspondence and who has *invited Falconbridge's* friend *earnestly to serve him*. I received this as formerly, having no instructions, but it's fit I now let you know this, considering what *Mar* mentions in his of the 11th. *Falconbridge's* friend after a few days stay here, goes home to the place he came lately from, and *Falconbridge* believes he may soon go to see that gentleman I have spoken of. If you think of making the full use of this occasion perhaps a letter to *Brussels* by *Falconbridge* will find him. *Two things* are to be considered; perhaps *prejudice to de Wilda's* affair—I suppose no danger in that. But next *the King's* affair will be probably declared.

This is what I can say nothing to. If you relish the matter, it will be fit that *Falconbridge's* friend have a *cipher*, for perhaps *our cipher* will not be so proper for him for some reasons. If anything is to be spoke to him, I doubt not, if you please, *Falconbridge* will be at the pains to go to him for a few days.

I have the paper you wrote of touching *Peterborough*. The matter is good and proper but not digested in good order or style.

THE DUKE OF MAR to L. WESCOMBE.

1717, Oct. 21. Lyons.—My travelling ever since I had yours of 18 Sept. has occasioned my not acknowledging it sooner. When I was at Paris I laid it before the Queen, who told me she had ordered an answer to that she had from you, which she was sure was done, though perhaps it never came to you. I am now this far on my way to the King, and shall lay before him what you write to me, who no doubt will know what is fittest for him to do in it. As soon as I receive his commands, I shall write to you, but, if you do not hear from me soon after my coming into Italy, I do not think you should lose your time waiting for it, but employ it as you find most for your own advantage. *Copy.*

T. BRUCE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct. 22. Br[ussels].—This comes by *W. Gordon* being a measure different from that in which you directed me to correspond with *Inese* and I have taken no notice of it to him.

I have been to-day again with *Falconbridge* and find his friend has been yet more forward on that affair than what he formerly told me, and seems disposed of himself to take an opportunity to try the pulse of *the Emperor* on that head by means of that person I wrote of yesterday. I told *Falconbridge* of one of the difficulties I mentioned in my last, viz., that, if anything of that kind were done by that hand, an affair will be probably *declared*, which was *never intended*. He told me it would not, for the mentioned person does not move by *the ministry* but by *the Emperor* without either *Prince Eugene*, who, he says, is not of *the King's* friends, or *the ministry*. He said his friend told him that *no man but that person can do so with the Emperor or with the ladies' grandmother*. If this difficulty is avoided in this manner, I believe the other difficulty, viz., the interfering with *de Wilda*, will likewise be avoided, for *de Wilda* is *doing below a ministry*, and the other is above. On the whole matter, considering the *loss of time*, I have told *Falconbridge* that, *though there is no commission for this, yet he may as of himself bid his friends try how it will take*.

This far have I presumed, but, seeing it was likely to make some steps of itself, I thought such precautions might both forward it and keep it easy. When *Falconbridge's* friend comes to town, and *Mar's commission* is given him, as I am directed, I shall be able to trim this affair perhaps to better advantage.

I presume to remind you of Major David Erskine, who is in no better circumstances than I told you.

POPE CLEMENT XI to JAMES III.

1717, Oct. 23. Santa Maria Maggiore.—The manner in which your Majesty has managed Lord Peterborough's business is quite worthy of your great prudence and generosity. We have been only able summarily to commend and approve of it, as Card. Gualterio will have informed you. We now convey you our most sincere and affectionate congratulations and at the same time thank you as we ought for the information you have communicated with the just persuasion that everything that redounds to your greater glory must be grateful to us. May God prosper, as we incessantly supplicate Him, your Majesty with still greater successes and may He grant us in some small measure the power to contribute our assistance, as we so much desire. *Italian. Holograph and Copy.*

JOHN TALBOT to HIS BROTHER.

1717, Oct. 24. Dunkirk.—Sending some of the singular and unparalleled properties of the new cipher he mentioned in his letter of the 15th, which may be writ with a great deal of ease, is so variable by the multiplicity of the combinations, which run, as it were, *ad infinitum*, that it is a moral impossibility to decipher it, and lastly, in point of giving suspicion, there's nothing apparent of any secret or hidden mystery in what you write. *Endorsed.* "Directions for a cipher sent by Mr. Dicconson to Sir W. Ellis and received at Urbino by Lord Mar, December, 1717."

L. INESE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct. 25. St. Germain's.—I hope this will find *Mar* in good health with *the King*, who has wanted his company so much and longed so much for it.

By the prints in *Menzies'* letter, it appears that *England* begins to concern *itself* more in *Peterborough's* affair. I pray God *the King* were well out of that business, which, considering the unaccountable fright *the Pope* and those about him are in, will, I fear, be no easy matter, though *the King* himself has a perfectly right notion of making the best he can of a bad bargain. The main point, I think, is, now that *the Pope* will not be persuaded to keep *Peterborough* much longer, that his enlargement appear to be *the King's* own act, and also that *Peterborough* be made sensible that *the King* had good grounds to do what he did, and that, after the informations be received from so many different hands, he could not in common prudence do otherwise. In my last to Nesmith (? Nairne) sent under *Queen Mary's* cover to *the King*, I suggested what use might be made of the memorial found about *Peterborough*, which, since it cannot be shown to *the Emperor's* factors for

the inconveniences I mentioned, at least *Peterborough* may be made sensible of *the King's* moderation and good nature in not showing it them, for, if *the Emperor's* factor at *Rome* had seen it, far from speaking in *Peterborough's* favour as he does, he had certainly obliged *the Pope* to keep him fast or deliver him up to *the Emperor's* custody.

The DUKE OF ORMONDE to *LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON*.

1717, Oct. 25. *Mittau*.—I have not heard from you since yours of 19 August, received 14 Sept. I or some of my friends have writ to you every post. You may be sure of my uneasiness at being so long without hearing from you and must conclude our letters are either lost or intercepted. I cannot help fearing the last. I sent you the best addresses I could get, and I had two letters from *Mar* under cover to *Leslie*. *Daniel O'Brien* desired you to send his address which is very safe. I enclose a copy of a letter from *Dr. Erskine* received at my arrival. As to what is mentioned of marriage, I said I would inform *the King* of the obliging offer and give an answer when I heard from *the King*. I could say no less, and I hope, when there is one, it will be with all the civility that can be.

What he mentions concerning *Rostock* would be of great service, if *the King of Sweden* and *the Czar* could be made friends, but what is mentioned relating to *D'Uxelles* is not to be proposed, unless he and his pupil be mightily changed.

I left *Jerningham* at *Königsberg* ready to embark the 15th instant. In the enclosed you will see the reason of my being here.

I am most impatient to hear from you. 2½ pages. Enclosed,

Dr. ERSKINE to *the DUKE OF ORMONDE*.

The bearer is a friend of mine. You may trust him in everything. He'll furnish you secretly with everything you want.

I spoke with the Czar of your affairs, and he is of opinion you should send as soon as possible to Sweden to know their resolution, and, if they will not undertake the affair out of hand, you should think of proposing it to Maréchal d'Uxelles and those of his party, that they may oblige the Regent to make a descent on that side, and, if we can have a peace with S[weden], I engage that the Czar will send 20,000 men to Rostock to enter into the country to oblige King George to return and hinder Holland from giving any succour.

The Czar offers his daughter in marriage to the King and wishes that this affair of the descent may be concluded this winter, and I am of opinion you should not give a farthing to the King of Sweden, if he does not give some assurances that he'll do it quickly. In the meantime I shall let you know what passes here. Copy of a French original with an English translation. Riga. 1717, Sept. 29[–Oct. 10].

DR. ERSKINE to DANIEL O'BRIEN.

The Czar thinks fit you should remain about Mittau. He who commands in that country has orders to take care of you. There are many disaffected people in that town, therefore you must be on your guard. Copy of a French original with an English Translation. 1717, Sept. 29 [-Oct. 10].

CAPT. JOHN OGILVIE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct. 25. Dunkirk.—I think it very proper to send you the enclosed from Capt. Maghie. If you think his intelligence may be of use, he must be encouraged, but as to that you are judge. I believe him very zealous and sincere. He tells me also there is a combination carrying on by Lord Bolingbroke's friends against my friend *Mar* and that the Master of Sinclair is the instrument, and that a brother of Robin Leslie's was sent from Paris to assist in that affair and to debauch as many of the King's subjects as they could to join with them in drawing up papers against my friend and that they are backed by some at St. Germain's. I fancy Col. Hooke is his informer. What truth is in this I know not, but whatever relates to you touches me too near not to advertise my friend. I saw a letter from *Dicconson* to one of the gentlemen at St. Omer named Leonard, which I copied so far as it relates to my friend *Mar*. You see there is no secret made of his being here, and also, I fancy, he designs to have the odium of breaking off the Scots gentlemen cast on my friend. This is only my opinion.

Our boat is expected here to-night, and he shall not rest two days till he be dispatched back again with the goods. Mrs. *Ogilvie* is gone. My boy is not come back yet, which makes me believe *Lady Mar* is not yet parted. Mr. Gough is very willing to render all the service he can, and, as soon as ever the boat is dispatched, I shall leave this in order to come to you as soon as possible. I wrote to Mistress Fanny to take back the strong box, and to send it the first sure occasion to Father Græme, who says he can send it over safe. The trunks are in his hands and will part this week. I am resolved not to come to you by sea, for, though I have no great encouragement to preserve my life, I love not to be taken by a pirate and made a slave. 2 pages. *Enclosed*,

W. DICCONSON to MR. LEONARD.

I am sensible it appeared hard to you and others to be dismissed, when the Scots that are paid by Mr. Gordon had not the same orders, but the reason of that was, because the Duke of Mar was not then with the King to regulate that, but he soon will, and then you will find necessity

will force the doing of it, and even now there is a stop to all payments, so how all these gentlemen will subsist, God alone knows, but it's impossible for us to pay money, if we have it not. The Queen's family and this Court are eight months behind, so you see, since you have been put on the list, you have been better paid than we are here.
Extract.

SIR HUGH PATERSON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct. 25. *Rotterdam*.—I hope you received my very long letter of last week. This is chiefly to tell you that *Lady Mar* parted from this last Saturday. I saw her on board and some leagues down the river. It was then extreme fine weather, and has continued so ever since, so I doubt not she has had a very good passage, and I reckon she would be at home this morning.

I received *Mar's* of the 12th on Friday, and his friend had what was enclosed, who wrote to him that night. I will be glad to have the paper he mentions concerning *Lord Peterborough* which may be of use.

By a letter from *T. Bruce* I find he has wrote again to *Mar* and explained what he mentioned of *de Wilda*, who, he says, has wrote to *the Emperor*, and he expects an answer soon, which he will communicate to *Mar* without loss of time.

Very little material occurs here at present. *Sir H. Paterson* will call at *the Hague* in his way to *Leyden*, and, if he learns anything, you shall know it. *C[ampio]*n is perfectly recovered. I shall let Col. *Stuart* know what you write about him. It seems there must be some mistakes in that paper *T. Bruce* and *Mar* write by, for he is at a loss to understand part of that he wrote him of the 12th. I believe *Sir H. Paterson* must send him his paper, at least part of it.

J. MENZIES to L. INESE.

1717, Monday, Oct. 14[–25].—I got yours of the 13th (n.s.), and thought I had told you I had that safe by *literal Guthrie*, whom I am doing all I can to serve, though I do not trouble you nor him with words or compliments. I have a pleasure in imitating you, and to do good rather than talk of it, and I do and have done it ten thousand times, and in the main point when I say nothing of it, nor do I envy those who brag to you of services as their own, which I have done myself.

What you and *Lord Mar* have several times said of the money is astonishing. What I said of it in a letter to *James Hamilton* he told me he showed, and that it gave satisfaction, where I value satisfaction. However, after so many reiterated accounts from yourself and *Mar*, I went to *the Bishop of Rochester*, who is mostly in the country, and talked very roundly to him about *Menzies* and that money. I told *the Bishop of Rochester* of his complaints. He protested to

the living God *he* never complained nor never doubted *Menzies'* integrity, but that *he* had sometimes desired letters of thanks to some merchants that had assisted.

It would be too long to tell you here all that passed and inconvenient by post, but I shall write it to you fully by a friend that goes in a very few days. Now I shall only that I believe you will hear of no more complaints on that subject, since all imaginable satisfaction was given *him*, and no shadow of objection left, except to a mere punctilio or nicety of compliment.

Please show the enclosed to *Queen Mary*, and send it after to *Mar*, it being from *James Murray* who is still in the West.

All our news is about the sitting of our Parliament. The ministers expect a majority in spite of both Walpole and the Tories, but a plot is mightily wanted and it is hoped the folly of the Jacobites will furnish us with that.

Brinsden, Lord Bolingbroke's secretary, is openly here.
2 pages. *Enclosed*,

[JAMES MURRAY] to JOHN [MENZIES] at the British
Coffee house near Charing Cross.

I have been in great expectation to have heard something material as to the King's marriage before now, but, if he has patience in a thing of that nature, I ought.

I must surprise you with an account of a particular, which has lately happened here. Having heard that our neighbour came home Wednesday night I went to him next day, and there I was amazed to find a person known to be secretary and pimp to the gentleman about whom the late affair happened (Bolingbroke). I soon discovered his errand was, under pretence of looking after his master's private affairs, to justify his conduct and to make way for his new designs. He pretended only to account for his management before a certain emergent happened, and was entrusted with facts and papers to give a most favourable light into these matters for him. You know I never placed the stress of his affair there, and, as to all other things what this man said was a further condemnation of him. I was for many reasons glad of such an occasion and before our friend to speak plain English on that subject, and I made such use of it that I left Mr. Secretary in as great confusion as ever I saw anybody, nor was the other gentleman wanting in what was proper on that occasion, so that this spark has made the most unsuccessful journey that ever poor mortal did. However, I did not think it prudent to be at that gentleman's house till he should be gone, and therefore returned after dinner hither, where I have been since. I hear he is now departed and therefore I intend to be with our friend to-day. All this I thought fit to acquaint you with for the information of some friends, and the ill use

others might make of this story in the dark, if the particulars were not known. I think it were not amiss if you gave Mar a hint of it. 1717, Oct. 5[-16]. 2½ pages. Unsigned, but in Murray's hand. The word "*Menzies*" in the address obliterated.

L. INESE to JAMES III.

1717, Tuesday, 26 Oct.—This morning *Abbé Gualtier*, whom I had not seen for several months, "called at my lodgings, and, after a preamble of the danger it was for him, who was a Frenchman, to meddle in any matter that related to *the King's* affairs, he told me that his zeal for *the King* was still such that he could not but impart to me a matter he thought might be very much for *the King's* service, but this upon condition he should not be named to any without exception, except to *the King* himself and *Queen Mary*. After I had satisfied him that he should not be named to any other, he told me that a friend of his, a Frenchman, whom he did not name, who had lived long in England, was lately come from thence, and was very soon to return. That this friend had told him in great confidence that, being intimately acquainted with *Walpole*, he found that *Walpole* was absolutely resolved to overturn the present *Government*, and that he with his friends, who were many and powerful, are now upon measures of compassing what they intend. That *Walpole* had told him that, though he and his friends had received many affronts and injustices from *King George* and his factors, yet it was not upon that account, but merely because they now saw plainly that *King George* and his factors were resolved to alter and overturn *liberty* and all that had any relation to it; and that he, *Walpole*, and his friends were resolved to be before hand with him, and to hazard their all rather than *liberty* should perish. This being the case, that friend asked *Abbé Gualtier* whether he had any commerce with *the King*, because, said he, if an application were made by *the King* to *Walpole*, I have reason to believe it would be well received, and might turn to *his* account, in case at the same time great offers were made to *Walpole*, who was not rich, but very ambitious. To this *Abbé Gualtier* said he answered, that he had no correspondence at present with *the King*, but that he would think of the matter and give his friend an answer in a few days. That upon this he spoke of the matter only in general to *Father Gaillard*, who advised him to propose it to *Inese*, as accordingly he did, and then asked him what he thought of the proposal. *Inese* told him he could give no positive answer until he had spoke to *Queen Mary*, but that what occurred to him in the meantime was, that, as *Abbé Gualtier* himself could not but know, there were many of *England's* family that were upon different motives violent enemies to *King George*, who were not therefore friends to *the King*, and that perhaps *Walpole* might be of that number. That *Walpole* was known to be a

man of great parts and credit, and therefore it could not but be of great importance for *the King* to have him in *his* interest, and that, if he would sincerely and heartily enter into it, there was no doubt but *he* would give him all the encouragement his services could deserve or his own heart desire. That, if *Abbé Gualtier's* friend could so contrive that the motion came first from *Walpole* to *the King*, that would be much more natural, than for *him* to make application to a person who hitherto has ever shown himself to be *his* mortal enemy. That the least that could be expected were that *Abbé Gualtier's* friend should begin of himself and merely from himself, to feel *Walpole's* pulse upon that subject, and try to find out how he is affected to *the King*, and whether he would receive an application from *him* in case any were made; and then give notice to *Abbé Gualtier*, his correspondent, how he found *Walpole* disposed, and accordingly *the King* would advance as prudence directed. *Inese* concluded that these were only his own private thoughts, upon which he, *Abbé Gualtier*, was to lay no further stress than in so far as he should find they agreed with *Queen Mary's* sentiments upon the matter, *Abbé Gualtier* being to see *Queen Mary* on Thursday and to go to Paris to see his friend upon Friday. Meantime *Inese* promised to give *Queen Mary* an account of this conversation, as accordingly he did that same evening. I forgot to mention that *Inese* asked *Abbé Gualtier* whether *Walpole's* intention might not be to lay aside *King George* and set up his son in his place. To which *Abbé Gualtier* answered that he had asked his friend the very same question, and that his friend had assured him *Walpole* and his partners had no such thought, that they knew the son had less sense and much more fire than the father, and consequently that they would be in much worse hands by the change; that they had indeed encouraged the division of the family by seeming to side with the son, but that their design in that was to expose both."

LORD PITSLIGO to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct. 26. Leyden.—I had a great pleasure when *Sir H. Paterson* told me he had seen you in perfect health. He said you had not heard from me since we parted. I don't indeed trouble you with many letters, but I wrote one not long after I came here under *W. Gordon's* cover. The Indemnity was then come out, and I wanted your opinion whether it was best to slip over privately or to apply for a licence. The last I had never a stomach for, and now 'tis positively talked that his Majesty (these are the words) has declared his firm resolution to grant no more of those papers. Some people imagine the Parliament will allow any not attainted to go home openly by taking off the restriction in the Indemnity, or at least will give them no disturbance in the country. Others are afraid of the contrary and that some plot may be trumped up in order to make new

searches and severer laws, and no doubt you have heard of the Laird of Glenkindie's travels into the Highlands with 600 men. But, leaving all those conjectures to time to discover, I believe I shall venture over to London in the dead of winter, and, after some stay there very privately, go as privately home. I'll now be supplied from that country with any little money I shall want. I give our master ten thousand thanks for what I've had of his. I look upon it as a debt I ought to repay, and wish I could persuade some of the wealthy to open their purses for his service.

In my former I told you I was disappointed of seeing the Churchman at Tournay. He had been gone somewhere about a month before. I wrote to Mr. Fraser, who is now in Scotland, to know if it was possible to meet with him in this country. He said there was some acquaintance between him and Rosetti, who perhaps could give me notice, but all Rosetti said was that he had seen him lately, but believed he was gone back to Tournay.

No doubt you would hear with regret of poor Lord Dundee's death. No man had more honesty or a better heart. Some of his neighbours, who know his family's circumstances, tell me they are very bad, and urged me to acquaint you, that, if possible, the allowance he had or part of it may be continued for his lady and children. Another person wants now to be put on that establishment, and, I can assure you, he applies for it with the greatest reluctance. You have heard of Will. Hay, that escaped from Carlisle. His money is in such hands that he can make very little of it at present, and he is in no safety to go home. His brother, Sir Peter, has lived all this time at his own charge, and 'tis all he can do to supply himself. You see then what merit Will. Hay has to get some allowance, and I hope it will be as considerable as the fund will bear. Both the brothers are most faithful men. Mr. Hay was eldest captain in Logie's regiment. I'm afraid Dr. Abercromby is confined to Lille for want of some money to clear his quarters. His sickness has been expensive to him. He had little company there and was thinking every day to come here, but now, I suppose, the design is stopped for the reason I told you.

I mentioned formerly Capt. Cumberland, a great friend of Dr. Abercromby's. He is an Englishman, and, they say, of some interest in the country. All he wants is to be employed in the King's service, when there shall be use for him.

I should have begun by telling you last Saturday I waited on a lady of your acquaintance to the Brill and the wind was so fair and so easy that they concluded she would be at London Monday morning. 2 pages.

COLIN CAMPBELL OF GLENDARULE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct 26. Near *Bordeaux*.—As to the story my friend writes to me of *Argyle* you would see by my letter

transmitting his how little hopes I had of that, for, if *Argyle* was truly resolved to serve *the King*, he could not be straitened to find, where he resides, proper persons to apply to; but I am entirely of opinion, that it's infinitely more *the King's* interest that *Argyle* and his friend *Ilay* should be passive, and not meddle at all in the dispute betwixt *the King* and *the Elector of Hanover*, than if they should declare for *the King*, and many reasons might be given for this opinion, nor do I see how *Argyle* can well do otherwise than be passive, seeing *the Elector of Hanover* will not employ nor trust him, so that in the whole *the King* will be under no great obligation to them. Amongst many other reasons there are such differences and disputes betwixt *Argyle* and *the Highlanders* that his being much concerned would at first create no small uneasiness to *the King*, and it's like more in some time, which makes me wish *the King* may be so much master of his affairs as not to be put under engagements or promises that may prove afterwards inconvenient to his true interest, though I shall be glad how friendly *the King* deals afterwards with *Argyle*, when he is thoroughly master of his own affairs, but, let *Argyle* do as he will, he never was in condition to do *the King* less harm than at present, and, if *Lord Glenorchy* and others act their part as they have promised, as I truly think they will, *Argyle* will not be much wanted and make but a very small addition. I have writ to my friend in the terms you desired, as also to know who it is that *Argyle* opened himself to in this matter.

When *Tullibardine* came last to *Bordeaux*, he fixed on a place about two leagues from it to live in, and desired I might go and stay with him, which I readily agreed to, and now I live with him and shall omit nothing to serve him. He is so truly sensible of your friendship to him that I am confident he will ever prove to you a constant friend.

Though I like living alone, I would not omit this opportunity of serving him as I design in all other things. I neither have nor shall say any thing of *Argyle's* story to any mortal. *Major Fraser* has again desired me to remind you that he hopes you will procure him to be major to *Glendarule* and that you will send that paper under *the King's* hand when necessary.

MR. BARRY to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct. 27. Hendaye.—I am just arrived here from St. Sebastian by a rendezvous from *Brigadier Campbell*, who communicated to me a copy of your letter of the 10th to *Tullibardine*, in answer whereof I now write at large to Mr. O'Brian who, I presume, will write you its contents. However, lest his miscarry, it may not be improper to let you know that the goods you ordered to be bought can be had in a short time after there be money to buy them, most being

already made in the hands of poor tradesmen, who will expect payment as soon as they deliver them.

I shall endeavour all I can to prolong the payments, which it is not requisite should be all at once, but it's absolutely necessary there be about 5,000 *livres* as soon as possible in order to give in earnest to several tradesmen who will oblige themselves to furnish the goods in a short time, specially to benefit of a rencounter of about 1,000 *swords* which are to be sold in and about *Bayonne* at less than half value and about 400 good and new *firelocks* at 8 *livres* a piece, which occasions would save much money, and, if once lost, may never be recovered. I doubt not the cargo may be bought and put in cellars and magazines with all the secrecy requisite in respect of the present conjuncture and protection I have and the assistance of a friend, all with *Brigadier Campbell's* directions and approbation, without which I shall act in nothing.

It will be requisite to put the money for this cargo into a banker's hands in Paris, by degrees as it comes in, in order to acquit the bills of exchange, which *Brigadier Campbell* or others having power may draw on him to pay for the cargo, which will do better than in *Dillon's* in respect of the commerce and that none will take bills on a man of his vocation.

I never received an answer from *Dillon* to my letter to him. *Brigadier Campbell* is in great hopes I may be serviceable in going on the voyage, and may influence several merchants to buy of the cargo. If it be thought I could render more service that way, I shall gladly go.

MR. BARRY to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON and
MR. BARRY to LORD TULLIBARDINE.

1717, Oct. 27.—(Both on the same business and to the same effect as the last.) *Copies.*

LORD TULLIBARDINE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct. 28.—*Glendarule* received yours of the 10th on the 20th and soon after communicated it to me, I being returned where he is, which he imagined was proper on all events, at least there would be the less miscarriages or other mistakes thereby amongst ourselves. I wrote *Brigadier Campbell* distinctly what you desired concerning Mr. Tilmon and Mr. Tomly (*swords* and *targes*) and doubt not there will soon be a return from him and *Barry*, how the affairs spoke of concerning those gentlemen can be best carried on with success as required in every particular.

The odd opinion *Malcolm of Grange* and some others endeavour to create of me is so strangely surprising, that I am really at a loss what to write about so extraordinary an accusation, in which I but just now understood his share has

been very particular by *R. Gordon*, having read to him the letters he wrote to *Inese* and *Nairne*, who were thereby to acquaint *James* and *Queen Mary* with what he said, part of which was after this manner, that neither sickness, infirmity or old age were now sufficient to screen him from being unnecessarily molested beyond what he had ever been used to from any, and so goes on in that strain with the rest of his story. It's true, after above three months sending several times to acquaint those gentlemen with what seemed necessary from me as to their way of living without any effect, [it] at last occasioned my writing to *R. Gordon* about it, and may be I touched things too near, yet not so fully as some thought me obliged to, and therefore I believe they will give you a full account of all the steps taken, so I shall only trouble you with the enclosed doubles of what I wrote or received on the subject, and hope you will thereby be the abler to state the thing right before the *King* and *Queen Mary*, who may have got a wrong impression of it by what has been written to *Inese* and *Nairne*. On the whole I suppose Mr. Malcolm was the uneasier because I did not see him, but knowing how openly and freely he with others of his set spoke of everybody and thing that passed concerning commerce, and the private way of trading, which my instructions required, made me decline giving them a greater handle to expose it than common fame by knowing anything particularly of my being here, *Glendarule* and *Brigadier Campbell* esteeming that as the safest manner till there should be further accounts how to carry in such things.

There is yet no mention here of the order for strangers to retire from the French ports, but, if it come, and people find themselves unavoidably discovered and thereby much straitened as to the manner of staying longer, it would be a satisfaction to know how their friends think they should behave. *Lord G. Murray* is yet where he was, but I'll take care to let him know how kindly you remember him. 2½ pages.
Enclosed,

LORD TULLIBARDINE to ROBERT GORDON.

ROBERT GORDON to LORD TULLIBARDINE.

PETER SMITH to LORD TULLIBARDINE.

(All calendared ante, pp. 33, 40.)

LORD TULLIBARDINE to SMITH OF METHVEN'S BROTHER.

I am at a stand how to answer yours because of the particular regard I had for you, and nothing can be more disagreeable to me than being compelled to return harsh expressions. Therefore I shall say nothing except in answer to the part which most immediately concerns what I found myself

obliged to write on the 3rd, by which in the easiest plain manner I endeavoured to let everybody, that immediately belongs to the King where you are, know distinctly what they were formerly acquainted of, that it was thought proper they should live quietly and retired, for I was wrote to by one who has authority that their continuing in these parts depended very much on their way of managing themselves, which was left to me to advise them rightly of. If that be not enough for the few at Bordeaux to fall into so general an opinion and the behaviour of everybody else in these parts I shall not take upon me to determine, having discharged my duty. They may follow what course they think fit, though I am sorry on their own accounts to find some stiff and opiniative in so small a thing, which cannot but show what they would be in an affair of more consequence that did not exactly hit their humour or caprice.

Since you take what I wrote as an order, I could not but take yours as the return to it, and therefore I have let him from whom I had my instructions literally know your answer, that, if necessary, particular orders may be given you hereafter. 1717, Sept. 20. Copy.

LORD TULLIBARDINE to R. GORDON.

I received yours with the gentlemen's answers, some of which I cannot but say are odd enough. Enclosed is an answer to Smith of Methven's brother's extraordinary letter, left open for your perusal. You and I have done all that was possible or necessary from us, so nature must work, till those whose authority they will obey determine that matter. 1717, Sept. 20. Copy.

SMITH OF METHVEN'S BROTHER to LORD TULLIBARDINE.

I should be heartily sorry if mine to you has disoblged you, for I meant it not. It was to inform you I had heard nothing authorizing my obedience to you, though I am sure none is more willing, and, were it left to me to choose my commander, it should be you. I have been a year here now without knowing who commanded, or else I should have been at Calais half the time, and I wrote to Gen. Gordon for leave, and he sent me word he had nothing to do with those at Bordeaux, and two months ago I begged of Glendarule that Mar might let me know whom I was to obey, and I'll be mightily glad if it's you. I'm persuaded you act nothing without instructions. I do not think myself of that consequence to expect particular orders, but that the general instructions to those in Mr. Frender's (? France) ordinarily mentions those that are to obey, and, when they see what relates to themselves in the

instructions, it is their duty to obey. This is all I ever expected, and I hope you won't think me in the wrong. I am determined to leave this as you advise and with the first ship to Calais, if you think that convenient, if not, I can retire in the country. I beg you to forgive if I mistook the meaning, for I never meant to disoblige you, though I can't help thinking a man ought to see whom he is to obey. 1717, Sept. 27. Copy.

With note, that this letter could not be easily answered so there was no return made. I believe he is shipped before this for where this takes notice he designed.

COLIN CAMPBELL OF GLENDARULE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct. 28. Near *Bordeaux*.—(About the receipt of his letter of the 10th, and he and Lord Tullibardine having written to Brigadier Campbell and Mr. Barry about swords and targes, as in Lord Tullibardine's letter of the same date.) It will be absolutely necessary some money be remitted to *Barry* and *Brigadier Campbell* to set that affair going and as soon as possible, seeing *swords* and *targes* will take a considerable time to make up. *Mar* judges right; it is the most necessary of any, and without which *the Highlanders* would very unwillingly trade, but on the other hand seeing so good and large a quantity of this cargo sent him to begin with will, I am confident, encourage him to a degree so as to act his part with great cheerfulness and good heart, and I am very hopeful this cargo will answer all the expectation of our partners. *Dillon* shall be acquainted, as soon as we have *Brigadier Campbell's* return.

(Then follows a very long passage about the refusal of some of the exiles at *Bordeaux* to obey orders as in Lord Tullibardine's above letter, but at much greater length and with particular reference to *Malcolm of Grange*.)

I have writ to *John Macleod junior* as you desired in relation to *Sir Hector Maclean*, and it consists with my knowledge that it is above a twelvemonth since you sent your orders to *H. Straiton* about him, and also saw his returns to you, and it's several months since I wrote to his tutor to be communicated to *Sir Hector Maclean's* best friends. I have also written to *John Macleod junior*, as you have ordered, that *Sir Hector Maclean* be brought to *Edinburgh*, where he is to live as little chargeable as possible.

As for *Stuart of Appin* I never expected better of him, and it signifies little what he does, for there is an honest gentleman of that name, whom you know, that will act his part so well that *Stuart of Appin* will not be much wanted. I shall take the first opportunity to acquaint that gentleman with the part he has acted on this side, which he will see of a piece with his actions on that. I shall also acquaint your friend, *Glengarry*, so as to prevent any hurt he can do there. 4 pages.

JOHN MENZIES to L. INESE.

1717, Thursday, Oct. 17[-28].—"The Abbé du Bois is still a mystery, unless it be in the Cabinet, but everybody agrees he wants money to himself. If we were well with the Pope, we might assure him of a hat, That would do to secure his friendship.

"You will see too, what our Gazette and the other papers from it, say of [the] E[arl] of Peterborough, of whose case our knowledge here is also very lame, though the thing has made a terrible noise.

"People of sense have generally reckoned that the Pretender, who is believed to be a very shrewd and thinking man himself, must also have some judicious men about him. That therefore, upon the general surmise and suspicion, they had watched the Earl, and had found him tampering and bargaining with some assassins and scoundrels in Italy, and that some of those were brought to be witnesses and proof against him. That the most penetrating Jacobites in England could send nothing but suspicion, which could have no other effect than to put the Pretender on his guard and to look out sharp who came near his person, and to take care of his own safety. If Peterborough had really formed any such dark design here, it must have been in its own nature very dark indeed, and no proofs nor witnesses to be found of it. But still it might be sufficient to make the Pretender's friends to watch the Earl, and to be on their guard against him; which was all they could reasonably desire or expect. The reasons that have been given or pretended by the Jacobites for a violent suspicion have been fully talked of and canvassed. The Earl had been known to have had several private audiences and always most secretly conveyed in and out, whereas he was pretending in his ordinary conversation to be still out of favour and at daggers drawing with the ministers. That the chief of the Court had been secretly at the Earl's house at Parson's Green and many hours alone with him, &c. That all this manœuvre must import some very dark and secret design, otherwise where was the need of any mystery, or that it should not be plainly owned and known that E[arl of] P[eterborough] was restored unto favour, changes of Court being very common here. Since therefore there must have been some dark design, and since the E[arl] was going back to Italy, the Jacobites concluded that the dark and wicked scene must be there; and what else could it be but what has now been so much talked of? One of the most zealous of the Jacobites, as we are told, wrote a letter to the E[arl] though without a name to it, to tell him that his black project was discovered, &c., thinking, no doubt, hereby to have dissuaded him from going, and to have prevented the danger. From hence they argue that a man of true honour would have been struck even with the least shadow of jealousy of his being

such a scelerat, and consequently have stayed and cut off the occasion. Then they pretended he was very full of money, whereas he was often before without so much as to pay his reckoning. And what the D[uke] of Gordon told of his finding 4,000 *guineas* in his house by chance, that he had forgot, and knew nothing of, was turned against him, and that it was not possible for a man all along so indigent, to have forgot 4,000 *guineas*. Upon all those and such other grounds, it was not wondered that the Jacobites founded a violent suspicion. But still that it was but a suspicion, that they could possibly send from hence, since in the dark nature of the thing, proofs were in a manner impossible. And it is reckoned that, in case any of the Jacobites here had been so hot or sanguine to give violent advices, yet that neither the Pretender himself nor his judicious friends would have been influenced by that, nor used any violent proceeding, without evident proofs upon the spot of the earl's tampering with assassins in Italy. And one thing is remarkable, that, if any real proofs could have been sent from hence, they could not have been adduced or made use of in Italy, without hanging the Jacobites here that sent them.

"Thus I give you our prosings and speculations upon this matter, by which you will plainly see that we know yet but by halves, and that there must be more in the matter for the lame post to bring us. One thing seems certain, that, even if they had been too hasty in taking him up, they would, for their own sakes, not be too hasty in letting him go, and because they might perhaps find proofs there by the hopes or giving of rewards.

"Our courtiers are thought imprudent in taking this matter so to heart, and giving themselves such agitations about it. We brag of bombarding Civita Vecchia, but wise men laugh at this, and reckon that if we could burn all Civita Vecchia or take it home with us, it would not pay the expense of one man-of-war, or the ammunition it would cost us. . . .

Our chief news here is the meeting of Parliament. Money must be had. There are great necessities. There are vast deficiencies of the last year's funds. The nation expects a great disbanding of forces, and it must be, unless the Jacobites give us one of their usual indigested plots, which ruin themselves and serve the Government. If it is not by this means, it is wondered on what foot the Parliament can be held, but as there are a thousand indications and surmises of an approaching plot. The old Court seem so tranquil and secure, that is thought they have some great bisk in their sleeve, and that at least they have, one way or another, gained a majority without either the Walpole Whigs, or the body of the Tories. . . . Jamie *Hamilton* has been here two days and the good lady (? Lady Mar) from the country safe and sound, and I expect my friend C. Kinnaird in a day or two. Jamie seems to have settled new conveyances—much wanted. Since by

the letter Mistress Anne Oglethorpe says she has from *the King* a gentleman was to be here about this time from him but is not come, I need not speak of those particular concerns till another occasion.

"Please send this to *Mar.* I have a word to him from *Scotland*—(by number 1 cipher). . . . *Scotland* gets heart again. There will be some *money* from thence. *Friends in England* increase daily, but, rely upon it, without *an army* there is nothing to be done. You must either gain *the army*, or bring *an army*. All other ways [are] all flatteries and visions. Very small *fleet* from *Gottenberg* will do. Six or seven is enough of what is good and a good *admiral*. To do it with a jerk. Not many dozens of *ships* neither. Your old friend, the captain, has counted it all to me, as have others of his tribe. *Ammunition* and *arms* in abundance. As to tea (money) from hence, for God's sake do not expect it in any quantity. It is contraband and impossible. How did *Holland* in their *invasion*? Did all, nor could it be done otherwise and were well paid. Yet for lesser matters and on the spot something may be prepared and lying ready.

Menzies has set several hands to work to inform the present *French Ambassador at London*. Our old man *Wyndham* knows some clergy and I put it in his head. But my lot often is *sic vos non vobis*. A very sensible lady, an old acquaintance of the *French Ambassador at London*, is coming from the country. Once a great ascendant. If he had eyes to see, he would see, what were his friend *the Regent's* interest and the interest of *France*. How could *Spain* be so weak as to begin at the wrong end. *Noted*, as by cipher number 1. 5 pages.

JAMES III to CARDINAL ORIGO.

1717, Oct. 28. Urbino.—I have been much pleased to learn by your letters that Lord Peterborough had consented to remain at Bologna on his parole, till he has given all the proofs and guaranties of his innocence which he himself offered to Mr. Sheldon. I believe that neither his Holiness nor anybody can find fault with me for in consenting to his conditional release, exacting the performance of the condition he offered of his own accord, so I see no inconvenience in continuing to desire that he remains on his parole where he is, since he prefers it himself to Parma or Reggio, of which he had the choice.

As regards your new proposal advising me to give him his complete liberty immediately on condition of his leaving Italy by a certain date, as that would not be merely a precaution but a real punishment of banishment, which would take his guilt for granted, I do not believe I could with justice consent to it without legal proofs. On the contrary I believe

it is more for his reputation to keep to what he has offered and to wait till a reasonable time has cleared up matters a little more than to do what you propose, for then I shall be able to grant him his complete liberty with more prudence for myself and more honour for him, after he has on his side given the satisfaction he has promised, and I on mine shall have waited a suitable time to see whether new proofs and new informations come from England against him.

Finally, as I did not cause him to be arrested without numerous informations from good sources, and strong proofs, neither precipitation, fear nor injustice having the least share in it, so I desire that none of these motives may have any share in the steps I shall take for his complete liberation, being well content to adhere to the reasonable conduct I have followed in all this business and to have nothing to reproach myself with. While I continue to act by these principles, I am not afraid of doing anything against my glory, whatever the success of it may be, and, as in all this I am endeavouring to preserve the dignity of his Holiness no less than my own, I should wrong him, were I to doubt of his approbation for an instant. *French. Entry Book 1, p. 211.*

DR. CHARLES LESLIE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct. 29. St. Germain.—The enclosed his Majesty will certainly show you. I referred to you in it, but I sealed it as being greater respect. You were too young to know this matter when it passed, but no doubt have been acquainted with it since. The Assertory Act and Test were in Lauderdale's Parliament and made in prejudice to the Church, to cure which this Explanatory Act was made, when the Duke of York was Commissioner, and ratified by the King, which in Scotland then remained good till reversed by Parliament, which it has not been.

If the use proposed to be made of it now seems relevant, as it appears to me, and, as King Charles called it, nicking, the dispatch of it will be necessary, that the physick may have time to work before the session.

It has been shown to the Queen, Lord Middleton, and Father Inese, who made no objection against it.

I desire not to be thought intermeddling, but this I believed a duty, and that I should be justly blameable, if I omitted to represent what was transmitted to me.

Postscript. 5 Nov.—This should have gone last post as dated, but having promised to show my letters to the Queen, and going this day sennight for the purpose, she had taken physick and could not be spoke with, and Friday is the only post day to you, so this could not go till to-day.

Postscript. 31 Oct.—I wrote the above, supposing the post did not go till that day, but to-day I showed the Queen both letters, who told me that of late a post went twice a week on Tuesdays and Fridays, so I send this by the first, and she told me she would send it in her packet.

No man alive can word his mind more short and pithy than his Majesty, but let me give this caution, that he name only the Church of England, because Presbytery is established by what they call law now in Scotland, so there is no such thing as a Church of Britain at present, and the Kirk may apply it to themselves as well as the Church.

A concern may be showed that the promises the King has already given for the security of the Church have not removed all scruples, therefore that he now gives them that security, which removed the like scruples in the reign of Charles II, and then repeat the words scored in the copy herewith sent of the Explanatory Act, either as the words of that Act with his Majesty's confirmation of the same, or repeating them in the person of his present Majesty, whichever of those ways or whatsoever other way his Majesty's wisdom shall think proper.

The Assertory Act was so called from its asserting and extending the supremacy of the Crown over the Church, to hinder their convening or acting even in ecclesiastical matters, or to regulate the members of their own body. This is exactly the case now with George and his Convocation. The iron is hot and it seems the time to strike. $2\frac{1}{2}$ pages. *Enclosed,*

DR. CHARLES LESLIE to JAMES III.

Proposing his giving the Church security as in the above letter. (The material parts are printed in the Stuart Papers, p. 36, note.) 1717, 29 Oct. St. Germain's.

COL. CHARLES FARQUHARSON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct. 29. St. Germain's.—I have but few friends about this Court except Master Inese, the almoner, but next to God and the King I shall ever depend on your Grace's protection. My nephew, Inverey, who is at Brussels with his wife, wrote to me that you in your last to him showed him that you would write to the Queen and also speak to the King in his favour. You know the Macdonalds make five or six clans. All that can be said is that each is head of his own family, and so is every one that has not an absolute dependence on another of the same name, and as for Invercauld I can assure you the successors of a brother of the first marriage is still extant called Farquharson of Craigniaty in Angusshire, and Invercauld and all of us being of the second marriage his pretence of chief is not well founded.

During the reigns of Charles I, Charles II, and James VII few clans can pretend better service than my poor family.

Keppoch is but a tenant, Glencoe a sub-vassal to Appin for a small part of his own estate, there is Mackinnon. I am sure my nephew can make on his own ground as many men as any of them and I believe his rent is no less than all the three, yet they are accounted clans. In my simple judgement any man, chief or no chief, that brings near a battalion of Highlanders to the King's service, should be esteemed amongst the clans. Most of these, I mean gentlemen, are vassals to Argyle, Duke of Gordon or some others, and, as my nephew is your Grace's vassal, should it please the King and you to honour him to be ranked with other Highlanders, he would look on it as a singular favour, but, whatever may be done in that, nothing shall ever hinder him and me from being most faithfully and heartily your most humble servants, and begging, if occasion offer for the King's service, we may not be forgot to be employed. What was in the public prints about his making his peace is so false, that neither he nor any in his name ever asked any such thing, and he swears he never shall, so long as he has what is absolutely necessary for keeping soul and body together, unless he has commands to do otherwise.

CAPT. JOHN OGILVIE to [LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON].

1717, Oct. 29. Dunkirk.—I wrote to you the 25th to let you know our boat was on the other side. She arrived this morning. To-morrow being a holiday and Monday also nothing can be done, but on Tuesday and Wednesday she shall take in her goods and ballast and sail Thursday, wind and weather permitting. The master tells me that Galloway, the master of a small vessel, bringing over some passengers to Calais, was seized and all his passengers carried up prisoners, where they are all committed to the messengers. What they are I know not yet. If the boat part on Thursday, I shall only stay here till I have a letter from London that all our goods are safely delivered, and then I shall take my journey to come to you.

C. KINNAIRD to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct. 31. Calais.—You may think it strange not to have heard from me, but, besides I had nothing worth your trouble, I heard nothing of your motions till I came here three days ago. Some days ago I had a letter from *Menzies* informing me that all *Mar's* letters from *Liège* had come safe to him, and to-day I have one from him of the 28th, telling me that *Lady Mar*, whom I left five weeks ago at *Brussels*, was safely arrived two days before well at London. I am glad to give you this good news. I was two days at *Brussels* with the negotiator, that *General Hamilton* wrote to, to meet *Mar* before he left *Liège*. I had much discourse with him particularly about *Mar*, whom he would have gladly

seen there, but I am hopeful he has seen him at *France*. If not, he promised to write to him to *Italy*, and, after a full reasoning and that he seemed convinced of a mistake he was in, he assured me he was still ready to do all the service he was capable of, and to correspond that way. This was through no precarious insinuations of mine, I am sure I was cautious in this point. In most of the conversation I had with him he complained much that *the King's* affairs were not managed by a settled and fixed consent of some selected people. I leave you to judge of this.

I saw *Tom Bruce* three weeks together, because of a misfortune that happened to my friend after *Mar* was gone, and I found that the paper *Jamie* [*Hamilton*] gave him and me in no wise answered that which *Mar* wrote to *Tom Bruce* by. Neither he nor I could make anything of it, as I doubt not *Signor Tom* has informed you. This mistake must be amended if *Mar* thinks fit.

I had a letter sent me here by *Mar's* order from *France*, as *W. G[ordon]*, under whose cover it came, tells me, but it is not for me. I understand nothing of it, but I know it to be *Ormonde's* hand and addressed on the back by *Ezekiel Hamilton*, so I have returned it to be sent to you. These are odd mistakes, for I never gave any such address.

Four days ago I left *Mistress Ogilvie* and her friend. I can say nothing more of either. When I arrive at *England* you shall hear from me in the old manner, seeing I cannot trust to *Jamie's* paper.

We have no news. *Menzies* and *Ratray* (? *James Murray*) tell *C. Kinnaird* the coast is clear. By the next cargo expect certainly what *C. Kinnaird* promised to send you. It has been impossible for him to perform his promise, but he has not forgot it. 2 pages.

J. MENZIES to L. INESE.

1717, Sunday, Oct. 20[-31].—The enclosed is another dish of hotch-potch of our news. The courtiers are extremely pleased with the treaty betwixt the Czar and Hamburg, because it breathes nothing but war against Sweden. They are no less delighted with the address of the Sorbonne to Lord Stair and their acknowledging King George in so plain a manner and consequently renouncing the Pretender, even when this method of English addressing, which is become nauseous even here, seemed to be very much out of their way. It mortifies the Jacobites mightily and some of them therefore will have it to be a forgery. I have seen that, if such a Popish address from so considerable a society had been made to Queen Anne, she would have been a Papist all over England. But Mr. Ridpath and the Postman and the Presbyterians can turn anything to anything and this to the glory of King George.

We are as ignorant here of Sweden and Sardinia and the Earl of Peterborough as if we were in Siberia. Of the last I hope you have what I wrote to you and I am satisfied you will judge right of the turn I was obliged to give it by post.

I leave this with James *Hamilton* to be put in to-morrow. I am this morning sent for to the country to see the *Duke of Shrewsbury* and shall not be back till Tuesday. I have desired Jamie to write a line to *Mar* to let him know that, whilst friends are so dispersed and out of town, it is impossible for the *King's friends* to fix on any certain measures. But *Menzies* is drudging amongst them as the go-between, and all he can say as yet is that the measure, which is at present most probable and necessary to be pushed, seems to be to repair a mistake that was last year and to do all now that is possible to unite more fully and heartily with *Walpole* and that family, to push the lessening the *army* and by such other good and acceptable things to distress the present *English ministry*, and by running their back up to a wall to oblige them to reflect and do right. For now our warmest friends are come to think that neither *Sunderland* nor *Cadogan* are impracticable.

Menzies' opinion last year was by all means to unite with *Walpole* and to leave nothing unturned for that end, but warmer counsels prevailed and so much time happens to be lost.

I have told you only what seems most probable at present, but cannot be positive, nor can any measures be formed till all concerned come to town and the circumstances, as they are then, be considered. 2½ pages.

L. INESE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 1. St. Germain's.—I had for the first time a letter from the friend at Brussels (T. Bruce) with this enclosed, open as it is, for *Mar*. In mine he sent me some words he had copied out of *Mar's* last to him, which he could not uncipher, but with the help of Mr. Creagh I unciphered it and sent it back to him.

Here is also one from *Menzies* in answer to mine pressing him to give a distinct account of all the *money* that had come to his hands. It seems the *Bishop of Rochester* is satisfied with his management of that matter, at least he told him so. However, he promises to give an account of all, which is necessary for the satisfaction of friends on this side. When it comes, it shall be forwarded to *Mar*.

Menzies encloses one from *James Murray*, who having been formerly a great friend of *Bolingbroke's*, it seems this last made an attempt to justify his past conduct, but without success, as appears by the letter.

I was desired to write my thoughts on a proposal of Mr. Leslie's, but having seen his paper only in passing, I could

only make the enclosed remark on what I can remember of it. *Mar* can better judge what is fit to be done. The good old man must be managed, and indeed he deserves it, and he will hear reason, which is not every man's talent.

Queen Mary kept *Creagh* in expectation of *Capt. Ogilvie*, but, there being no news of him yet, *Creagh* is now to be dispatched immediately. *Dillon* is now here as you know from himself. *Enclosed*,

The SAID REMARK.

Mr. Leslie told me he was to desire a letter from the King, promising to confirm an explanation made by the Scotch Privy Council of an Act of Parliament there made, as I remember, in 1681. He intended to send the letter to England to show that his Majesty gives a greater latitude of power to the Church of England than is allowed by the present Government, this letter to be made use of on occasion of the prosecution intended by the next Convocation against the Bishop of Bangor.

What I think is to be remarked is that no Act of a Scots Parliament is binding in England, much less has any explanation or act of a Privy Council any authority in England. Consequently, if the King should confirm the said explanation, I do not see what use could be made of it in England.

Declaration by GENERAL ROBERT ECHLIN.

1717, Nov. 1.—When the King commanded me into the North to join the Marquess of Huntly, I was stayed at Aberdeen by a storm of snow, where I met Glenbucket's lieut.-colonel, searching all the suspected persons for arms and ammunition, sent by his lordship on purpose, and another gentleman to take from thence six great guns and granad shells to be sent to Gordon Castle, which he did. The Marquess was with his own wheelwrights making carriages for them and had mounted four others, before I came there. From the first minute I came to him, I no sooner proposed anything for his Majesty's service, but he had it done, as the making of a Cohorn boom, wool sacks and other things for the reduction of Inverness. Finding everything so forward with Lord Huntly, I designed to have gone to the Marquess of Seaforth, but, being detained by contrary winds and our being in haste to reduce the town and to join the King at Perth, Lord Huntly sent a gentleman to Lord Seaforth with the King's, the Duke of Mar's, Lord Huntly's and my letters to him. In the two last letters he was desired to take arms with all his men, but, if he could not do so, to send us over the Moray Firth 500 men, and we would watch there to cover their landing, but his answer was that he could not, he lying between Lord Sutherland's men

and the town. Reading his letters Lord Huntly said to me : Since it is so, we will undertake the reduction of the town with our own men, when the powder comes.

As for the cessation concluded between their lordships and Lord Lovat, I saw them and, if I remember right, Lord Seaforth's was dated eight days before Lord Huntly's and was of a few days longer continuance.

I was told by several gentlemen in his Majesty's interest, that, when he received the King's letter written after his landing, for till then he did not think his Majesty would come, he said : Now farewell life, estate and all things dear to me, for, since my King is come, I will risk all hazards with him. I know several other circumstances of Lord Huntly's behaviour for the King's service, too long to be inserted here, which I will attest, whenever it be thought needful. *Original and two copies. On the back of one of the latter are*

SOME QUERIES anent the present state of the KING's
FORCES commanded by the Earl of Mar.

The enemy being much superior in horse and the clans, who make the greatest and best part of the infantry, having an abhorrence to be exposed to horse, if it is advisable to prosecute the march so far as to put it in the enemy's power to bring us to battle.

The King not being come nor any certainty of the present rising of the English, it's asked if the advantage from a victory can be compared to the hazard in case of a defeat.

The season is altogether unfavourable, the foot almost naked and quite unprovided of shoes. No place of strength on the further side of Forth, although we beat the enemy.

If the Dutch land, they, with what reinforcement the Government can give, will be too hard for the King's army, if it cross the Forth and be weakened by sickness, death and desertion.

If the King's army cross the Forth, may not the Government send forces by sea to join the Earl of Sutherland and others their friends, and then not only ruin and harass those Northern countries, but likewise make it absolutely dangerous for the King to land in any of those parts ?

If it were not more advisable to return to Perth, and there to continue for a fortnight, expecting to hear of the King's coming or that of the Duke of Ormonde, in either of which cases a vigorous attempt were to be made on the enemy, but, if neither happen, then the army to be modelled to 4,000 foot and 400 horse, which, being rightly distributed, would preserve Perth and all the countries now in the King's obedience and facilitate his landing.

If the enemy should move against Perth, it would be easy for the clans and other great men to form a body of an army in 14 days able to relieve it. In the meantime cesses and loans may be raised for maintenance of the modelled army

and dispositions and preparations made for a vigorous and early campaign. *From internal evidence the date of this document must be early in November, 1715.*

W. GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 2. Paris.—I wrote to you last post to Urbino, but was forced to put it under cover to Mr. Nairne, so what I wrote to your Grace to Turin of calling for it at the post house would not answer, unless you called for all the letters addressed to Mr. Nairne. By the enclosed you will have an account of the Duchess' departure, and I hope next packet shall give you the pleasure of hearing of her safe arrival at London.

I have yet no account of Mr. Kinnaird's being at Calais, though he advised me long since he was to part for there with his lady for England. I wrote to you about continuing Lord Dundee's subsistence to his lady and her numerous family. Mark Wood paid for his interment 78 *livres* 11 *sols* 1 *denier*, as to which your orders will be necessary, else I can't repay it.

I gave Mr. Dicconson my account the day after your departure; balance then due me 3,895 *livres* 18 *sols* 8 *deniers*, besides several sums paid since and all that was ordered for Sir H. Stir[ling]. I don't know what course to take, for he writes me plainly that, if the restoration depended on it, he can't help me till it come in. General Dillon told me eight days ago that in a few days there would be money, but I see no appearance of it. I wish I may be disappointed, for, besides the said balance due to me, the subsistence is not paid for October either here or anywhere, so you may easily imagine what a clamour this makes, and a good many are in a starving condition writing me from all corners.

(Advising him to send letters for him to his own address, but sending another, in case he prefers to use it.) 2 pages.

DAVID KENNEDY to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 2. *Mittau*.—Ormonde arrived here 23 Oct., where he found a letter from Dr. Erskine desiring him not to proceed to *Riga* as he intended, there being several *English* and other *disaffected persons*, so he'll remain here till he hears from the King of Sweden.

Ormonde received 23 Oct. *Mar's* of the 7th, but that he mentions of 20 Sept. is not come and the last from *Dillon* was of 19 Aug., which makes him conclude his and some of yours are intercepted. Ormonde has been out of order some days with a fit of the gravel which hinders Ormonde from answering *Mar*. He hopes to be able to do it by the next, and refers him to Ormonde's of 2 Oct. and to those since to *Dillon*, which he is sure are communicated to the King, to whom Ormonde wrote 25 Oct. Ormonde hopes *Mar* [is] with the King. Ormonde desires you'll make his compliments

in the best manner to *the King*. He is mortified he has not heard from *him* since 6 July, which was received at *Prague*. He is also surprised to find by *James Murray's* to *Mar* that he seems to be against going about the *money* trade, for in his opinion that parcel ought to be got as soon as possible.

The COMTE DE CASTELBLANCO to [? DAVID NAIRNE].

1717, Nov. 3. Rome.—Hitherto I have not been able to finish the remedies of the physicians. I have decided to start to-morrow for Urbino to pay my court to the King. The change and the travelling will quite restore me. *French*.

JAMES III to POPE CLEMENT XI.

1717, Nov. 3. Urbino.—Urging the beatification of Cardinal Barbadigo. *Latin*. *Entry Book 1*, p. 213.

L. INESE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 4. St. Germain.—The enclosed from *Menzies* has all we have from that part of the world. I am glad *Lady Mar* is arrived safe, but have nothing from her or from any to *Mar*. *The Earl Marischal* was a night here and saw *Queen Mary*. He told me he was going to Rheims, where he thought to pass the winter. He carries his brother with him. *Marly* is to be demolished and also the machine and waterworks, to save 30 or 40,000 *livres* it costs yearly to entertain them. Who would have expected this some years ago? *Vanitas vanitatum et omnia vanitas*.

J. MENZIES to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Thursday, Oct. 24[^rNov. 4]. London.—I was called out of town last Sunday to meet *Lady Westmorland's* nephew (i.e. *Shrewsbury*), who is right and true notwithstanding late and close temptations and who is also your real friend. You know he has admirable understanding with a perfect knowledge of this country, its trade and interest. What passed in those two or three days cannot be writ by the common post, and he expressly forbade me.

A merchant of Bordeaux has been going back for some time, but is not gone, and is not to go so soon as he expected. I must take back some snuff and other things I had put up for you and find another occasion.

I have some things for you also from Capt. *Straiton* but they require a sure hand. There is some hope too of some very good *money* from thence in some time. If it succeed, as *Straiton* hopes, it is what could hardly be expected from thence, but their heart is good.

When I was hurrying out of town I desired James *Hamilton* to say a word or two by Monday's post. By his notes of what he wrote I find there were several great mistakes and other things

we had spoken of were jumbled into his letter, very lame and imperfect, and even very wrong. I am sure they are most innocent mistakes, but mistakes they are. Therefore both he and I beg you will put that most imperfect letter in the fire, and you shall very soon have a just and plain relation of those matters in a direct letter from myself.

Jamy seems to have found out and settled some good conveyances by the place he shipped from last. It will be a difference of some few days, but certainly is worth more than that.

I am in a hurry, meeting *C. Kinnaird* and his wife, who are just come to-night, and I am got into the City without my *ciphers*, but there is nothing here of any haste.

One came from *Dillon* here last night, but I know nothing as yet of what he brings.

C. Kinnaird tells me he saw *Capt. Ogilvie* at his old post and his cousin (wife) waiting. We have a mighty noise of *Bolingbroke's* coming very soon and *Brinsden* has been here these three weeks. The Jacobites who knew him and his master are trembling.

LIEUT.-COLONEL JOHN STEUART to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 5. Leyden.—In obedience to your commands I acquaint your Grace with the little I could learn of the dispositions and circumstances of *Sweden*, which I wish were of a piece, knowing our King and his family to be in the highest esteem imaginable with all the *Swedes*, though at my arrival I found them somewhat startled at his leaving Scotland without a blow.

It wont surprise you to find their old way of thinking continues, who by example of their chief think their appetite to fight is not to be checked by political reasons, however strong, nor by any inequality of numbers. Besides their just respect for all hereditary crowned heads their detestation of *Hanover* and all his actions makes them look on our case as in a manner their own, for they reckon him the most unjust and ungenerous of their enemies as such, and as usurper in *England* worse than any declared enemy can be.

These, I venture to assure you, are in general the sentiments of the warlike part of the family. As to their politicians I had not the honour to be known, but *Görtz*, who leads the van, has the character of an excellent projector as to finding funds for the subsistence of his own and *Sweden's* family, which he's nearly allied to, but by his over fondness to touch the ready on all occasions, they are much afraid their honour may suffer, which you know they pique themselves much on. The very apprehension of this, with his being the instrument of keeping the Cadets low, that the representative may make the better figure, makes him generally hated in the family, but he loses no ground in the chief's favour, by which he

finds himself enabled to treat any scheme proposed by the C[hancellor] or any other of the Council as a bagatelle, if he is not hatcher himself.

The King of Sweden's brother-in-law (i.e. the Hereditary Prince of Hesse), who is extremely affable, countenanced me very much and asked with an uncommon concern many kind questions about our master, but he meddles little or none in their councils. Their troops are not near so numerous as they have been, but were never better, which, I believe, is owing to the extraordinary number of good officers, all regiments being double or triple officered. Their officers at sea are in a much worse condition, for they neither have seamen nor provisions to equip ever so small a fleet. They have ships in abundance fit for transports.

I was frequently with *Gyllenborg* the ten days I stayed after his arrival. In my weak opinion he is a man of good sense and a very firm friend too, which he assured me he should on all occasions show, and he did not then despair of sharing in the councils, for all he had met with since his arrival looked like a better than ordinary reception from his master, who sent for him as soon as he heard of his arrival. I wish *Görtz* may prove as firm and disinterested, but the last affair, which made so much noise, was long over before so much as known with us.

I am glad you say I may return, for leaving that country was to ask if his Majesty had no commands for me elsewhere, and to endeavour to get as much money from my friends as would make an equipage suitable to the character and post I expect, which his brother-in-law before mentioned bade me depend on after serving a campaign as a volunteer. I would beg your interest for a colonel's breviate, by which I may possibly be soon at the head of a regiment. 2 pages.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Saturday, Nov. 6.—I had yours from Lyons of 20 Oct. and hope this will find you safely arrived near *the King*. I believe the enclosed is from *Ormonde* though not the usual address. I had one from him of 12 Oct. in his road to *Riga*. He had not then received any of those I addressed to *Danzig* which made him uneasy and indeed with reason, though I see no remedy for it. He is now at so great a distance that I fear we'll be a considerable time without hearing from him, and God alone knows when *Dillon's* letters can reach the place he is in.

Creagh received money for his journey five days ago, and I believe him parted, not having seen him since.

I send *Capt. Ogilvie's* last letter to me which explains his delay. *George Kelly* parted hence 25 Oct., but I had no account yet of his arrival at *London*. I hope to be able to inform you of several things by next Saturday's post.

ROBERT GORDON to JOHN PATERSON.

1717, Nov. 6.—I had yours of 12 August and 7 October, and I got both the enclosed carefully delivered. You may let the King know that the ship I got of Capt. George, being a very fine sailer, has been seized by the Governor of St. Domingo and sent to cruise against the pirates on that coast. What will be the event I know not, but I hope, if she is taken or lost, I will get justice done me in case the Governor should refuse to pay me the value. It is a very great disappointment to me, having laid out a great deal of money on her and her cargo.

JAMES MALONE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 6. Bordeaux.—I am a young man taken at Preston and condemned to death, but I got reprieves till we got a general pardon to be transported to Maryland and sold for slaves for 7 years, but my friends bought my time, so I have quitted my slavery. I am now destitute of all friends since I lost my dear Lord Derwentwater, who was a father to me. I was lieutenant to his own troop. Mr. Forster, I hope, will let you know what I was. I came here in a most poor condition. Mr. Gordon can do nothing without your orders. I hope you will take this into consideration.

T. DALMAHOY, junior, to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 6. Brussels.—Begging that his Grace will continue him among those that are still to receive the King's bounty.

GENERAL THOMAS BUCHAN to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 7. Paris.—I came from Ostend to Paris to communicate to you that I had letters from my friends in England and Scotland, desiring me to come over to Scotland, where I might live securely in the North, no forces being there at present, and finding you were gone I communicated my affairs to the Queen, who thought I should venture over, and judged it was for the King's service, so on this I intend to part very soon from Holland and from that go to Scotland, with my nephew, a captain in the Duke of Berwick's regiment, and in the spring he shall return and give you an account how all goes there. Nothing in my power shall be wanting for his Majesty's service.

FATHER ARCHANGEL GRÆME to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 7. Calais.—I had your kind letter by *Capt. Ogilvie* and am extremely sensible of all your favours. It was no small satisfaction to me to find by your letter it was Dil[lo]n and not the other you had left me to in your absence, for I take the one to be a man of honour, and the other a mere padler (*sic*). *Lady Mar* arrived in London 26 October, and

I am hopeful she has got her trunks before now, for I shipped them off eight days ago with an honest sailor, who was going up the river. As for the strong box left with F. Oglethorpe it will be impossible to get it sent without its being searched on t'other side. Therefore I have writ to her that, if she has the key, and thinks I may open it, she may send me both, and I shall get all safe conveyed to the owner by separating the prohibited goods from the rest, and having them put in a place of the ship which shall carry the box, where they will not readily be found by the surveyors, but, without that, to desire her to keep it, till she can fall on a sure way of sending it.

C. Kinnaird went over on the 1st. He bade me tell you that Jamie Ha[milto]n having committed some mistake in copying the cipher you sent him, it was absolutely impossible for him and his partners to unriddle your letter. He has left me a cipher which goes on alphabetically almost till towards the end, so, as I doubt not you have it, I shall use it, when I have occasion to mention anybody not named on my own cipher, but I shall write to you in future only when I have something material, and in the meantime correspond, as you desired me, with Mr. Dil[lo]n.

If my friend Græme does not write freely to you about what concerns himself, 'tis not for want of an entire confidence in your prudence and goodness, but merely out of a certain tenderness of conscience, which hinders him from explaining himself on so nice a subject, yet, if the question *Visne episcopari* were seriously put to him, I doubt not his answer would be *Nolens volo*, especially considering that with that character he may probably be usefuller to his friends than it's possible for him to be at present. Capt. Ogilvie, with whom I have had a long conversation on that matter, will set it in a clear light to you, when he sees you.

Postscript.—I am surprised to hear from Mr. Haples Edwards, who is actually here with his fellow traveller, that Mr. Innes should have writ to Lord Huntly and positively advised him to act as he did, for fear his religion should have suffered by exposing its principal patron in our country. My author says he had this from certain ladies, who saw and read the letter. You'll be forced to use Kinnaird's cipher to understand the last paragraph. I have no news from England, except it's believed when the Parliament meets, the Tories will be found able to daker with the Whigs in it, and that George is so sensible of that, that he'll probably break the Parliament and trust himself only to the army, which he'll endeavour to keep up for that reason. 3½ pages.

DANIEL O'BRIEN to JOHN O'BRIEN, CAPTAIN IN DILLON'S,
for LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1717, Nov. 7. *Mittau*.—Ormonde at last received on the 5th Lieut.-Gen. Dillon's letters of 10 and 12 October,

which have given him true pleasure, for he began to fear with some reason they had all been intercepted. All the letters *Dillon* has written us since 19 August till the arrival of these last are still to come. Our friend with *Prague* has been written to to inquire if any have been addressed to him for us. I do not know if *Dillon* has received all the letters *O'Brien* himself has written him, but the last has always been very particular to inform him of everything that passed.

(Concerning money sent to the writer by his father.)

If *Dillon* has received the last addresses sent him, he can write direct to R[eval(?)] by H[(?)olland]. If not, he will have only to address his letters by the ordinary posts "dans la rue travertinne" (Danzig). I beg you to inform me if this address is good. It is the third letter I have written by that way.

I believe *Ormonde* will have told you that *Görtz* passed by here some days ago, which was known only after his departure. *Ormonde* immediately dispatched *Bagnall* after him with a letter. Though I know all that passed at this conference, I find it good to pass very lightly over this matter and for good reason. *French*.

The DUKE OF MAR to MR. CUNNINGHAM, the English Resident at Venice.

1717, Sunday, Nov. 7. Venice.—For old acquaintance, this is to save you the trouble of inquiring about me. I am come for a few days to see the place and hear the music, and not to disturb your government at home or meddle with any kind of politics. I believe your master himself would not grudge me that pleasure. I go by another name and design not to be known to anybody here. The bearer, though he just now serves me, knows nothing of me. *Noted*, as designed but not sent.

The DUKE OF MAR to the DUKE OF Q[UEENSBERRY].

1717, Nov. 7. Venice.—It was with no small reluctance I passed through Padua, where I was told you were, without endeavouring to wait on you. But, having heard soon after your coming abroad that some of your friends at home had advised your not seeing any of those in my circumstances, I chose rather to punish myself than put you under a necessity of doing what might be disagreeable to any, though I am sure 'twould not have been so to you and you would have run no hazard by seeing me. I could not forbear writing to you, and no time or circumstance can ever make me forget the friendship I have always had for you, since you were a very little boy, and my obligations to be a servant to your family. The memory of my dear friend, your worthy father, will ever be dear to me. You were a witness of the intimacy

betwixt us and of our entire confidence in each other. He brought me into business, and, as the advice he left at his death to his friends to join in measures and concert with me showed, we were of the same sentiments during our long friendship, so I have very good reason to believe that, had it pleased God to continue him longer with us, we would have differed as little in the measures I have been since engaged in. To my certain knowledge he repented, as much as I have done since, of the Union. I am a witness of his meaning that great unlucky affair well for our country, as others of us did, who went along with him in bringing it about, and, had conditions been kept to us, it had not proved so bad for our country as it does, but, as he saw enough of our unfair treatment to make him weary of the united state, so have we since seen more than enough to make all of our country of the same opinion, and as such we ought to do our endeavours to rescue it from that state of thralldom. Those who had any hand in this affair are more particularly obliged to be active in its relief. Had it not been for some unlucky and unforeseen accidents and the failure of some, my endeavours for that end and those worthy gentlemen who joined with me had not been without success. Though it did not please God to give us success then, He is not, I hope, so provoked against that poor country but He will yet give us an opportunity and assistance for delivering ourselves. I would look on it as His great goodness to me to see that time and be instrumental in the work, and I have reason to think it is not at so great a distance but I may hope for it, but, if Providence thinks not fit to make it so soon, you are young, and I am persuaded you will, and the greatest good I can wish you is that you may have an eminent hand in that great and good work, which will be the more honourable for you, that your father had so eminent a hand in making the union and did not live to endeavour the getting free of it, when he saw that it did not answer the ends we proposed by it, as I have no doubt he would have done, had he lived. Your family has long been asserters and supporters of the rights of the Crown and your wise grandfather saw that our country could not thrive but when that Crown and royal family did so, which made him do so much to raise them to their ancient power, and happy had we been, had we gone on in that track, but we are not yet without remedy, though indeed there is but one for that, as for all our other misfortunes. You have too good sense not to see that that is by restoring our lawful and native King to his just rights, and our country's being restored to those belonging to it, and relieved from its present misfortunes will be the natural and certain consequence of the other. From my personal knowledge I can assure you no nation can wish for a finer gentleman every way for their King than God has been pleased to give us in my master, and in His own good time I doubt not He will establish him on the throne of his ancestors for a blessing to us all,

As things stand at present, you are very much in the right to keep your mind to yourself, nor were it fit your having any communication with me or any of the King's people be known, and your own good understanding will let you see when it is a fit time for you to appear in so just and honourable a cause, which I hope in God you will yet eminently do. Your grandfather saw things much in the same situation as to King Charles that you do now as to King James. He lived to see him restored and served him eminently and had the rewards such good services deserved. The same, I hope, will be your case with his nephew, my master, and there is much more appearance now of his restoration than was then of the uncle's.

I were very unworthy, if I did not do all that in me lies to serve you and your family, if ever it be in my power, which it may perhaps one day or other be. At present all that is, is giving my master such a character and impression of you and your family as you deserve, and setting the part your father acted at the revolution in such a light as to take off any impressions that might have been given him of that affair to your father's prejudice in particular, and showing him that my friend's part was no worse than others in general, all which I have before now done, and, as there is nothing of that sticks with him, so he is very glad of the good character you deservedly have, and hopes a time will come, when he will have reason and opportunity to bestow as high marks of his favour on you as any of your predecessors ever had from any of his.

You will forgive me, I hope, for my freedom and writing so much of politics the first time I have written to you. It proceeds from the great concern and friendship I have for you, and 'tis what I thought I owed to the son of my dear friend, who, I believe, would have expected it of me, had he been still on this side of time, and that he yet does so, if those on the other be permitted to have any concern for the things of this world.

Nobody who can hurt you, does or shall know by me of my writing now to you, not even Mr. West, who is to send you this, knows it is from myself, but thinks it a letter entrusted to me for you from France, so you are in no danger by receiving it. I am here for a few days to see the place and hear the music, but go not by my own name. (Directions how to write if he has any commands for him.) I am soon going to the King and am obliged to pass again by Padua, but, unless you have a mind to it and see you run no danger, I will not inquire there for you, but, if you think it could be without its being of ill consequence to you, it would be a very great pleasure to wait on you.

I believe I have heard as lately from England as you could, and I was very much pleased to know of my friend, Lord George's, [Douglas] being well and not forgetting his old acquaintance from his little school companion, who is now, thank God,

perfectly recovered of that unlucky accident you might perhaps hear of his having got by a fall from a horse, and I hope he will live to be a servant and well-wisher of yours as I was of your father, and that you will have the same goodness for him the other had for me. I sent my compliments to Lord George by my wife, who was with me all this summer and is now returned to England. *Draft. 8 pages.*

L. INESE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Monday, Nov. 8.—I communicated *Mar's* letter of the 30th from Turin to *Queen Mary*, who was very glad to know he was so far on his journey. *Mar's* letter to Hen[ry] Str[aiton] shall go by to-morrow's post. The enclosed from *Menzies* is all I have from *England*. *Dillon*, *Dicconson* and *Inese* are to write to-morrow to *England* about *Peterborough* according to the *King's* directions and as near as can be in the same terms. Sir John O'Br[ien] arrived here Saturday, and by what he relates and the papers he brought, we find the *King* has managed *Peterborough's* affair with such dexterity that he has brought it to a much more favourable conclusion than we expected, considering the faint hearted people he had to deal with, and the warm temper of *Peterborough* himself. Indeed the *King* has had a hard time of it, since *Mar* left him, and I hope both are now satisfied that such a separation is never more to be thought of on any account.

LORD TULLIBARDINE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 8. Bordeaux.—The 28th I answered yours of the 20th, and since have had nothing to trouble you with. This is only a cover to the enclosed. *Tullibardine* has writ to *Dillon* as *Brigadier Campbell* desires, for, if, before this comes to *Paris*, *Mar* should be gone to *Italy*, it will be at least two months before an answer can well return from thence, which would retard things mightily. *Clanranald* has had a touch of ague, but is better, and I believe will be soon with *Brigadier Campbell* and *Barry*. I received the letter you desired *W. Gordon* to send me concerning *P[eterborough]*, and have acquainted all friends with it.

A young man came over from the North to me last April, but, not knowing where I was, took shipping for *Italy*. I wrote to Mr. Paterson about him long ago. If he be come there, pray let him be sent hither, if possible. *Enclosed,*

BRIGADIER CAMPBELL to LORD TULLIBARDINE.

I had yours of the 20th and Glendarule's at the same time, but could answer neither by the last post, Barry not having been at his ordinary residence, so the last post was gone before I could get back to this. You'll see by the three enclosed (viz. Barry's three letters of 27 Oct., calendared ante, pp. 160, 161) all I have to say. Since your presence here

cannot so conveniently be had, Clanranald, as one mostly conversant in those commodities, should come, if, as I hope, his health will permit, and to see him shortly. If otherwise, let him send all the dimensions of swords and targes and we shall observe directions as near as possible. I beg you'll advertise Dillon it's not to be expected workmen can be set to work without some such sum as Barry writes for; they are poor and must have more earnest than I have to give them, and you are as little to expect Barry will advance. I wrote all that several times and I now repeat it. The time is almost lost, during which we are to attend Dillon's favourable answer. We cannot so much as conclude the price without it. There is a very good friend of ours, Mr. Meagher of St. Sebastian. He has formerly been serviceable and is still willing to do all in his power. We go this minute to agree for 1,000 blades very good and cheap. They will not cost above 24 or 25 pence apiece. If we hear not from Dillon in a month, it's but losing the earnest we give.
 30 Oct. Bayonne.—Copy.

G. B—Y to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 8. P[adu]a.—I have seen your letter to D[uke of] Q[ueensberry], and confess it is by my advice he answers it not himself, which he hopes your wisdom and kindness will easily pardon, when he commands me to assure you he is not only convinced of the sincere friendship and good understanding betwixt you and his father, but of your kind dispositions to himself, which he has expressed even in the late varieties and chances of your undertakings to the censure of some of his and your enemies.

I have no orders to say anything of what you suggest of politics, whereof his age and want of experience make him ordinarily and wisely silent, but not without some resentment of what he and some of his friends have met with. He gives me the less to say that you think of repassing this way, when a secret interview may be contrived, if you will call me by any trusty servant from where I lodge.

The trust I have and the duty I owe to it put me under a necessity of using a discretion and caution against my inclination, which has been misinterpreted by some of my friends and improved against me by my enemies, who seek all occasions of ruining me and bringing D. Q. under suspicion that may be hurtful to him now, or make him incapable of serving his friends hereafter, whereof I can speak more particularly, if you trust me as I propose.

J. MENZIES to L. INESE.

1717, Monday, Oct. 28[–Nov. 8].—"Besides the enclosed printed talk all our news is the coming of Bolingbroke and

the imagined effects of that, which are various, you may be sure, in this strange time and this strange nation. The very character that he will give and print of the Pretender will be almost as good as a plot and promote matters in Parliament for money, army, repealing of limitations &c. Everybody finds by the harbinger Brinsden what that character will be, a sad one indeed.

"When the Parliament and troubles approach the post and letters that way will be very precarious.

"The merchant, Long Robin's friend, has put off his parting for some time, so I must look out for some other by whom to send you some brown Bohea &c. I told you long ago that black Bohea is not a term of art here, nor a word that is understood."

JAMES HAMILTON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Oct. 28[-Nov. 8]. London.—In my last of 20-31 Oct. I mentioned some things that had passed between *Menzies* and me in our private conversation with things he had ordered me to write on his going out of town. That relating to the *money* I had taken up somewhat hastily, and consequently mistaken his words as to the quantity. Therefore I beg that letter may be laid aside, for he intends to write you the particulars of the *money* very soon.

I have it from good hands that *Stanhope* has by his secret saps and underminings at last gained his point against *Cadogan* and will soon have the entire direction of *the army*, that *Cadogan* will have the management of foreign business, if that will content him, which is very much doubted. 'Tis said by the same set that a bargain is far advanced betwixt *the Czar* and *the King of Sweden*, that *Ormonde* is there on the part of *the King*. I have some grounds to suspect that *the English ministry* are not ignorant of *Ormonde's* present situation.

James Hamilton is obliged to hide from his creditors, who are in a very eager pursuit of him, and, if *Lady Mar* does not get something done in his favour, he will be compelled to his last situation, which will not be so agreeable to him as formerly.

'Tis said from all parts that the late *Bolingbroke* is coming home, and is to have his titles and estate restored to him the ensuing sessions for his services to Lord Stair and the Government, and withal to make some mealy-mouthed, whose tongues or hands he has under his belt. Great matters are expected from this noble porter.

Some will have it that the Earl of Carnarvon is to be Lord High Treasurer, since nothing else would bring him into the ministry, that young Craggs is to be Chancellor of the Exchequer and Molesworth Secretary of War, or else put in Mr. Addison's place, who is going to retire.

W. GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 9. Paris.—I had yours of the 30th from Turin and was glad to find you safe there. You judged very right that your not receiving more letters there proceeded from my thinking you had travelled faster and that they would not find you, so I dispatched two former packets and this is the third, which I am obliged to address to Mr. Nairne because the Post Office would not receive them on any other terms.

I formerly reminded you of Lord Dundee's funeral charges, being 78 *livres* 11 *sols* and also to have his subsistence continued to his lady and numerous family, as to which and all such things it's expected I produce your orders at giving in my accounts.

Some time ago I wrote of a demand made by James Wright for wine furnished you at Perth of 18*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.* He very modestly desires me to remind you of it, and begs you'll inquire of Mr. Paterson about it. Enclosed is a note of Mr. Heart, as to which please signify as soon as possible, for he is in great want. You know my affair with Robert Leslie, who is due to me upwards of 5,000 *livres*. If anything is due to him for disbursements on the King's account, I beg it may be ordered my way, for he has no other for my payment.

When you write to my Lady Duchess, I beg you to drop a word about Lord Wharton's affair.

Lord Marischal has been some days here and goes to-day to Reims with his brother. Barrowfield unluckily missed your Grace on the road. Both he and Powrie are expecting leave to go home, but nothing yet is effectually done. I sent Mr. Erskine Col. Scott's letter which no doubt he will show you, from whom only he expects relief, and I suppose Col. Harry Bruce also expects something of that kind.

There is yet no money for paying October or this month's subsistence here or any where, so that many necessitous people are hardly put to it. Mr. Creagh is to part by the diligence next Thursday. Mr. Kinnaird returns me the letter for Mr. Francis, with orders to send it you. *Enclosed,*

The said NOTE.

Henry Heart was chirurgion of Lord Linlithgow's regiment of horse. He retired to Orkney, his native country, after the dissolution of the army. Having stayed there above a year, finding it too hot for him, being on half-pay for serving in Spain, he went to London, and came into France. Lord Linlithgow can inform about him. He wants very much.

L. WESCOMBE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 9. Brussels.—I received this morning your letter of 21 Oct. I am sorry, since the Queen ordered an answer to mine that it never came to me. I perceive by your letter the King does not think fit to employ me in

these parts, however I shall stay here till you get to Italy, and, if I do not receive any commands from you, I have thoughts of going up to Paris. Wherever I am, I shall not fail to do to the utmost of my power for the King's service, and shall always be ready to obey his orders. I now humbly beg you will recommend me to his favour. What I proposed in my letters was purely to make the good work in hand easier, for to tie the Dutch's hands may probably be of good use.

ROBERTSON OF STROWAN to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 10.—When I had yours from Pont Beauvoir, I had just crawled abroad out of two mistaken distempers, for which I needlessly took the quinaquina. Had I died by either, I should scarcely have thought my happiness complete in the company of saints and angels, having missed so kind a letter. Ever since I have been a little reconciled to my own insignificance, hoping that some thing is in view, that may give me occasion to make up for my past time and to do yet something worth taking notice of in the King's service. What you insinuate of the good way affairs are in is very comfortable, and I hope is not calculated for me as one of little faith. On that corner I take the liberty to think myself impregnable, for, as Rochester has it, "He that is but half honest is very much a knave," and I hope any man may disown that character without blushing.

You take notice of the disappointments I am like to meet with from Scotland. This shows your sympathy with the meanest of your servants, and I've heard it said "He who has bowels for a friend is sure of friends who have bowels." You do me justice to think I'll spare the King's money to my last groat, but, if your friend, Mistress Margaret, into whose hands mine was lodged, has not the grace to forget our scuffles in the days of yore, I have but a cold coal to blow at. If relief arrives not till six months hence, it will be just a twelvemonth coming, yet a cheap country, a spare diet with the remnant that's left will do much to keep up the tabernacle till May day. If before then they don't send me a little of a good deal, I could find it in my heart a hundred times a day to go and fetch it. This is got so much into my head that I am firmly persuaded of success. You may see by this I have small thoughts of an Italian peregrination. Besides, I begin to grow frail, and am not much in a humour to go a tripping it after raree shows. However I very much envy those who have the good fortune to attend our master. They have an example of unaffected virtue before their eyes, which ought to qualify them for the more beatific vision.

I am glad you had the opportunity amongst other good things of increasing your honourable offspring. I wish our master had the like occasion to beget a king to rule over your

little subjects. If they should take after their fathers, sure paternal affection and entirely subordinate duty would be predominant in their respective natures.

I have sent you a scrap of poetry. A lady inviting her beloved offers enjoyment. He's willing, yet another still possesses, in spite of himself as well as her. This seems to be a paradox, but none can unriddle it better than yourself, who can so much contribute to remove the obstacles that hinder their conjunction. The author strove to make the numbers sweet, the expressions easy and natural. He thinks in the gallant's answer he has, to a nicety, hit his humour and talent of saying much in few words especially at such a distance. The poem you honoured me with may well be Argyle's, but is a little too coarse and undigested for Mr. Pope. If by the Church is meant the Tussy the simile is too extravagant. He might have descended to the pulpit, which is not so very far wide of the natural proportion and handled the allegory to better purpose. *5½ pages.*

JAMES III.

1717, Nov. 10. Urbino.—Warrant for a patent creating John, Duke of Mar, a baron of — in the county of — in the Kingdom of England and Earl of Mar in the county of York in the said kingdom, with remainder to the heirs male of his body. *Entry Book 5, p. 57.*

MAJOR SIMON FRAZER to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 11.—I had a letter last post from Mr. Lockhart desiring me to give you his most humble duty. There is little in it respecting public matters, only he says that the first ship that shall be sent to that country will get a good cargo. I would have enclosed it, but that it contained nothing else of that kind. It was principally sent to desire me to meet his son, whom he is sending early in the spring to this country or beyond the seas, and to continue with him as his companion where he shall settle for his education, but, judging I was in the King's service and under his regular pay, he bade me apply to you for leave. I take the liberty of begging your Grace to let me know your mind in this matter.

T. BRUCE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 11. Brussels.—I can say nothing of the affair you write of till de Wilda gets an answer, which, I fancy will not be soon, because, to prevent observation of his letter at Brussels, he sends it by France. Meantime, as I am somewhat diffident of his abilities in that kind of manufacture, I really wish you may have your thoughts whether or not to employ Falconbridge's friend. You had a difficulty to trust him, but, if that is all, I believe it may be managed so that it shall be no impediment, for, as I wrote to you 22 Oct.,

Falconbridge may as of himself and not by commission desire his friend to try the Emperor's uncle (the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order), and, if it is once lodged in his hands, it is out of Falconbridge's friend's power to do harm. As I offer this method to your consideration as a supplement to Wilda's management touching the affair of marriage, so I the rather do it with respect to the other part touching an azile, as to which no man seems more proper as the Emperor's uncle, for, if his friendship is as Falconbridge thought, he has an azile of his own to afford, and therefore may very naturally make the offer to the Emperor; besides, this may lead him into another matter, which may be of great use. I think I have heard you say that the King of Spain was very much the King's friend. I have also observed that the King of Spain lately declared he would agree with the Emperor on capitulation. If the King of Spain is sincere in these two points, perhaps it may be brought about that he may put the management of that affair into the King's hands, and the marriage may be a part of the bargain, in which event the King will be a useful friend to both. As to managing the Emperor, if Falconbridge's friend gets the mentioned person to propose the affair of marriage, no doubt the same person will be ready to manage this other matter.

The late affair of Peterborough seems to require you to have some thoughts of a Regency, which may be necessary, if the King is dead or absent. This may be done by the King, somewhat like an Act of Regency in England, by naming some with liberty to add to their number, all to be good till altered by the Prince of Sicily. I need not mention particulars which may make this necessary. It will establish the King's friends at home and abroad, who are timorous that, if the King was dead, they will have no man to command affairs. If this is thought fit, consider if it is not proper to declare it to the King's friends at home and abroad, and, if in the next place to the Prince of Sicily, and to add a clause, by which he may add and alter as he may be pleased. This may bring the King of Sicily to meddle in the King's interest, but, lest it may make that King serve himself by it, and not favour the King, it may be proper at the same time to let him see Gyllenborg's letter to Görtz of 4 December near the end, by which he will see that he will find an opposing party in England, and besides all a Prince will be opposing, so that he can never succeed, unless the King's possession makes way for him.

I have not yet got that paper from Mr. Inese, but by his help I have got the use of the cipher explained, as you see by this which comes by William Gordon.

We have seen in the Gazettes several times of late that Lord Cadogan was going for England, and, now he is actually gone, we have been told several reasons for this new movement. sometimes his own private affairs, sometimes that he had

pressed the Dutch to go into a war against Sweden, but that he cannot prevail with them, and that therefore he is gone over in disgust. I can make no judgement of these matters, but to-day I see a letter from Holland from Mr. Darcey, his gentleman of horse, telling his friend here that Lord Cadogan is gone for England, not to return before the spring, and desiring him to speak to Prince La Tour, General Velen and other people of quality here, to know if they will buy some coach and saddle horses of his. It seems somewhat strange that Lord Cadogan, who is an expensive man, and who has kept these horses for several years in this country, should now grudge keeping them till his return in spring. *Deciphered copy. 3 pages.*

FATHER ARCHANGEL GRÆME to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1717, Nov. 12. Calais.—Being ordered by the Duke of Mar to write to you in his absence, I hope I need make no further apology. I enclose a cipher for facilitating our correspondence. I beg you to allow me to write to you with the same freedom I used with the Duke, and that you will never cite me as the author of any news unless it be to the Duke. To show how much trust I put in you, I shall make no difficulty in telling you that, whoever advised the Queen to interpose her credit at the French Court to get Mr. Hails (Hales), one of the French King's pages, stopped here on his way to England with his brother and his uncle, Col. Hails, did the King no good service, for, as the colonel says openly that his nephew is stopped only because the Court of St. Germain's is afraid he should become a Protestant, the King's enemies will be apt to make a handle of that story to make him pass for a bigot Papist, as they call it, and a man brought up with the greatest aversion for the Church of England, and, if such a report should be spread, you may judge whether or not it would go far to ruin his interest there. If young Mr. Hails had a mind to follow the bad example of his father, Sir John, and of his uncle, the colonel, so much the worse for him, but in my humble opinion I think even in that case the King or the Queen ought not to constrain him to do otherwise, lest they should render themselves obnoxious to their Protestant subjects. Be not scandalized to find me so much on this strain, for you'll own I truly fear God and honour the King, and, that, though I don't approve of making Papists, unless by reasoning with them, and praying for their conversion, I wish for nothing more than to see the Catholic religion flourishing again in our unfortunate islands.

(Requesting to know if he had spoken to his Provincial in Paris, for leave for him to go abroad when he had business, and what his answer was.)

Mr. Hewers went over to-day for England. *3 pages.*

COLIN CAMPBELL OF GLENDARULE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 12. Near Bordeaux.—*Tullibardine* wrote so fully to you in relation to *swords* and *targes*, that nothing is left me to say on that subject.

I had a letter last post from Mr. Lacy, desiring *Mar* to assure *the King* that *the Highlanders* are heartily and sincerely disposed for his service and long for the opportunity. Therefore I may say it's a pity if a sufficient cargo be not provided seasonably for them, to enable them to trade to fresh purpose, when they are so very well inclined to carry on *the King's* interest. Much time has been taken up in that correspondence betwixt *Dillon* and *Barry* about the *swords* and *targes* for *the Highlanders* and yet nothing done in it. You will see by *Barry's* letter what he says to it. The cargo is to be had there and thereabouts, but making it up so as to make it fit for sale with *the Highlanders* will take a considerable time. The number mentioned to be provided with the quality and quantity of that cargo will very much encourage *the Highlanders* and there is in it all they can wish for, so it now only remains to have money put in the hands of a banker at *Paris* to answer the bills necessary to be drawn to pay off the cargo by degrees as received. Putting the money in the hands of *W. Gordon* or any other banker will make this go on with dispatch enough. *Clanranald* is writ to and will be soon with *Barry* and *Brigadier Campbell*.

I received a letter last post of 9 Oct. from *J. Macleod, junior*, giving the same account of *the Highlanders* as Mr. Lacy. *Stuart of Appin* arrived there some time before the date of that letter. *J. Macleod, junior*, desires me with great earnestness to tell him *Stuart of Appin's* design in going there, and writes as if he was already suspected as an underhand dealer and no fair trader. It happened well enough that, before this letter came, when I received yours concerning him, I wrote 28 Oct. fully to *J. Macleod, junior*, *Glengarry* and his namesake *Ard[shea]ll* about him, in which I have done him no injustice, yet it's such an account of him, as will put it out of his power to do any hurt, if he meant it.

The long letter to *Tullibardine* from *W. Gordon* by *Mar's* orders, satisfies all good men that *the King* had most just grounds for what he has done in relation to L[ord] P[eterborough], and he is justified by men of all ranks in these parts except *Marlborough's* nephew (i.e. the Duke of Berwick) at *Bordeaux*, who, I am told, looks on it as a rash and inconsiderate action. I am sure I never hear any that carries accounts from that gentleman that seems to have any regard to *the King's* interest or honour. Some time ago I was told he too fain would justify himself, and that he and B[olingbro]k were once on ways to great service, but were obstructed by *the King* himself &c., but now he says he considers himself as naturalized in France, and plainly says he is resolved never to have any concern in *England*, yet he caresses, as I am

informed, most shamefully the most virulent of the *Whigs* that come there, and several of late that came from *England*. In short, were *Marlborough* in his place, his discourse and carriage could not be more discouraging, which is not unobserved even by the *French* themselves.

You receive a letter this post from *Mr. Frazer* occasioned by a letter to him from *Mr. Lockhart*, both which I have seen. *Mr. Frazer* may be of use with the *Highlanders*, therefore I should not wish him out of the way, if the *Highlanders* should happen to be employed, nor does *Mr. Lockhart* propose or *Mr. Frazer* incline to it, but on a supposition of his not being useful otherwise, so a hint from you will satisfy all parties.

As to those at *Bordeaux* formerly mentioned, *Smith of Methven* has writ to his brother Peter that he would soon secure for him a privy seal, which has hastened him to *Calais*, where he is so far on his way.

Peter, who was the Laird, (Malcolm of Grange's,) inseparable companion, and the rest of that folk being gone from there, he wearied there, and is, I hear, now gone to *Toulouse*, where he is told there are several of that folk, with whom he proposes to divert himself for some months, and then return to *Bordeaux*. By his applications to his friends Sir John Enster has promised to endeavour to get leave for him to go home, but thinks the Parliament must meet before anything can be done for him. The Laird says one of the conditions is that he meddle no more in the elections. Had he stayed near *Bordeaux*, I was resolved to move *Tullibardine* to write to him to come to his old quarters as you desired, but you will see by his making such a progress for his diversion at this season that he is not in a very ill state of health. 3 pages.

THE DUKE OF ORMONDE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 12.—I received yours of 20 Sept. which should have come before that which I have answered. I have nothing to send you of any consequence. I hope mine of the 6th to the *King* will come safe. I have not heard from him since his of 19 August, which came in *Dillon's* packet of 12 October. I have not received any since from him. I find by his four of his are missing, but I hope they will come.

As to what you tell me concerning some of my company's writing to several persons, I am sure their letters cannot discover anything. They are not dated from any place, nor is anything mentioned in them that can make those they are writ to know where I am, but there is no hindering people from guessing, knowing I am not at *Pesaro* or in *France*, but how *Hanover* and his ministry should be informed of the place where *Ormonde* is is more than I know, and but very few have been writ, and those I was acquainted with. Some I ordered to be writ.

I believe *Jerningham* is sail'd and *Görtz* too. As soon as *Ormonde* hears from *Sweden* you shall be inform'd of it.

LORD OXFORD to ANNE OGLETHORPE.

1717, Nov. 1[-12].—I am glad *Mrs. Ogilvie* is with you, but I believe some angry star reigns at this time, for *Capt. Ogilvie* has wrote me an angry letter on this single point that he should trade in company with *Mar*. It is now full three months since that was wrote, and then it was apprehended that *Mar's* opening shop was much nearer than it was, and that the dealings being with *the King of Sweden* it was necessary to hear from thence how the market went, and in like manner that *Mrs. Ogilvie* from hence would be at hand to send, when a extraordinary occasion required. I see *Mar* writes about another, whom he had not found out yet, but I resolve to have no dealings with anyone but *Capt. Ogilvie* and *Mrs. Ogilvie*, and I desire she may let *Capt. Ogilvie* know so the first post, that, if he be not gone, he may stay till he hear from me. It never entered into my thoughts to use or have to do with any body but him. I consented to his going to Holland at his own request as you know, meaning his advancement in it. I again beg you to prevail with *Mrs. Ogilvie* to set this affair right with *Capt. Ogilvie* as soon as possible. *Copy. Noted, as sent to Ogilvie 1 Nov. Enclosed in Capt. Ogilvie's letter of 18 Dec., calendared post, p. 289. See also Mrs. Ogilvie's letter of Nov. 21-Dec, 2 calendared post, p. 250.*

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to JAMES III.

1717, Nov. 13.—*Nairne* will have informed you that *the King's* letters of 1, 6, and 12 Oct. came safe. *Sir John O'Brien*, who brought the last, is most acknowledging of all your favours, and *Dillon* thinks himself obliged to give *the King* infinite thanks for his great kindness.

Since no positive proof could be had against *Peterborough*, and his being enlarged was resolved on, I am very glad *the King* made it his own act, which will necessarily meet with due approbation. Friends in *England* were informed on this head according to directions. I cant help saying that *the Pope's* behaviour in regard to *Peterborough* was very odd and unaccountable.

I enclose the copy of a memoir I sent to *Bishop of Rochester* and *Lord Arran* by *George Kelly*. If they don't think fit to make any use of it, or approve the proposal, it's only so much labour lost. The facts in it are visible and well known, so no harm can come ont, and, if duly managed, may produce some effect. *Queen Mary* and *Inese* approved my sending it. I hope *the King* will do the same.

THE MARQUESS OF SEAFORTH to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 13.—I have yours of the 21st, which was most acceptable. I am thoroughly sensible of my obligations to you for your friendship, and, if ever a breach happens, the fault shall be entirely on your side, not mine.

I trouble you with the memorial you perused when at Paris, that now, being something in a better dress, you would present

it to the King. I was loth to write to him myself, for fear of giving too much trouble, especially since I have your Grace to deliver it, whom I entirely rely on as my true friend. The sooner he has it the better, that he may be the more fully informed of my having been always his most dutiful subject.

I am entirely glad the commodities so much wanted in our ports are bespoken. I wish we may soon have an opportunity to make use of them to all our satisfaction. *Enclosed,*

*The MARQUESS OF SEAFORTH'S PERFORMANCES IN
THE LATE ATTEMPT.*

To show that no peer in Scotland concurred more than the Marquess, it would suffice to observe what has been visible to all the world, to wit that he was amongst the first, who, before he had any knowledge that the royal standard was set up, took up arms and dispersed the king's enemies and that he was the last that remained in arms at the head of his vassals after his Majesty's retreat.

As soon as the Marquess received an account of the Duke of Mar's arrival in Scotland, he ordered his men to be ready to assemble and march on the first notice and conform to the Duke's instructions he settled a garrison in Inverness, before he knew the royal standard was displayed, and prevented an attempt by Robert Monroe, junior, of Fowlis and other Whigs on that place. Then he surprised and took the garrison settled by the Government from the beginning of the Revolution in his house of Island Donan and placed a garrison of his own men in their room.

Mr. William Sutherland, who had been sent by the Marquess to the Duke, being by this time returned with the news that the Duke had set up the royal standard, according to further instructions from his Grace the Marquess disarmed those he knew to be disaffected in Cromartyshire, Culloden's men of Farrintosh and several others and dispersed a party of the Frasers, who made some appearance for the Government, threatening to treat them as enemies, unless they would follow Fraserdale for the King's service. Then he marched towards the Earl of Sutherland encamped at Alness in East Ross joined by Lord Reay and his men, the Rosses, the Glengunns, the Monroes with their dependents and others, who threatened to march through the Marquess' country to retake Inverness, but on his Lordship's approach they dispersed in entire confusion. The Earl of Sutherland, Lord Reay and a few others carried all the booty they found on the Ross side over into Sutherland, where the man-of-war that brought that Earl north lay ready to receive them.

On which the Marquess immediately summoned the garrisons of Fowlis, Culrean, Inveroreacky and other places

to surrender and Fowlis senior, chief of the Monroes, with several of his name, the Rosses and other gentlemen submitted and delivered what arms and ammunition were in those garrisons or could be found among their men, engaging never more to appear against his Majesty. This done he caused the King to be proclaimed at the Mercat cross of Tain, the magistrates and the neighbouring gentry assisting, and what arms could be found in the town were carried to his camp.

After this according to orders the Marquess, bringing with him the Frasers who by force of his threatenings followed Fraserdale, leaving behind him a garrison at Inverness commanded by Sir John Mackenzie of Cowll, marched southward by Strathspey, Badenoch and Atholl and, though he encamped a week or two in the Grants' country, he molested them not, except to furnish men and horses for the baggage of his army, because the Marquess of Huntly, who had not raised a man till some time after the Marquess of Seaforth had taken possession of Inverness, entreated they should not be disturbed, he having taken them into his protection.

In the upper part of Atholl the Marquess met the Marquess of Tullibardine and assisted him by the Duke of Mar's orders to raise such of the Duke of Atholl's vassals and tenants as were unwilling or rather forbidden by the Duke to take up arms for the King. This and all other orders from the Duke of Mar being executed by the Marquess, he marched to Perth and thence to Sheriffmuir.

In the council of war before the battle the Marquess joined with the rest of the nobility and chiefs, warmly voting to give battle, but the Marquess of Huntly as warmly opposed it with such obstinate eagerness that the enemy gained no little advantage of time, on which Seaforth began to suspect he could but little rely on a future concurrence from that Lord in the King's service and he was the more convinced thereof, when he knew that before the battle of Sheriffmuir, after the Marquess of Huntly joined the army at Perth, a packet sent by the Duchess of Gordon, his mother, was intercepted by or rather delivered to the Duke of Mar, in which was found an agreement signed by the Lord Justice Clerk on behalf of the Government and sent to the Marquess of Huntly to be signed by him, whereby he and his friends forsaking the King's interest were promised a full pardon.

At Sheriffmuir the Marquess' men suffered far greater disadvantages than any other part of the army by the sudden flight of the Low Country foot posted on the left, whereby their flank was exposed to the Grey Horse, whereof Argyle's right wing was composed, by which they, especially his first battalion, were cut to pieces, yet, as the enemy

owned, they contributed most to the victory, for by their stout resistance against Argyle's right wing, after the Duke of Mar's left wing was broke, they prevented the said Duke's right wing from being flanked and routed.

After the battle most and the best of the officers of the Marquess' troops being killed, wounded or taken, and his country being overrun by the Earl of Sutherland at the head of the North Country Whigs, most of his men being dispersed went north to rescue their country, having some days before the battle received an account of Sutherland's again taking up arms, which then made all the Frasers, except some that joined the Marquess of Seaforth, desert from Fraserdale to turn north and join Simon Fraser, who, having got home by sea, appeared for the Government under the title of Lord Lovat, and many others, whose country lay not in the least exposed, deserted after the battle.

Those of the Marquess' men being thus gone off, he by concert with the Duke of Mar sent fit persons to recruit, remaining himself at Perth, till on confirmation of the troubles of the North he was sent to suppress them as was Col. Gordon of Glenbucket to recruit Huntly's men. On the road receiving a fuller account of the state of affairs in the North and of Inverness being taken, which made the enemy masters of all the passes by land to Ross, his Lordship being so far advanced the low road could only get home by sea, which obliged him to take boat at the Burgh in Moray. Driven back by a storm some days after he embarked again and landing at the Bay of Manlochy got safe by night to his house of Brahan but suddenly passed to the hills to avoid being surprised by the garrisons left by the Earl of Sutherland, who in the absence of the Marquess had wasted that country and imposed 1,550*l.* sterling on his friends.

On the Marquess' arrival those he had sent to recruit were not yet come, the enemy having obliged them to make a large circuit by Lochaber. The Earl of Sutherland, being ignorant of the Marquess' return, leaving a strong garrison in Inverness marched eastward through the shires of Nairn and Moray, which together with the town of Elgin he put under contribution of meal, other provisions and money, but, whilst he was engaged in this expedition, the garrisons of Killcowy and Chanonry, left to keep that country in subjection and to levy the 1,550*l.*, hearing the Marquess was in the hills withdrew by night to Inverness, from whence Sutherland being acquainted by express of his motions marched back and re-entered the town, before the Marquess could gather any considerable number of his men, whereof he settled a garrison in Chanonry and secured all the passes between Ross and Inverness, seizing several persons that attempted to get in thence and sent

their officers and gentlemen prisoners to the Highlands, thereby cutting off all supplies and communication Inverness could have had from the Ross side, so that the enemy was furnished with provisions only from Moray and the meal and other stores which they there exacted were carried to Findhorn and other seaports in that country, where it were embarked without any opposition from the Marquess of Huntly's men, though the places where it was collected lay very near them, and, before it was raised, Sutherland marched to Inverness and left but an inconsiderable party to exact it, which convinced the Marquess of Seaforth still more how little he could depend on any help or concurrence from their master.

However the Marquess of Seaforth, though on the other side of the Firth, gave orders to his party at Chanonry to attack the boats that carried these provisions as they sailed up the Channel to Inverness, which they did. Though the place afforded them only two boats, they took some of the enemy's boats laden with meal and chased the rest, at which Sutherland was so much incensed that next day he sent Col. Monroe with 400 of his choicest men in 13 large boats to attack that garrison consisting only of 150 men who, nevertheless, attacked the enemy that landed two miles to the westward so as to pursue them to their boats. They disabled one and killed and wounded several of the men. For the future the enemy continued to be supplied from Moray and Nairn and the money Sutherland imposed was collected in Elgin within six miles of Huntly's house of Castle Gordon without any opposition, when at the same time they were so much straitened by the Marquess of Seaforth's indefatigable vigilance that they would not venture in boats what arms, ammunition and money were sent for their uses, but hazarded the man-of-war, that brought them north, sailing up that narrow channel. The Marquess of Seaforth meanwhile used the utmost diligence to raise his remotest Highlanders and Islanders.

Affairs proceeded very differently on the Marquess of Huntly's side, who, having found that his intrigue was discovered by the above mentioned packet, pressed openly after Sheriffmuir to apply to Argyle for terms and was so very earnest that he said he would do it for himself and friends, if it was not generally agreed to, which obliged the Duke of Mar to consent thereto and the rather because he reasonably believed Argyle had not power to capitulate with them all, though he might with some particular persons, and therein he was not deceived, for Argyle's answer was that he could not enter into any general treaty without commission from Court, whereon the Duke of Mar proposed an Act of Association, engaging all to stand by one another in the service of their King and country, which was most readily subscribed to by all the loyalists present, but

the Marquess of Huntly, the Master of Sinclair and a few others influenced by his Lordship absolutely refused to sign it. Then he forbade his horse to mount guard or obey the Duke of Mar's orders, till he was gratified with a sum he demanded, though he knew how scarce money then was, yet the Duke, to hinder all pretences of separation, advanced it. After this, finding his designs prevented and that any further intrigue with the Government was impracticable so near the Duke, he much insisted to be sent to the North for reducing, as he pretended, Inverness and to revenge himself on the Grants for breach of the parole he alleged they had given, when he protected them. To this the Duke, perceiving an impossibility of detaining him longer, was constrained to yield and he going accordingly north was soon followed by the Master of Sinclair.

On his Lordship's arrival in the North, the Marquess of Seaforth sent letters and messages of particulars by Charles Mackenzie, writer in Edinburgh, acquainting him that he pressed on the gathering of his men and desiring he would do the same and appoint a time for investing Inverness. When that gentleman asked Huntly whether in his opinion it would be better for the Marquess of Seaforth to endeavour to pass at Chanonry in order that they might join or that he should march by Bewly and the Frasers' country and invest Inverness on the west whilst his Lordship should do the same on the east, he gave no direct answer and, when he wrote a long encouraging letter to the Marquess of Seaforth dated 23 Dec., 1715, promising him to be ready and to acquaint him some days before he would march, he sent another to the Marchioness Dowager of Seaforth. (Summary of this letter which is calendared in the last volume, p. 8.) But his actions evidently discovered his underhand dealings, for, whereas his pretence, when he left the Duke of Mar, was to punish the Grants, he was so far from molesting them that he not only permitted them to march out of their country situated in the middle of his to join Sutherland at Inverness, but also to lodge a garrison in Balvany within a very few miles of his house of Castle Gordon and on complaint made to him by William Mackenzie, a gentleman of the Marquess of Seaforth's, that he suffered the Grants to march to Inverness in order to attack the said Marquess, his answer was that he could not help it, though before he assured the same gentleman there was no fear the Grants would move.

In this juncture the Marquess of Seaforth had notice by a letter from the Duke of Mar of the King's coming for Scotland and that his house of Island Donan was one of the places he might probably land at. The signals to be made from ship and those to be returned from land

were specified and his Lordship was desired to send fit persons thither to receive the King's ship or others sent by him and to order carriages and all necessities to be ready, whereupon the Marquess ordered the Mackenzies of Applecross and Ballamaduthy with a number of the best men to attend there. He had also a letter for Lovat from the Duke of Mar, urging him to espouse the King's interest, on delivery whereof by the Marchioness Dowager to Lovat he promised that, in case the King should land in Scotland, he would join the Marquess, her son, in the King's service, adding that if he should land but with two, he would make the third, but till his arrival, he was obliged to help Sutherland.

All this time the Lewis men were wind-bound in Stornaway and remained there till Capt. Tulloch's ship arrived with Brigadier Rattray and other officers, who found them all there and with whom they went to the mainland. In the meantime the Grants came to Inverness and encamped there several days with the other troops of the Government. Had the Marquess of Huntly attacked then their so emptied country, that would have forced them home, and rid the Marquess of Seaforth of that part of his enemies and the rest without them had not dared to attack him, who encamped in the borders of the Frasers' country advancing so far towards Inverness still in some expectation that the Marquess of Huntly would advance to the other side. At last the united forces at Inverness, composed of the Earl of Sutherland's men Lord Reay's, Culloden's, the Glenguns, the Rosses, the Monroes, Rose of Kilravock's men, several of the Dunbars of Moray, and all the Frasers and Grants, marched under Lovat's command to Castle Downy, two miles above the end of the Firth of Inverness, where they left very few men apprehending no insult from the Marquess of Huntly. After some days the Earl of Sutherland joined them followed by the Inverness regiment and knowing that the Lewis men were still absent and that the Marquess of Seaforth continued in the same scarcity of arms, for which at his very first rising he was obliged to dismiss more than half his men, moved to attack him in his camp. The Marquess resolved to fight them and drew up his men in battle array. The enemy making a halt and their number appearing much greater than was expected, he called his council of war, in which such reasons were offered for making a cessation of arms that it evidently appeared the rejecting of one would have been not only most rash but even disloyal by exposing no less his Majesty's interest than his person to imminent danger. These reasons were:—1. The enemy, now freed from any apprehensions of danger from the Marquess of Huntly, drew all their forces from Inverness and the neighbourhood to make the more vigorous

attack, whereas the Marquess of Seaforth still wanted his Lewis men and was much weakened by the detachment he sent to attend his Majesty's landing. 2. In case the Marquess should fight and be worsted, the King, if landed where it was expected, would be exposed to the highest danger, all the rest of his Northern loyal subjects being then at Perth. 3. Lovat had engaged to join him in the King's interest when once landed, which could scarce be expected, if Seaforth's men were defeated. 4. Should Lovat not perform his word, yet the Marquess, when reinforced with his Lewis men, those he sent to Island Donan and others he might raise in the meanwhile, would be in a better condition to assist or attack the enemy with less hazard of the King's interest. 5. Should the Marquess attempt to withdraw his forces to the hills, which was little practicable so near the enemy without engaging, it would with less safety for the King draw them nearer to where his Majesty was expected to land. 6. Should they not follow, the Low Country being left open to them they would secure all the provisions and stores intended by the Marquess for his own use and raise the money formerly imposed by them there, whereby they would be the better enabled to keep Inverness and, when the Marquess should return on the King's landing, the country being so wasted, he would not find the least subsistence for his forces, from whence it was judged advantageous for the King's interest that a cessation should be made, which was writ and subscribed in great confusion betwixt both armies, and whereof the Marquess soon acquainted the Duke of Mar, assuring him that notwithstanding he would in a short time be in all readiness for his Majesty's service.

As soon as the Marquess received news of the King's being landed at Peterhead, he sent expresses as well to the Kintail, Loch Alsh and Loch Carron men, whom he sent to wait about Island Donan for the King's arrival, as to such other of his people as were not with him to repair forthwith to the Low Country, but such a prodigious quantity of snow fell, that it was impossible for them to convene so soon as he ordered, though they came in daily with the utmost expedition. He writ frequently to the Marquess of Huntly to let him know he was gathering his men, urging him to do the same and determine how soon he could be ready, that they might jointly besiege Inverness, but only got dilatory and uncertain answers. However he not only gathered all his mainland men, so soon as the weather any way abated, but also his Lewis men, landing with Capt. Tulloch and Brigadier Rattray, advanced within half a day's march of Brahan, when the news of the King's going off was brought and soon after that of his army being separated and returned home

was told him by some of his own men that were there, for Gen. Gordon did not write to him till a considerable time after.

But no accident could diminish Seaforth's zeal for his Majesty's service. A long time before this in a conference he had with Lovat by no less than royal authority after all manner of persuasions favourable conditions were offered from the Earl of Sutherland in behalf of the Government, from which his commission with full power for the same was produced, all which the Marquess absolutely rejected. Lovat and Mr. Duncan Forbes, who accompanied him, having in vain pressed him to prolong the cessation, he left them with an absolute denial, nor ever afterwards would meet or correspond with any of the Government, whatever opposite example the Marquess of Huntly gave him, who after the King's arrival made a cessation of arms, when no enemy attacked him, and went in person to Elgin to conclude it and prorogued it when expired, though in no danger of being forced to it by the enemy, with whom he had that interest as to give passes for Inverness, whither he frequently sent letters and messages to Sutherland, the import of which was manifested by the letters themselves shown to Lord Seaforth in hopes that Huntly's correspondence with the Government, an account whereof was contained in them, would induce him to take the like measures. One of them had been written to Sutherland about the same time the Marquess of Huntly wrote to Perth for a commission to burn Inverness, whence it may be easily guessed that sending for the commission was a mere sham. Conformable were his answers to Col. Hay, the Earl Marischal and General Gordon, who, after the King's going off, went to him at different times in the name of the rest of the loyal nobility and gentry to persuade him to join the army for attacking Inverness, but he gave a flat denial to them all and particularly to the Earl Marischal, whom he told he was on treaty with the Earl of Sutherland, whose answer he soon expected, his last cessation being expired but two days before, and advised that the army should rather withdraw to the hills than advance towards Inverness and, when that Earl asked him for the cannon and powder he had received for the siege of Inverness, as to the cannon, it was found that the carriages had been burnt, by chance said the Marquess. As for the powder, a great barrel was indeed brought to the camp, but, when opened on a false alarm of the enemy's approach, only 2 lbs. of powder were found in it and the weight made up with two cakes of lead. Had the Marquess even then joined the army with the cannon and powder he dismounted and embezzled, considering the Marquess of Seaforth had then his men in readiness to join, the army might by taking Inverness or beating Argyle have again retrieved

his Majesty's interest, but that of the Marquess of Huntly was then different, as it appeared by his letters to the Duchess, his mother, and the Earl of Argyle, intercepted near Perth a little before the King left it, whereby was fully discovered his engagement with the Government, to which he surrendered himself as soon as General Wightman arrived at Inverness, and showed to several those pressing letters he had from Lord Seaforth, urging him to join in besieging Inverness, remonstrating thereby that his rejecting Seaforth's measures had prevented Sutherland's being beaten and preserved Inverness, in reward of which he and his friends had been so favourably treated. What can be more convincing of the awe he stood in of incurring the least displeasure from the Government than his unhand-some treatment of the officers that came from France, who, having missed the ship at Peterhead that should have carried them back, as they passed by Castle Gordon, being entirely strangers in the country, sent to the Marquess desiring to wait on him for his advice, both which he most ungenerously refused, pretending that he himself was soon to fly to the hills.

Notwithstanding the ill example of Huntly's pusillanimous surrender Seaforth continued firm against all efforts of the Government, which ceased not to exert all means, though in vain, to gain him. For his security he retired to the Highlands as Wightman came to Inverness, but wrote to the Earl Marischal, Glengarry, Sir Donald MacDonald and others of his resolution to maintain the King's interest as long as any in Scotland. Wightman incensed at this steady loyalty, which he miscalled obstinacy, marched with an army of regular troops, joined by the Frasers, in search of him, resolving to penetrate to the remotest parts of his country, as he said to the Lady Dowager, his mother, and that the strong place, where he sheltered, would not long secure him, but, when he marched a few miles westward of Brahan, some of the Marquess' men ordered to observe his motions appearing in arms and being informed that the Marquess had most of his men in a body, he returned to Inverness with what plunder he made and leaving garrisons of regular troops in Brahan and others of the Mackenzies' houses. Soon after he met General Gordon at Kintail and assured him that himself and men were all at the King's service and sent orders to assemble them, but unluckily the news coming of the surrender of some and others giving up their arms made them alter their measures. 8 pages. See Mar's letter of 17 Dec. calendared post, p. 288.

There is also a second copy.

The EARL OF SOUTHESK to JOHN PATERSON.

1717, Nov. 13. Rome.—I should have troubled the Duke of Mar with this, did I not think you can at large explain

what I hint at in this, so I must entreat you'll communicate part of this to him. I was very impatient to leave Urbino on more accounts than one. It's very true I never had my health very well there, but, if I had had no other reason, I had not left it this winter. I stayed some twenty days in hopes of seeing the Duke of Mar, and, could it have done him any service, would have stayed twice as many weeks, but I was very glad to retire to where I live at my ease, free from the chagrin of seeing myself looked down on by those who can pretend to no more than to be my equals, though they now give themselves their great St. Germain's airs and esteem themselves the only sufferers for the King, while they have been growing rich by him these nine and twenty years, and are in better circumstances than they could ever hope for, had he been on his throne. I should not reckon that set of people, as great as they dream themselves, worth either my thinking or writing about, were I not persuaded that nothing can be more against the King's interest than to have it universally believed, as by their carriage they insinuate, that they are the only people that have served him well or ever can serve him, and it is plain to all of us who have been in this country that they have so far gained their end that there is not an Italian but believes they are the only people who are favoured by the King, and the only ones worthy of his favour, and that is come to such a height that they think even little Nairne a greater man than any that followed the King in our late affair. I am fully satisfied of the honour the King does me, and I make no doubt he'll make it appear at a convenient time, and it shall always be my study to merit his esteem and to serve him to the utmost of my power. I believe a good many more think as I do; perhaps they may not take the freedom to mention it. I thought myself bound in duty to the King to let the Duke of Mar know my thoughts, and I declare I have no by-end in telling them, and I neither desire or think of being let into business, for, besides my incapacity, the letting one man more into a secret than what is absolutely necessary may do a great deal of mischief and never can do good.

JAMES III to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 14. Urbino.—In case you meet Will. Drummond, his errand is only a pretence to get rid of him, though I have not told him that I am not pleased with him. You shall know that foolish business when you come here. *Holograph.*

JAMES III to CARDINAL GUALTERIO.

1717, Nov. 14. Urbino.—“L'affaire du Comte de Peterborow a pris un tel train que je crois qu'il est maintenant de mon honneur de la mepriser, et que je dois aux egards que

j'ay pour sa Sainteté de la terminer au plustost à sa satisfaction. J'ay fait donc ecrire par Mr. Sheldon la lettre à Milord, dont vous avez la copie cy-jointe, et je vous prie en me mettant aux pieds de sa Sainteté de luy dire qu'après avoir donné la liberté au dit Milord uniquement pour luy faire plaisir je me rapporte entierement à elle pour en disposer comme bon luy semblera sans luy faire aucune proposition sur son sujet, persuadé qu'elle fera tout ce qu'elle croira etre meilleur pour son service et le mien. Je n'ecris pas au Legat de Bologne, à fin que sa Sainteté luy envoie elle-meme ses ordres, et qu'elle dispose seule à l'avenir d'une affaire, qui ne luy a fait que trop de peine. J'en suis veritablement mortifié et plus reconnoissant que je ne puis l'exprimer de toutes les marques de bonté que j'ay receu d'elle dans toute le cours de cette affaire. Vous voyez que je suis entré tres facilement dans votre avis et que le desir que nous avons, l'un et l'autre, de plaire à S.S. nous a uni de sentiment dans cette affaire, dont nous ne parlerons plus, s'il plait à Dieu. Mais je vous prie de convaincre S.S. qu'on luy en impose, quand on luy fait un si terrible etalage des suites d'un fait, qui certainement n'a pas attiré jusqu'ici grande attention de personne de delà les monts. *Entry Book 1, p. 213. (There is also a holograph draft.) Enclosed is a French translation of the next letter.*

LIEUT.-GENERAL DOMINICK SHELDON to LORD
PETERBOROUGH.

1717, Nov. 14.—Though you have not thought fit to answer my last letter, I have the King's order to inform you, that, though you have not yet given the satisfaction you promised nor made any application to the King since I left you, his Majesty is willing to release you from your parole with regard to your stay at Bologna, the Pope having desired it of him, and it being reasonable for him to have that complacence to a Prince in whose states he lives. Wherever you think fit to go, I suppose that for your own sake you will not forget your promise to me of giving the King convincing proofs of your innocence. I wish with all my heart you may not be deceived in those you were so confident would be vouchers for you, for, whatsoever you may have published in this country, it is very well known that what has happened on this occasion has made very little noise elsewhere. I believe it unnecessary to tell you this letter needs no answer, his Majesty not thinking it worth his while to give himself or others any further trouble in this affair. *Copy.*

TOM BRUCE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 14. Brussels.—Yesterday Monsr. de Wilda told me that the success of our present affair will depend

very much on these two circumstances, peace with the Turks and Duke Hanover's answer to the Emperor's ambassador in England touching help in Italy. He believes that, till these two points are adjusted, we can expect no answer, and, "that, if the first is done as he hopes, then the Emperor will have strength, and, if the second is refused, as he expects, then he will have no friendship to keep with George. Upon this I put Monsieur de Wilda in mind of what I had frequently told him, that, if the Emperor would declare for the King, it would so far demolish Hanover's affairs, ministry and Parliament, as that Hanover or no foreign help would be needful, and I asked if he thought that on the mentioned two events the Emperor would declare. He said he believed he would, unless he found the King of Spain's plot so strong that perhaps he would be timorous to bring England to declare war against him and to help Spain.

"I told him that, upon Hanover's refusing to help the Emperor, he would have reason to believe the Emperor an open enemy, and no doubt George would take first opportunity to demolish him, so that for the Emperor not to declare on these two events will be to lose his occasion to demolish George and to give George time to establish his strength and credit by new supplies and alliances, by which he shall be capable to command his own opportunity of being offensive perhaps at some advantage, when perhaps otherways he might be reduced to a necessity of being defensive at some disadvantage so that in the mentioned two events the whole affair turns on this single circumstance whether George, an open enemy, will be gaining ground by the Emperor's declaration, or will lose ground by it. I told him that, besides the Emperor's declaration, there were two other matters which would contribute much to help the Emperor, one was to establish an alliance in the North, of which he might be head; the other was to agree with the King of Spain, especially seeing he can never have a thought to conquer Spain. He so far agreed to what I represented to him on that head that he desired me to give him a memorial of it in writing, which I did last night, and he has promised to make use of it. Meantime it may not be amiss that you know that some of the Emperor's friends are fully of opinion that his thought to conquer Spain will demolish him. Lord Ailesbury told me that the Emperor's minister in Flanders told him so a few days ago, as also that Lord Cadogan's affair in Holland was to bring them to declare war with Sweden, but they will not. The Dutch ambassador at Brussels denies all this, but I trust my author, who tells me also that one of the mentioned persons has no hopes the Emperor's ambassador in England will succeed, and says that he finds an alliance with George is of no profit to the Emperor. I have by this post sent a copy of what is above to Mr. Inese, but nothing of what follows.

"This is the state of affairs so far as is within the compass of the directions given touching Monsr. de Wilda, but, if you please compare what I have now told you with what I wrote last post, you will perhaps observe that besides the particulars recommended to Wilda there arise several other emergents, which, though they partly are coincident with Wilda's affair and may be either helps to it or consequences of it, and may therefore take their train along with his management, yet some parts of them seem to require some different channel for management, and, though I have not found anything new to discourage me with respect to Wilda, who, I am fully persuaded, is honest and will do his best in his station, yet, considering that he has been only bred a shop keeper, and so may perhaps manage one single sort of goods, he may not perhaps understand so well to go about other parts of trade, and therefore you may please have your thoughts of what I wrote to you touching Falconbridge's friend, both as a help to the affair of marriage, but especially touching an azile, and with respect to managing the affair of peace between the Emperor and King of Spain, which you see is the opinion of the Emperor's friends. If any such thing is thought of, in my humble opinion, it would be endeavoured, where the King is, to understand, as I wrote to you in my last, if really the King of Spain was sincere as to his late declaration, and to know his mind as far as is possible on that head, and in the meantime I presume we shall know here somewhat of the Emperor's mind in that point either by means of Wilda or Falconbridge's friend. You may please remember how I propose to manage Falconbridge's friend, that Falconbridge is only to propose these matters by way of private opinions without any manner of commission, which it will not be fit to give, until first he has proposed these several matters to the Emperor's uncle. After which, these matters being lodged in that hand, Falconbridge's friend cannot either retreat or betray our affair to any other marchand, and afterwards a commission may be given as shall be thought proper. But I say, if the project is relished of employing the King's interest in the matter of peace, it would seem necessary in the first place to try the pulses of the King of Spain and the Emperor. Until that point is cleared, we might burn our fingers with meddling in it. I believe Falconbridge's friend will be in town this night, he stays here but a few days, and, after I have delivered Lord Mar's compliments to him, I shall know his motions better."

4 pages. *Deciphered copy.*

BRIGADIER CAMPBELL to JOHN PATERSON.

1717, Nov. 14.—Yours of 7 Oct. came ten days ago, but I could not well return my thanks sooner. I hope

Will. M[urra]y and all of us, his friends, will approve ourselves grateful to the utmost for the care you have taken of him.

As for that paragraph wherein you want to know whom I mean by a few, who are a great charge, though they have of their own, it's not few but many, in favour of whom your charity is misapplied. I shall say nothing of many I saw in *Holland* and *Italy*. You know the latter better than I do, and the former lie too open for me to take advantage of them. I shall only name some of *Bordeaux*. I never saw the worthy Lanton but, if I may believe what I never saw, he used to tell that, though he had sufficient credit, he reserved that for the last. My good friend George McKenzie is much in the same circumstances, but I hope he is gone and will be found in due time. His cousin Jasper, so far as I have heard from good hands is in no want, but that I cannot be so positive of. As to Mr. Peter, brother to *Smith of Methven*, I have been credibly told that *Smith of Methven*, with whom he keeps correspondence, offers him credit to the value of his patrimony. Would you have me name any more of the inferior tribe at *Bordeaux*? If anything was to do, some of them would know nobody, except perhaps the gentleman who gives you this, others would tell you they don't want service &c. It were really to be wished they were at *Scotland*, for they are too honest ever to do us any harm, and most of them are not capable of doing good. I could with great justice apply this to myself, but though as little capable I am more willing and less interested than most of them, besides the difference of our circumstances. *Tullibardine* and the *Highlanders* and his family are still well, and no doubt many others of the *Highlanders* here and elsewhere. It will be however very hard, if they must be reduced in their necessaries for the support of others that want it not. I have sent your letter to *Tullibardine* and C[olin] C[ampbell].

L. INESE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Monday, Nov. 15. St. Germain.—Since my last to *Mar* I have received no letter for him except the enclosed from *Menzies*. I find by other letters that the English Court are in no small apprehension of the approaching session, and that they never wanted a plot so much to find some pretext to keep up the army and raise money. I can think of but three persons who can furnish them with materials for one, or make such a noise as may supply that want by amusing the people. *Bolingbroke*, *Peterborough* and *Francia* are persons of very different characters, yet they perhaps may all three be made use of for the ends of the present Government. *Mar* will see in *Menzies'* letters what dread the Jacobites are in of *Bolingbroke*. As to *Peterborough*, on the first noise of his being taken up the English Government seemed entirely to slight it, and to take no concern in it. I believe they have still as little concern for his person as they had at first, but they have now

given it quite another turn, and seem to make it a national affair. Their very menaces of sending to bombard Civita Vecchia, which is even in the Dutch prints, will frighten the *Pope* out of his wits, and they now pretend to require satisfaction of him for the affront they say the nation has received in the person of *Peterborough*. I wish therefore that *the King* were well rid of this last, and that he made it his own act of leaving him at entire liberty to go where he will, and I hope that will be done before this can reach you.

As to *Francia*, his offer of so great a quantity of money looked suspicious from the beginning, but his declaring at the same time that he would ask no questions and that he or his friends desired to know nothing of *the King's* concerns seemed to make it safe to deal with him. Yet of late he has in his letters asked many leading questions about *the King's* affairs, so that, had his expectations been answered, he had known the most essential part of them. This way of working gave jealousy with reason, and it was therefore resolved to make a trial of his sincerity by asking the actual delivery to *Queen Mary* of some part of the money. *Francia* himself had before declared that the whole money was ready on a call, and that one or two of his friends were ready on a day's warning to part from London and to deliver to any person sufficiently empowered by *Queen Mary* such a quantity as she should require. Accordingly a person was empowered by *Queen Mary* to receive a small quantity in comparison of the whole. *Francia* was desired to get his friend to come and deliver as he promised. He answered it should be done immediately, and now *Queen Mary's* trustee has waited above two months, and *Francia* puts off with visible *defaites*, pretending that some odd accident or other still hinders his friend from coming. At the same time he still writes news, sometimes that *the King of Sweden* and *the Czar* are certainly made up, other times of the great dispositions in *England* to send for *the King* and such stuff, which seems intended to draw in *Dillon* to say in his answer what he thinks there is of truth in these reports. This way of working seems to me at least very suspicious. I have told my thoughts very freely to *Dillon*, who is, and I hope always will be on his guard, so that, if ever *Francia's* offers were intended for a plot, which is at least possible, I hope they will have got no materials for it from this side. 2 pages.

WILLIAM GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 16.—Enclosing letters.—Mr. Creagh parted from this last Thursday by the diligence, and I sent with him the machine for making pens, which cost 20 *livres*, and 10 I gave Mr. Creagh to be given to the Marquis de Mezières' servants, which you had forgot in the hurry of parting, and I understood they discreetly complained of to Creagh. I send a copy of Mr. Dicconson's answer about Col. Stewart, so I have ordered accordingly till your pleasure is known, for money

continues very scarce and I am still in advance. However I have on Mr. Dicconson's promises ordered the payment of the last month of October, though as yet he has no fund but expects it from the Court, which is very uncertain. *Enclosed,*

W. DICCONSON to W. GORDON.

The Queen thinks the sum Mr. Stuart demands very great, and it will be hard to discharge it at present at least, when we have so little money, or rather none. If you order him 50 livres a month for this month of November and so on, that will be a present subsistence; but the Queen says he must wait till we have more money ere we can discharge the debt he mentions. 11 Nov., 1717. Copy.

ROBERT GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 16.—The difference betwixt Capt. George and his seamen makes so much noise that I believe it will soon be public, and he can never clear himself of the black aspersions they put upon him, unless his whole accounts are laid before men of honour who understand commerce. The ship I got from him has been taken by M. de Chateaumoran, Governor of St. Domingo, and sent out to cruise against the pirates, and this is a great loss to me. Besides she may be taken or lost in the said service, in which case I hope you will help me to get justice of the governor.

One Charles Chalmers was lately here, formerly an officer in the Dutch service, but under your Grace in Scotland. He entreated me to assure you of his firm resolutions for the King's service, and that, if you send me any commands for him in Scotland, I will have his address, and he will perform to his power.

I am sadly harassed for want of money. I must pay *Tullibardine* and his brother, and I am about 300 *livres* in advance for *Brigadier Campbell*, which he says will be allowed me, besides his subsistence, and I have got nothing for last month nor for this from the Court. I do not grudge my pains and would as little grudge my money for the King's service, but I shall not be able to serve if not supplied.

J. McDUGALL OF LORNE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, [Nov.] 16.—I received yours from Lyons of 21 Oct. Were it in my power to live on a penny a day, none of my own station would be more willing. As for the 100 *livres* I received from Mr. Gordon, I made it known to you as soon as I came to Avignon. Since you did not make any more mention of it to me, I still rely on your favour and assistance. *Misdated, 16 October, but endorsed 16 November.*

ALEXANDER IRVINE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 16. Bordeaux.—As he has received several very pressing letters from his father, who is in a very dangerous

state of health, calling him home, if a licence can be procured, desiring to know how far it is the King's pleasure, for, though his affairs press his home going very much, he would not do anything in it till he should inform his Grace.

JOHN CAMPBELL OF GLENLYON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 16. Toulouse.—As his friends at home advise that he should go to Flanders that they may the better correspond with him, and he thinks himself obliged not to stir from where he is without his Grace's advice, desiring him to honour him therewith with his Majesty's commands.

GENERAL GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 16. Toulouse.—I had your Grace's lines and also those for the two brigadiers, which I delivered. I was very well satisfied when I heard my chief (Duke of Gordon) was come over, being persuaded it is with a good intention, and John G[ordo]n is to be employed in his private affairs. Your advice was certainly right to the M[ar]q[ues]s [of Seaforth]. I hope the other may do the same, and trust both may strive who shall outdoe the other most in his Majesty's service. Your account is very comfortable. I never doubted God will do him right some time or other, and I hope soon too. Thanks be to God he keeps his health so well. These three weeks I have been much out of order by the fevers and flux, attacked by both at the same time, that I do not remember ever to have been so ill. Cl[an]r[ana]ld and all the rest of your friends hereabouts are perfectly recovered.

The DUKE OF MAR to JAMES III.

1717, Wednesday night, Nov. 17. Bologna.—I wrote to you last Saturday from Venice, which I hope you would get Monday. The roads betwixt this and Padua are so bad that it was impossible for us to get here sooner than this afternoon. On my arrival I found Will. Drummond and after that Mr. Cockburne from whom I had both your letters. That from Cockburne is so old that I hope for another by to-morrow's post. The other by Mercury surprised me, nor can I well imagine what is the matter. He says Lord P[ert]h told him he was to go to Paris, but that all you had said to him was to deliver me the letter, and I was to give him his orders, but what these should be I do not yet know. Since you would be quit of him, I think the best orders I can give him is to carry just such a letter to *Dillon* as he brought to me and then he'll be far enough. He knows nothing of the affair himself, but by a passage he told me of *Castelblanco* I fancy he is some way the occasion of it, though he little suspects it.

Booth goes to deliver *Queen Mary's* message to the *Duke of Modena* to-morrow and it will be next day before he can return. I am not to be known here more than I have been all

the way and that will give me an opportunity of going about more quietly to see what is worth seeing here till he return, which will be Friday night, at least so late that day, that I cannot set out till Saturday morning. Mercury says the roads are so bad that we shall hardly make Pesaro in two days, so I am afraid I shall not have the pleasure of waiting on you till Tuesday.

Peterborough was at the opera last night, I hear, but my servant has been told since we came that he left this morning for Modena, though Cockburne or Signor Belloni know nothing of it. We were told at Ferrara that his son-in-law, *the Duke of Gordon*, was to be here last night or to-day to meet him. If he has left this to-day, I suppose 'tis to go and meet him somewhere. I believe Cockburne can tell me no more of his affair than O'B[rien] did when I met him, as I told you from Turin, but by a note he has from *Nairne* he's in expectations of hearing from him again to-morrow how *Peterborough's* affair is ended.

MEMOIR of what *DILLON* wrote to the KING about *George Kelly's* message.

1717, Nov. 18. — (Giving the paragraphs from his letters of 31 July and 7 August, both beginning "*Kelly alias Johnson*," calendared in the last volume pp. 483, 503 and the passage between asterisks in that of 18 Sept. calendared ante, p. 53).

These are the three paragraphs that *Dillon* wrote to the King concerning *Kelly's* message. *Mar* knows now, though he did not then, that *the Bishop of Rochester* and *Lord Arran* desired to be informed of *the King's* affairs by particular messages, therefore it seems unnecessary to renew the matter by any further information. It's to be observed that the message concerning this was addressed directly to *Ormonde*, and to *Dillon* only in his absence, so, if *Ormonde* were here when *Kelly* returned, in all appearance *Dillon* would not be informed of this private message. 4 pages.

GEORGE HOME OF WHITFIELD to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 18. Rouen.—Acknowledging his letter of 12 Oct., and thanking his Grace for his kindness and the character he entertains of him.

The Earl of Carnwath desired me to give his most humble duty to his Majesty and to signify that he inclined to come over for his personal safety, but that he was ashamed to be an additional burden on the King. If confusions fall out among the English, as in all human appearance they will, or if they form a new plot to obtain fresh supplies and the keeping up of the standing army, which is not improbable, then surely Carnwath and others, who nottarily (*sic*) are distinguished to be of the King's party, will have the *malheur* to be taken into custody and thereby rendered unserviceable.

How far it may be consistent with his Majesty's interest and conveniency to prevent such foreseen misfortunes, he and those about him are the only proper persons to determine. I confess, to prevent the Earl of Home from falling into their hands, I have advised him to ask liberty to travel into foreign parts, since hitherto he has never taken the occasion, but whether I have a right or wrong notion of what tends to his Majesty's service I know not, others being better judges, only this consists too much with my knowledge that the want of his lordship, when we took up arms, was a very great hindrance to our numbers, and, if a new occasion should call us together again, his absence would be as sensibly felt then as before.

Though the number of the gentry in our shire be much diminished by that unhappy affair at Preston, we are not so far reduced but that still the King will have at his service nigh three troops of horse with a regiment of as good foot as can march, provided these foot get arms and receive pay. It was the want of these which occasioned our not employing them and put us under a woeful necessity to send these home who had travelled several miles after us on our march. The scarcity of hands contributed as much if not more to our ruin than the ignorance of our leaders, both which might have been prevented, had his Majesty arrived in due time as was promised.

Teviotdale will be able to bring out a full troop, and our friends in East and Mid Lothian are more than double the number. But what numbers might be brought from Northumberland to join with us on the Scots side, since I am persuaded most of them will choose to take their fate with our people rather than their own, no certain conjecture can be made, though I may hazard to say they will not be despicable.

May his Majesty never entertain the thought to abide on this side waiting till he receives a call from his good people of England. By various accidents this may arrive, but it is to be feared his best subjects may be wore out, and he himself tired in expectation before it comes to pass. His return on a call will be of unforeseen consequences. He must resolve to comply with their terms and not they with his, and, if he should once but make advances to listen to proposals, and then perhaps not agree to what is demanded, though never so unreasonable, he is undone and ruined for ever.

It will be more advisable to hazard another attempt, to which better success may be expected, considering that divisions are daily increasing, than that he should be a fettered prince all his days, and those who have faithfully served him be treated as they were on the last restoration, which occasioned too many loyalists to be spectators on the Prince of Orange's landing.

No way is now left more probable to tame and fix a weather-cock and rebellious nation than for his Majesty to govern that people and not they him. By this means he may reign

in perfect quiet and transmit the crown in peace to his successor, which hardly can be expected, if he advances to the throne the other way.

Dr. Leslie wishes to hear of the dispatch of his Majesty's declaration about the security to be given to the Church. I brought a short memorial with me of what was requested and what was thought would quiet the minds of the greatest part of the people and delivered it to him, since I could not meet with your Grace. He communicated to me what he had written to the King and your Grace about that important affair, in regard I had desired him to endeavour to have it laid before his Majesty, since several of his good friends thought it would be granted on account of his interest and the removal of all jealousy. If you do obtain it, you do the most notable service for preserving the nations in peace after the restoration than has happened since the reformation.

On repeated invitations from a friend of yours, who had his son with him at Paris, I went thither and had two private meetings. I could not prevail with him to declare presently for his Majesty for reasons he offered me, but this much I understood, if I can make any conjecture of his mind, that he will be at the King's devotion in case of any probable lay (*sic*). One Mr. Churchill is here, who has every post pressing letters to go to England, in regard the Court is afraid that they may be attacked immediately as their Parliament meets. Boyn is much dejected for the loss of his son.

I was once inclining to have given my thoughts about the safe landing of some arms in our South Borders, but, having already encroached too far, I durst not hazard any more.
4½ pages.

J. MENZIES to L. INESE.

1717, Nov. 7[–18].—I have not yet found the necessary occasion for sending you the things that I would with a full state of our accounts. Enclosed is our current news, and there is very little else that can be said with sense or by post. Nothing is ripe for Parliament either for the Court or against it. Lord Trevor comes not in as was reported.

They have thought fit to give orders for the reduction of some of the army. It may amount to about 5,000 in all. There will remain 16,000 in Britain, and Minorca, Gibraltar, &c. Mrs. *Ogilvie* not come.

THE DUKE OF MAR to the EARL OF PETERBOROUGH.

1717, Thursday, Nov. 18. Bologna.—Though I make myself known to very few as I am passing, yet for old acquaintance sake I would not go through the place, where I heard you were, without letting you know, and, if you think it safe for you to see one in my circumstances and have a mind to it, I shall be very glad to meet you where you think it most convenient, and, if not, this line can do you no hurt.

I am very glad the affair which has lately given you some trouble is now over, though on your account I wish it had gone off more agreeably to the King on your part than I hear it has, and it is neither impossible or improbable the day may yet come when you will wish so yourself. You'll, I hope, excuse my telling you so, since it only proceeds from the value and concern I have for you. I never could credit what my master was informed of against you, though it was from such hands that he could not have been answerable to the world not to have taken some notice of it. I hope yet to see the time when you and I may be in business together in his and our island's service, when we shall run no danger by owning it to all the world. Where it is in my power to be any way serviceable to you, you would find in me one that has a due value for you. *Copy. Endorsed, "Sent under a cover from Mr. Cockburne to his Lordship by the Cardinal Legate's secretary without his knowing from whom it was."*

The EARL OF PETERBOROUGH to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 19.—You perhaps may be desirous to have some information in relation to this affair of the Earl of Peterborough, which could never have happened, had Lord Mar been at Urbino.

Whoever they were that gave occasion to this accident, if they were never so great in quality, they were small in judgement. It had been easy to have been satisfied in any suspicion of this kind, without an action of such *éclat*, which even prevented a discovery instead of helping towards one.

Lieut.-General Sheldon was very obliging to the Earl, as he acknowledges to everybody. His deafness made the correspondence more uneasy, and perhaps liable to some mistakes. Time must give the opportunity to the Earl to show that he can as little forget an act of friendship as be capable of what was laid to his charge.

It seems some conceive this matter has not gone off agreeably to the Court of Urbino. Perhaps it had been better adjusted, had you been sooner in these parts. You would have thought two months and a half sufficient time to have had the necessary informations, after an arrest and a kind of discharge, whether a person of that quality was to be treated as a guilty or an innocent person. This was a case in which a resolution was necessary some way or another without loss of time. Nothing ought to have been more avoided than the appearances of desiring time to seek after proofs or pretences, when they ought to have been had beforehand, and indeed before the first step taken.

I was told the Earl was very easy, not doubting that those persons most concerned in France might have been satisfied in some proper time, but, when informed a sufficient time was expected to have satisfaction from England, it could not be but very unwelcome news. That climate is so fruitful for

producing lies and evidences to maintain them, that they might easily and naturally have been found even by those who would not seek them indirectly, and who would scorn to make use of them, unless deceived by them. But the friends of that Lord, ignorant of all proceedings, cannot judge or know whether this affair has ended to satisfaction or dissatisfaction, if I am well informed, and I believe you will find it true that neither to England or Rome he has writ one word or made the least application. With the Court of Urbino when at liberty he could have no correspondence. His part has been only to expect for five weeks in Bologna what he thought one way or another must have had a speedy determination, and all this time exposed to a thousand false reports. Locked up between four walls, free from engagements and giving no occasion for lies, had been a far more agreeable situation. By what I can learn, this lord looks on this whole matter as an English plot. He declares he does not suspect either malice or dishonourable intentions against him either from Rome or the Court of Urbino. Time will discover the evil instruments and their intentions and views.

You will hear shortly from the little French Marquis, whose mind is more agreeable than his body, and shall be better informed. I have often drunk your health with the lean lady, his wife, who, considering her country, does not want wit. What is wanting in discretion is supplied by good will. I fancy you will guess at the original by the copy. You may be sure I am as sincerely your servant and well-wisher as I believe you are mine.

COLIN CAMPBELL OF GLENDARULE to JOHN PATERSON.

1717, Nov. 19. Bordeaux.—I received a letter of the 14th from my cousin and namesake enclosing yours to him, which obliges me to give you this trouble. He is pretty particular in his answer to you on the subject wherein you desired him to explain himself, so he has left me little to say, only in general we have three sorts of folk on this side differently classed.

First, those attainted, as they are generally of the first rank and most useful to the King, will have difficulty to go home with any sort of security. Next, those having estates or any valuable conveniency in their own country, that have not rendered themselves exceeding obnoxious, will very readily take the hint and go home, in which they do well for many reasons, and as to those in these parts of that sort *Tullibardine* and I shall not be wanting in giving them our best advice and in the manner you desired.

As to the third and last sort and of the least import, an advice or hint will not so easily prevail with them. Their circumstances on this side render them easier than they have been at home or can be by returning now. What measures may be best to take with such men I will not take upon me to judge. No doubt there are men of merit among them. Therefore

I can think of no better method than that *Mar* take the general list, where all men's names are set down, by which he will soon perceive the charge of this last class, and he is best judge what distinction is necessary to be made amongst them, or what else is to be done on this whole affair.

Certainly those of the first class, that cannot go home and may come at anything of their own, will not be wanting to make all things as easy as it is possible for them under their different circumstances. *Tullibardine's* particular unlucky situation as to this has been no small concern to him and he is the more uneasy that hitherto no method could effectually be fallen on to atone in some measure for the considerable share his brother and he have had in adding so much to the present weight on the King. Though he is truly ill stated in regard to the carriage of his family towards him, yet he is hopeful something may be done for him ere long from the other side. In the meantime, rather than further inconvenience should happen, I may safely say on the least hint he and others here would cheerfully be brought on any footing necessity requires.

I suppose I shall be found amongst those attainted, and consequently cannot well go home, but, had I any inclination towards it as I have not, yet I shall always with great readiness submit to anything that can be of the least use without thinking too much of the danger. *Mar* knows the situation of my little estate and small pretensions there to be such as can give me but small hope of any support at present from thence. Otherwise I hope *Mar* and you will believe I would not be in the number of those that put the King to charges, but one thing all on that list should most justly expect in this time of scarcity, and that is a retrenchment of part of what we now receive, for hitherto we have had no pinching. This, I think, cannot be unacceptable to any honest good man, seeing we all ought rather to wonder how it has been possible for the King to have done so much for us hitherto than to repine at any method necessity may now require, and I know no instance where so many men under such a situation have been taken so great care of.

Tullibardine thanks you most kindly for your care of W[illia]m M[urra]y. *Tullibardine's* brother lives five or six leagues from where we stay, for *Tullibardine* has chosen me to live with himself. Don of Brisbane and others are with his brother. 2½ pages.

MAJOR JOHN COCKBURNE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 20. Bologna.—You were not an hour gone from this, when I received a line from the Legate's secretary appointing me an audience from his Eminence at 11, the particulars whereof you will hear from Mr. Nairne, when he gives you this. Towards the end of it he asked me if the Duke of Mar was here. I told him I could not dissemble with him that you had been here and were gone this morning, but that otherwise

I had no orders from you to speak anything of your being here, for I had heard you say the King had ordered you to conceal your quality on your journey, without which you had certainly waited on his Eminence. He told me he knew it from Lord Peterborough, who had given him a very just character of you, and showed him, and told him the meaning of your letter.

T. BRUCE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 20. *Brussels*.—Two days ago *Falconbridge's* friend came to town, and yesterday I gave him your compliments, which he returned very civilly and said nothing should be more in his wishes. He stays here some days, and, if he speaks anything about that affair, I shall take care to keep at a distance, both because he may take what I say as by authority, and because I have told *Falconbridge* to go as great a length with him as he thinks fit in way of private opinion.

Yesterday I met Col. *Gibson* in his way from *the Emperor's Court*. He tells me he was very helpful to *Barrowfield* there, and was frequently with him in company with his solicitor who is of *Venice* (I think his name is *de Busie*), as also with him and *the King of Sweden's ambassador* there. The Colonel has been at *Belgrade* and in his return he met the solicitor and *the ambassador* both together. He says the solicitor complains, though very modestly, of two things, one, that he has not been considered as he ought to have been, especially having had a letter of thanks from *Italy* desiring him to continue his good offices, the other that he has never heard from that corner since he had that letter. The Colonel tells me he believes the man will not do anything amiss and that *the ambassador* keeps him in good temper, and tells him that he believes the reason he has got no further directions from *Italy* is because perhaps *the King* has no further business with *the Emperor*, and perhaps is inclined to trade with *the King of Spain*. The Colonel tells me that *the ambassador* complains that *Barrowfield* promised to keep constant correspondence with him, and that he, *the ambassador*, had written to *Sweden* that he expected correspondence by that canal, but that he had not heard a word from *Barrowfield* since he left that place, excepting one letter from *Venice*. I know not where *Barrowfield* is, otherwise I would have written to him.

We are told from England that our Court, being straitened betwixt assisting the Emperor conform to a late treaty with 12,000 men and provoking Spain on the other hand, is very much taken up in endeavouring to set on foot an accommodation betwixt the Emperor and the King of Spain.

I am told by a very good hand the Dutch Resident, who came lately to Brussels, is in a very humble temper, and, though he insists on payment of the arrears of the 300,000 crowns yearly promised by the Barrier Treaty, yet he does it very modestly and seems disposed to make up that matter to the Emperor's satisfaction.

GEN. GEORGE HAMILTON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 21. Paris.—As soon as I came here, I waited on Mr. Dic[conso]n, and next day he and I went to St. G[ermai]n, where I kissed her M[ajesty's] hand. She was a little uneasy for fear of L[ord] St[air's] coming to the knowledge of it, but, as I am lodged at the other end of the town, and appear nowhere in public now by my own name, there's not the least thing to be apprehended on that head.

(Concerning 500 *livres* which his Grace had got Mr. Dic[conso]n to place to their Master's account and other private affairs.)

Balfour, who by the late Act is repossessed in his estate, and has taken no allowance since July last, desires to know whether his going home or staying on this side will be more for the King's service. The Q[ueen] is of opinion for the former, but, as nobody knows on what foot, even though provided with a licence, they may be tied down by new oaths to the Government, he is resolved not to go if any such terms are required, and, since he can live anywhere without being further troublesome, he will do what may be thought most for the K[ing's] interest.

My last from Liège was only relating to the objection about Mr. H[oo]ke. I have been with him several times since I came here. He heartily regrets he did not meet you before you left. Whenever his M[ajesty] will think fit to employ him, he will not only forget and forgive all former prejudices, but will sacrifice all for his service. He knows perfectly the routine of affairs here, has a head turned to business and of great application, and knows a great deal of the constitution of England, which is absolutely necessary to remove any objection that might be made in case of any transaction to be managed here, for really the French are ignorant in our manners and customs, and want to be set right in a great many things. You know very well the credit he had in the late reign, and I have some reason to believe he is very well with the R[egent] and present ministry, and, without we have some friends in the latter to support any good inclinations the former may be disposed to in our master's favour, it's not fair words and promises but facts that must do the business, so, unless you can show them it's their interest to support our master's, I'm afraid all will prove lost labour, and in my poor opinion I think, if this treaty with Em[pero]r and G[eor]ge be confirmed, as it's strongly reported here, we never had a fairer game. The K[ing] and you are the best judges of Mr. H[oo]ke's capacity, to which I entirely submit.

I have letters from England of the 4th. I believe you will not be displeased when I tell you that Mrs. Pitts (Lady Portmore) died the 26th of last month, and Mr. Pitts (Lord Portmore) desires to assure Mr. Kent (? the King) he will vigorously act for his interest and will perform his promise, whenever demanded. He only begs to have timely advice of anything that is to be done, and

he will execute all orders from Mr. Kent or doers with sincerity. This letter I have shown Mr. Dic[conso]n and shall give such answer only as he advises me, for he trusts a great deal to our old friendship, and I am sure, whenever there's occasion, he will be one often to advance what money will be demanded. I don't doubt you will have heard of the *Princess of Wales* being brought to bed of a son before this, and of Bolingbroke's being gone for England. The Parliament meets the 21st, which is to be opened by some new plot of Cadogan's hatching, as I am told. I wish we had it in our power to give them one in good earnest. I fancy there would be scampering to purpose. 5½ pages.

J. MENZIES to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 10[-21]. London.—The enclosed coming by the stage coach from Edinburgh was a fortnight by the way, and had been writ several days before that occasion parted. Since it came, I have been looking perpetually for a safe conveyance, it being too much in every respect for the common post, which is always and will now be more precarious, the approaching of a Parliament being one never failing season for plots or rumours of plots, and opening letters to see if anything from thence can help on the clamour of fears and jealousies, consequently money and all other points.

The present is a new sort of an occasion, which promises well and will go often. If it answer the probability, it is the best we ever had, and I shall do all I can to encourage it.

This being the first trial, and the enclosed being enough to venture in it, I shall say but very little of other things, and only let you know that since, according to your directions, conveyances have been concerted towards the North, I sent last post to your friend *Sir H. Paterson* a short and plain account of the situation of matters that most concern us here, that he may forward it to *Sir H. Stirling* and *Dr. Erskine* and send you a copy of it. I had received a letter from *Sir H. Paterson* the post before from thence with a very good account of some matters relating to our *fleet* that was sent to the North, and other things of that nature, some of them very material, and he promises more from the same quarter. They shall be given both to Mr. *Shippen* and Mr. *Walpole* and others of both these families to make the best use of them with the *Parliament* with some other things of the like nature that are observed and known here by some that are at pains in those matters.

But, if *Walpole* and the *Tories* do not join their stocks and get the chief number of *Parliament* lottery, all is to no purpose. They lost it most foolishly last time by being both so much on the *qui vive* contrary to the opinions of the wisest of both their friends, for they entirely lost the whole season, and let *King George* thereby get the whole cargo of money that he desired, and no further diminution of the *army*, which was all he wanted.

I shall say no more now, but as *Parliament* approaches shall be more particular.

The chief factor here for *the King of Spain* is bribed against us, and our countryman, *Lord Lovat*, is the veriest rogue alive. He is yet paid too by *France* and to cheat poor women here goes privately to Mass, contrary to all his public professions of abhorrence.

QUEEN MARY to the DUKE OF ORMONDE.

1717, Nov. 22.—“ I have seen a letter from *Ormonde* to *Dillon* with an enclosed from *Dr. Erskine* to you, the contents of which are of such consequence that I think it necessary to send an express with it to *the King*, for, though his engagement with *marriage*, of which he wrote to you some while ago, is quite broke, and that the other *marriage* of the *Princess of Hesse* is also out of doors, upon the relation made of *her* by ocular witnesses, yet I know that *the King* was actually trying to make up with another *marriage*, and therefore there is a necessity of sending safe and quickly to him *Dr. Erskine's* letter, that all may be laid before him, and he chose what he likes best ; it is certain great advantages may be had with *the marriage of the Czar*, there may be some inconveniencies too, if *the King of Sweden* and *the Czar* should not become friends, and, if it be true as I am told, that the *Czar's daughter* is but a child of thirteen years of age. The main point therefore is to know exactly *her* age, temper and constitution, if it be possible, and if *she* is healthy and good humoured, and there is no way of knowing all this but by sending one, rather two, trusty persons to see *her*, which I think *Ormonde* might easily do, he living near *the Czar's* house, and having some people that I believe may acquit themselves very well of such a commission. Their names I must refer to *Dillon* who has them in his book, and I hope you will speak to *Ormonde* to lose no time in sending them, for without this first step no other can be made, and I am sure it is what *the King* will ask. *Ormonde's* two friends may address themselves to *Dr. Erskine*, and [he] will no doubt be of great help to them. I have not wrote to you of a long time, because I know that *Dillon* informs you constantly and exactly of all that comes to his or my knowledge relating to *the King's* affairs, as he does me of what news he has from you. I am heartily glad you keep your health well. I long to know what news you have of *the King of Sweden*, and if he will receive your visit, for, if he does, it will be a good sign. I am more sensible than I can express it of all you do and suffer for my good friend *the King*, but I am sure you cannot doubt of it, no more than of the true friendship and esteem I have and shall ever have for you.

“ You say so little of this affair in your letter to *Dillon* that I hope you have wrote straight to *the King* of it, and sent him your advice and thoughts upon it, which I should be glad to know.” *Copy.*

JOHN PATERSON to LORD SOUTHESK.

1717, Nov 22. Urbino.—I find myself very much at a loss what to say in answer to yours of the 13th. The Duke of Mar, to whom I have your orders to communicate it, is not yet come, but we have certain accounts he'll be here to-day or Tuesday at farthest. As soon as I see him, I shall lay your letter before him, and then I shall endeavour to write you more fully, if I have his commands on it, and shall think myself extremely happy if I shall be able to undeceive you so far as to make you at least somewhat easier than you seem to be at present. Meanwhile I shall only say that I am heartily sorry that any subject, who has acted so honourable and disinterested a part as you have done, should go hence under any discontent, but I would fain hope you are under some mistake about it, and that there is not so much ground for your uneasiness as you seem to apprehend, which, if you remember, I said to you oftener than once when you talked to me on this head, but, had the Duke of Mar had the good fortune to see you here, he would, I doubt not, have been able to give you further satisfaction, which was the reason I pressed you to stay till he should come; besides that I know very well that he would have been very glad to have seen you. 'Tis impossible anybody can doubt of your zeal to the King, and as for the readiness you express to serve Lord Mar, if necessary, I think I could bear witness to a good part of it. I know he is very sensible of your good wishes and you have his in return.

W. GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 23. Paris.—I wrote last post with enclosures, and hope soon to have an account from Urbino of your safe journey. Money is still wanting to pay the last month's subsistence, though I have ordered it to be paid. It's hard the Queen should be so used.

L. INESE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 23. Paris. We are now in pain till we hear of *Mar's* having joined *the King*, who has wanted him now for so long. I have nothing to add to what I said about *Peterborough*. *King George* and his family, who slighted *Peterborough* at first, affect now to make a noise about him and talk of requiring satisfaction from *the Pope*, who, being so fearful as he is, it is not easy to foresee how far he may comply with their demands, though never so unreasonable, if they should insist. I cannot therefore but wish *the King* were fairly rid of *Peterborough*. *Marriage* is what ought now to be *the King's* main business. By what *the King of Sicily* said to *Booth* it seems that will be more easily compassed than we imagined. *The King of Sicily*, having a son to settle, had, I suppose, made it his business to be well informed of that matter. What he

said on the subject was very kind and friendly. Since *the King* himself cannot see every one of the persons in question, it were at least fit he sent a person he can rely on to view them, and, after having taken all the informations that can be had, to make a faithful report to *the King*. But *the Czar's* kind offer, of which *Queen Mary* and *Dillon* send the particulars, brings that into a narrower compass. It is, I think, the first offer of that kind made to *the King*, and ought therefore to be kindly received. They say this daughter is thirteen. There can be no exception against her birth, the mother, as I hear, being of a good family, so that, if there be no exception against the person of the daughter, I see no good reason can be given for *the King's* refusing, unless he were pre-engaged to another, which, I suppose, is not the case. I fear a refusal on any other account would mortally disoblige *the Czar*, as, on the other hand, entering into this alliance would fix *the Czar* to *the King's* interest for ever. I should wish, before this matter were known, *the Czar* and *the King of Sweden* were one way or other made up, for, whenever *King George* gets notice of this match, he will be so frightened that he will make all imaginable offers to *the King of Sweden* to make up with him, and, without *the King of Sweden's* help, I fear it will not be in *the Czar's* power to serve *the King* effectually. These are only my own thoughts, for, except the notice I had from *Dillon* of *the Czar's* proposal, I have seen nobody since I came here, where I have been bleeding and drugging these five or six days.

I had the enclosed from our friend at Brussels, who gives himself and his correspondents a vast amount of needless trouble by putting almost every word in cipher, though after three hours I could find nothing in it but that his friend *de Wilda* had told him no answer could be expected from *the Emperor*, till he met with *peace* and that he knew whether *King George* would join him against *Italy*. The same friend, whom I shall call Mr. Blake, desires to know if any use is to be made of the papers *Mar* gave me of his. There are several good things in that paper, and some I think unfit to be mentioned, but I see no use at present to be made of them. If anything of that kind were to be published, it were perhaps better to publish in English the manifesto printed in French two or three years ago, which has the genealogy at the end, or to distribute it in French more than it has yet been, but *the King* himself and *Mar* can best judge of that.

Postscript. 24 Nov.—*Queen Mary* sends me word *she* thinks fit to send an express, so this shall go by that. *The Czar's* proposal seems to be of that importance that I do not wonder *Queen Mary* thinks fit to give *the King* notice of it by a courier, that he may be informed of it before he engages anywhere else.

I am just told that *Lord Seaforth* and his aunt, who is here, have sent a justification of all his conduct to *the King* and *Mar* by last post, as *Glenbucket* left in my hands a long

relation of that same affair as it relates to *the Duke of Gordon*, but in a very bad hand. I enclose a fair copy of it that *the King* and *Mar* may see all. But I think it absolutely necessary that *the King* put his positive commands both to *the Duke of Gordon* and *Lord Seaforth* not to make noise or publish anything on that subject, leaving them only at liberty to send to *the King* himself whatever informations they please. *Nearly 3 pages.*

ANNE, LADY CARRINGTON, to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 23. Paris.—I enclose the impartial account of Lord Seaforth's performances in the King's service, which you offered me to present to him, as nobody can be a more unquestionable witness of the truth of it than you, under whose eyes, by whose orders, or with whose knowledge my nephew acted all along. Your kindness for him is a security you would make his Majesty sensible that, as he has been considerable amongst those that took up arms, so he has been inferior to none in exerting his full power with all fidelity and zeal for his service, and has freely lost all in the same except his life. All he asks is that his royal master may not be ignorant of it. I am sorry this account could not be made plain and full without inserting some circumstances not so favourable to my cousin, the Duke of Gordon. Necessity forced me to allow their being set down in it.

FANNY OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 23.—I suppose by this time you are safe at your journey's end. I wrote to you about six weeks ago, thinking you still at Paris; you were gone the day before unluckily. Mr. Gordon sent the letter after you to Turin as you ordered; I should be glad to know if you received it.

We are in the country a month longer, so we know only country news. I have not patience to think a letter is going twenty days that will only tell you "I am well, hope you're well, so all's well," so reckon you shall hear very seldom from me, and that I writ much easier a trifling billet from Paris to St. Mandé. Nothing can now, methinks, be worth charging the post except that the Constitution is generally received without murmuring, the dukes are agreed with the nobility about their privileges, or that the easy gentleman (the Regent) keeps his word and in giving obliges. As it must be some such extraordinary accident that moves my pen, you see you'll not be often troubled. They say the troubles in England are more violent than ever—the Lord increase it! Pentenrieder and L'Abbé du Bois are every day in conferences. I hope our master is well. Would to God we could ask after his Queen's and his son's health!

(Concerning the forwarding of Lady Mar's strong box to London.)

JOHN WALKINGSHAW OF BARROWFIELD to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 23. Paris.—I stayed longer at Urbino than I designed in hopes of seeing you there, and at last was unfortunate to miss seeing you on the road. My design of leaving the King was to endeavour to get home to my numerous family and so free him of a charge I must have been to him, at the same time being confident I could have done him much better service at home than I can abroad, but on application I find it impracticable to get a licence. Whether it be a general measure of the Government that they are resolved to give no more, or a particular one in relation to me, I know not, so I am resolved to push it no further till I see what the Parliament may do in relation to the explanation of the indemnity, which it is generally believed will be favourable to us. I have been little or no charge to the King, but it will be necessary he order me some money here; the place is expensive, and, having a very great family at home, it is impossible, conform to my way of living, that I can be subsisted.

JOHN CAMPBELL OF GLENLYON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 23. Toulouse.—Explaining how he had been seized with a fit of tertian ague after writing, but before he had signed his last letter, which makes him doubtful if his Grace could know the signature.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to JAMES III.

1717, Nov. 24, at night.—I enclose *Ormonde's* last letter with a copy of *Dr. Erskine's* to him. The brief manner that *Ormonde* explains the proposal of marriage makes *Dillon* presume he has given *the King* a more ample account of it. If so, what he says to me is sufficient; if not, *Ormonde* must imagine that *the Princess of Modena's* affair is still on foot. *Dillon* never wrote to him about the latter, neither doth he know if *the King* informed *Ormonde* of its being laid aside. This uncertainty hindered *Dillon* from writing last post. He went to *St. Germain's* to have a further and clearer explication with *Queen Mary* about what was fit to be said to *Ormonde* in answer. After due reflection, *Queen Mary* consented to send an express to *the King* and to write by her own hand to *Ormonde*. *Dillon* insisted on both these points, and indeed thought both very necessary.

*As to *the Czar's* offer about *the marriage*, it's a stedfast proof of his sincere intention and his desire to unite with *the King*. He is able and actually in a situation of being most useful, his espousing *the King's* interest in a certain manner may induce others to do the same, there are many and great advantages to be hoped from such an alliance,* and in cases which merit serious consideration. All these, I am sure, will occur to *the King* much better than I am able to express them;

therefore I will only add,* that if the young *lady* be of a pleasing good figure and of a competent age, in my humble opinion *the King* can find none more suitable to his rank or that can contribute more to make his just pretensions valuable.*

Postscript.—I have unciphered *Ormonde's* letter, not being able to read it otherwise. I don't forget that *the King* desired all letters sent to him should not be unciphered. *Ormonde* suspects that *Dillon's* letters to him are intercepted at the post office here, but I dare answer the contrary, Monsr. Pajot and *commis* being very zealous for what regards *the King*. If the letters be miscarried, it must be at Danzig or some other post office in Germany. (*The passages between asterisks are printed in the Stuart Papers, p. 39, note.*) *Enclosed,*

CONSIDERATIONS ON THE CZAR'S OFFER ABOUT MARRIAGE.

It's not practicable for the King in his present circumstances to make any marriage without some inconveniency, and I think it is easy to demonstrate that he can find none so advantageous as that the Czar proposes. The Czar makes the offer very frankly, without being influenced or solicited by any whosoever, whereas, when the King addresses to any dependant prince, he must not only be the proposer, but also obliged to get the consent of a superior potentate, and after much trouble and labour meet perhaps with an unbecoming denial.

If the subsequent treaty 'twixt the Emperor and King George should endamage the treaty between King George, the Regent and Holland, as many thinking men believe (either late or early) it will, I presume in this case that the Czar's alliance with the King may determine the Regent to espouse the latter's interest, in taking a sudden vigorous resolution, when sure of being seconded by a formidable diversion, such as the Czar would be able to make and the Regent able to support. . . . The Kings of Spain and Sicily in this case would not balance declaring for the King, and for that purpose not delay entering into a strict league with the Regent—their common safety and interest would engage them to it—many others, who sit still at present, may follow so good example. In the supposition already mentioned, this scheme hath several other branches not difficult to be reconciled, nor improbable to happen, all equally concurring to the King's good. So much for the advantage of the marriage in question, which, I think, ought to be kept a most strict secret, in order to prevent the greatest accident I can see it liable to, which is that, if King George were informed of the matter before the Czar and the King of Sweden adjust affairs, or in case they don't come to an accommodation, in either of these cases, he, King George, may find it his interest to make so advantageous offers to the King of Sweden

as the latter could not reasonably refuse, such as giving back Bremen and Verden, a promise of furnishing a fleet, land forces, money, &c., in a word, to enable the King of Sweden to recover Livonia, Finland, and the other provinces taken from him, all this to secure himself at home and to be revenged of the Czar for his offer to the King. If the Czar and the King of Sweden come to an agreement, as I wish they may, there will be no more apprehension of any proposal, however so advantageous, from the Elector of Hanover to the latter. . . .”

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to JAMES III.

1717, Nov. 24, at night.—Having this safe occasion, give me leave to notice an article of your letter of 12 Oct. concerning domestic affairs. I am very sorry for all the trouble you have on that score, but can't imagine who could have forgot himself to that degree of giving you the least uneasiness, neither am I able to guess who near you can be so void of reason and judgement as to commit such a fault. *Queen Mary*, who perused your letter, appeared to me in the same uncertainty.

Queen Mary desired me to send you a copy of *George Kelly's* letter in the manner I do, leaving out what may displease *Mar* to avoid giving any occasion for new broils or dissensions, which have been but too frequent hitherto, and, if fomented, may prove more prejudicial to *the King's* interest than the ancient quarrels 'twixt those different parties.

What *the Bishop of Rochester* says of *Lord Oxford* in relation to *Peterborough* surprises extremely. If *Lord Oxford* came to know it, he would never be reconciled to the other, which would be of ill consequence to *the King*. The latter knows the strict ties of friendship 'twixt *Lord Oxford* and *Mar*, which is saying more than sufficient on this head.

The Bishop of Rochester did not desire *Dillon* to send him any message unknown to *Mar*, but the latter knew, before he parted hence, that *the Bishop of Rochester* and *Lord Arran* desired that all accounts sent them should be addressed directly to themselves, and by no other channel. I was sure *Mar* would inform you of this, which was the reason of my not writing it to you. I see plainly it's morally impossible for me to correspond with *the Bishop of Rochester* without being subject to many reproaches, and therefore beg *the King* will either dispense me from corresponding with him, or, if he orders I should, will send me directions how I shall behave, and in a manner to avoid being taxed with breach of faith. I am very apprehensive of the last, in case anything wrote to me should draw a reproach, or rise in judgement against the author of it. *Dillon* knows nothing of party rage, is not acquainted with any of those gentlemen, has no other views but *the King's* interest, to which, if he can do no good, he would be in the last mortification to be the innocent cause of any strife or falling out 'twixt persons equally necessary for *the King's* service.

Queen Mary informs you of what *she* writes to *Ormonde* and *Dillon* names *Butler* and *D. O'Brien* to *Ormonde* as proper persons to visit the young lady. They will be fully informed of her figure and age, and will endeavour to be so of her constitution and humour. I am told by persons who know the family there are two sisters, both by the present wife, who is one of the most beautiful women in all Germany. The eldest is thirteen and the other past eleven.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 24, at night.—I addressed to you the 16th a copy of my last message to *the Bishop of Rochester*. I write fully to *the King*, which leaves me no room to trouble you with unnecessary repetition. I wish *Mar* may be of my opinion in relation to *the Czar's* offer about *the marriage* and don't question but he'll consider most seriously how advantageous it may prove to *the King's* interest.

Mr. Grame, the Capuchin, wrote to me twice since you parted, and sent me a cipher. Francia complains of his curiosity and of his prying into his affairs, and says he showed him several of *Mar's* letters that he may in his turn have the more confidence in him. Francia wrote here to know if he could trust him. He was sent word there was no need of his communicating any part of his business to him. Francia and Grame, however, are on pretty good terms of late. As to Francia's affair, we expect daily a principal messenger from the Club with a final answer. Till he comes, we cannot well judge how that matter will end. 2½ pages.

FANNY OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 24.—*Projets evanouy aussy tost que formé*. Yesterday I wrote you should hear from me but on some extraordinary occasions, and to-day without any such thing I trouble you. My sister sends the enclosed, it regarding you entirely. I received yours of 30 Oct. to-day, and am glad my letter met you at Turin. I never designed to ask you for those letters, but the fear I have, and that I believe you have, that, in case of any accident happening to you,—but, as I hope there is no likelihood of that, they're in good hands. It is but your being always in movement and perhaps in enemies' countries made me propose it to you, but, as you have more papers of that nature, I suppose you'll take measures in case of danger.

“It's true he's very laconic and I wish he would be a little more detailed. You know what sort of wood he's made of. I believe you have laid the groundwork in making him speak at all, and now the case is to engage him to open himself more as the occasions offer; in the meantime judge of his actions. *M. de Mezières* thinks you ought to reckon now he is not to be feared as an enemy. By all that is past

as well as his last letter, which, though short, is entirely a direct answer, and on which *the King* has reason to expect and to exact from him his service on occasion, which was what the other always dreaded, telling me over and over that, when once he engaged in the least, he must go through, it not being fit to do things of that nature by halves, and that, whilst he kept himself disengaged, he was free to take what party he pleased, that nothing could be expected from him. He would have done better to have wrote directly to *the King*, but he has his own ways, and one must make the best use of him one can: it is impossible to change his character. It is odd *M. de Mezières* thought at first that he does not name 219 (*i.e.* M. de Mezières but probably a mistake for 49 meaning the Duke of Argyle), but he says it is impossible that he has not shown him the papers, and had he not approved it, he would have made another answer. You, that know them so well, can easily perceive that he thinks as we wish, and I dare swear he believes he has made a mighty dangerous step, because of the difficulty of sending letters, but he must be worked up, and I hope he will give you reason to be contented. You are now with our master; therefore see if you have a mind to write to him yourself or to his brother, or if our master thinks fit to write to him. In case you have anything to propose to him, send us the letter as soon as possible, because we will send them by my brother, who need not know that they are of any consequence, for we must not make use any more of the old channel. If you write to his brother, enclose the letter to him and desire him to give it, or all will be lost. Since you give leave to M[ezières] [to] give his opinion he says that, in case you write to the D[octer] (*i.e.* Ilay), you must not seem displeased with his reservedness, but write to him as if you looked on him now entirely in the interest, since he cannot be otherwise, being for his country, and therefore shall reckon on him, and that, since you have done so much to gain him to our master, and that you have compassed at least the difficultest part, he thinks you must go through; that the master must send the papers he spoke of in his last, here; that *the King* and you write to him to tell him you are glad to see your desires accomplished, that you have reason now to believe that he will help in redeeming his country, since he is far from having the personal aversion to *the King* by what has been told you that his enemies would persuade the world he had; that now you intended to tell him all your ideas and designs; that, as you all have the same desire of serving his country, *the King* should be obliged to him to give his advice and opinion of things when the affairs are in a situation to require it; that in the meantime *the King* will require nothing of him that can endanger him or 209 (*i.e.* Mar, probably a mistake 49 meaning the Duke of Argyle); that whatever he writes shall never rise in judgment against him, since nobody shall be trusted but those that are already; that *the King* sends

such and such papers to be left with M[ezières] to show him how he acts with people he believes intend to serve him and his oppressed country.

“*Mezières* says that *the King* writing and you such a letter hazard, in his opinion, very little, for you will find by his answers clearly his thoughts, you will know what to reckon upon if he accepts it, and is touched by so generous a way of acting as it is natural to believe you gain him entirely, which is what you aim at, and then you will not grudge what is done. Suppose the worst, he does not answer our expectations, the papers are of use to him as well as *the pardon* but in case of his acting right; it is true it would be grating that he did not receive it as he ought; but in the way he is in there is reason to believe he will; something must be left to hazard. It is making a great many advances for *the King*; that is his misfortune to be obliged to have occasion for anybody. Since his affairs require it, and that he seems willing to do it to gain them, it is better doing it in a manner to confound them by his goodness and make them feel the different way of his acting and D. (? King George). If they don't receive it as they ought, he may make them one day dearly repent it, as we shall tell him very freely in our letters. This is *Mezières'* idea; he takes the liberty to tell it you because you ask his opinion. You are master to do what you please; he thinks it may be of use and can do no harm; he would fain have these people determined. In case you think it is doing too much till they open themselves more, he hopes you will not take it ill his proposing it to you; you know you always would have him tell you his notions good and bad. He hopes you think still the same. The great desire he saw you had to gain those people to the interest, though you had no reason personally to care for [the] D[octo]r, and that you begun by sacrificing your own resentment, which is very rare, thinking it would be of use to *the King*, makes him think that you will hazard a great deal to fix them, since now is the time they can be of use.

“The reason I desire, in case you have a mind to write anything to him, to do it time enough to send by my brother, is that my mother, who knows nothing of what you wrote last to us, sends us word that Mr. Lacy, a counsellor-at-law, Mc[Ma]h[o]n's cousin, and who does the eldest's (Anne Oglethorpe's) business and Marquis de Trivier's by her recommendation, was in the country about some law business with my mother and told her that the Emb[assado]r of *Sicily* had a packet of letters directed by my hand for the D[octo]r, which he had sent for. As [the ambassador of] *Sicily* is eternally with the eldest, it is without dispute that he showed her the packet; it was directed for my mother, and was the *pardon*; whether she guessed by that and my journey put together I cannot tell, but it is not proper to send him any more. It is certain the eldest knows nothing certainly, but is very angry and, I believe, is in a

furious fury if she know the name [that] has unluckily been given her by the D[octo]r]. I do not repent having sent that packet by [the ambassador of] *Sicily*, because we are certain it was not opened, which it might have been by the post. It was unlucky my m[other] was not at Lon[don] when it arrived, but the mischief is not so bad as I feared, and we can take other measures to send the letters. We shall take the occasion of my brother to send the strong box and any packet, if you send any.

"*Sparre* has wrote several times to M[ezières]; the last was dated from Lübeck, he was to embark in the minute and hoped to be soon with *the King of Sweden*, and assured him he would then give him a full account of all; he received it about three weeks ago, you shall soon know.

"They say that the King of Spain is dangerously ill; I don't aver it for truth; the D[uke] of Berry is ill. I own to you my little vanity is extremely pleased that you seemed contented with Jemmy (i.e. her brother James); it was very lucky for him that he happened to be then at Turin. My sister hopes you don't think like all the world that he has her nose; she will never forgive you if you have observed it. The truth is that he is a very good youth and has a true foundation of honest principles; his business in England is to make up Theo[philus'] affairs in his name, to pay the mortgage in the same manner, the D[octo]r finding too many difficulties to do it for M[ezières]; it is the D[octo]r's advice that makes Jemmy return, because the eldest brother may find his affairs disentangled as well as his own inclinations."

You're very good to remember us about what my sister spoke to you of. That's the centre of all our desires and ambitions, but that's not a reason it will succeed. If it does, it's more than we expect. We shall owe the obligation entirely to you, and I'm sure you can't oblige people more sensible of it than us. It's not unprecedented, since Mr. Dillon has had that honour, and, though my b[rother] can't pretend to have his merit, yet, if my grandfather's and father's loyalty and losses with the late King's promises deserve any distinction, my sister flatters herself our master will hear favourably your request. Suppose such a thing is done as to have my youngest brother looked on as my Theo[philus'] son, it would be very happy, but I'll tell you freely, that, as I believe neither of my brothers thinks of marrying, if, in case of failure of their heirs male, the title fell to one of my sister's sons, who would settle in England as in the case of Lord Feversham (their family name is Bethizy), it would be much more agreeable to us and the desire of the whole family, for none of us daughters have thoughts of marrying, and there is only Molly, who perhaps may play the fool and make an ill match. We should be sorry it should be her heir's, and my sister hopes the master will not be against it. If he does it, we shall be ready, as we always have, to sacrifice

all our happiness and little fortune for him, but I foretell you this will end in air. You must know I've always been a screech owl. You may depend on our being secret. My sister's name is Eleanor.

I must desire you from myself to be persuaded that, though I have very great obligations to the Doctor, yet in our present affair I'm no ways partial to him, looking on that as no private business. It's a thing entirely apart, and therefore I shall tell you always truly my thoughts on his subject. When I spoke to him by your order about his brother, I told him I feared his new wife would ruin us there. He laughed and said the woman was a good plaything, but in affairs of consequence they never did anything but together, and what one thought the other did also. My sister sent them lately two hogsheads of Burgundy. I hope they'll have the wit to drink our master's health.

My brother was very graciously received by him. You know the reason of his voyage. You'll own the O'Briens do not know well how to deliver a message, but that nation is not made to speak English. $5\frac{1}{2}$ pages.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 25, at night.—I received an hour ago the enclosed from O'Brien with *Ormonde*. I am very glad *Ormonde* begins to get my letters where he is, and hope all mine will come safe, they having been addressed in the same manner, except my three last. I unciphered O'Brien's letter, knowing you have not his cipher, and I'll send it you at further leisure. I added several names to the old cipher of Montmelian, which I sent you by Creagh. That of *Sparre* you shall have the first opportunity.

Though my letters were dated last night, I was not able to finish all till now, so the express can't part till daybreak to-morrow.

Harry Luttrell, whom I believe you knew, was shot in his chair in the streets of Dublin and died some hours after. The loss is small; however, the Government of Ireland makes a great noise about him and promises 300*l.* reward to whoever will discover the person that shot him.

THE DUKE OF MAR to CARDINAL GUALTERIO.

1717, Nov. 25.—Informing him of his arrival and regretting that he had not arrived soon enough to express by word of mouth the sentiments of esteem and respect he feels for him, but hoping he shall soon have an opportunity to do so. *Draft. French.*

THE DUKE OF MAR to the RECTOR OF THE JESUITS AT VIENNA.

1717, Nov. 25.—By the King's orders thanking him for his civilities to various of his subjects and recommending

the bearer, Mr. Germain (*i.e.* Wogan), an Irish gentleman, who is going to travel in Germany. *Draft. French.*

THE DUKE OF MAR TO CHARLES WOGAN.

1717, Nov. 25. Urbino.—I had occasion to tell you before of the King's good opinion of you; I now have his orders to write to you of an affair he is to employ you in, and I am persuaded he will have reason to be pleased at your discretion, secrecy and good conduct in going about it with all the zeal and diligence it requires, and saving time is of consequence.

You will be very glad he thinks now very seriously of setting about what all who wish him well so much desire, marriage. There are amongst others two princesses proposed to him, one the Princess of Baden Baden, the late Prince Lewis' daughter, the other a Princess of Saxe, cousin to the King of Poland. It is reasonable he should be well informed of their persons &c. by one he can trust, before he make any advances towards any of them, and you are the person he has pitched upon for going to see them and giving him that information. He has written to the Queen about it, as I have by his command to Mr. Dillon, who will both speak to you of it, and give you what further directions are needful for your journey. The sooner you begin it, the better; Mr. Dillon will inform you what route you had best take. You are to go first to the Court of Baden, which is on your road to Vienna, where you must go before you can see the other princess. At both places you are to pass under the name of Mr. Germain, as one travelling for your diversion or curiosity, and so desirous of seeing all the Courts of Germany as you pass. At the Court of Baden you must make acquaintance for yourself both for getting introduced and informed, for we can as yet give you no recommendations from hence for that end, but perhaps Mr. Dillon may find out some for you, but even without that it is no hard matter for a stranger to get himself introduced to most of the Courts of Germany, especially when seeing is most or principally what he aims at by it. But, though seeing the ladies be your chief business, you are to inform yourself as fully about them as possibly you can, their ages, health, tempers and dispositions as well as of their persons, what brothers and sisters they have and all other circumstances which you think may be of use for the King to know.

From Baden you are to go to Vienna and there inquire for the Rector of the Jesuits, who has formerly shown civilities to some employed by the King, by whose orders I write the enclosed recommending you. but, as he knows nothing of your business, you are not to speak to him of it. He is to have a letter to give you, in which will be enclosed one to Father Salern, whom you must find out, from Card. Albani at Rome, telling him of the business you are employed in as to the Princess of Saxe, who on that will inform you where

and which way to see her. You are to thank the father in the King's name for his concern in him, and assure him of the King's good returns, more particularly if his Majesty thinks fit to proceed in this affair. On the lights Father Salern gives, you will do your best to inform yourself of the particulars concerning this princess as I mentioned concerning the other.

If any other Courts fall in your way through Germany, where there are young princesses, it will not be amiss that you endeavour to see them and inform yourself about them, for there are many in that country, and in some of them there may be princesses as fine women as any of the two we have been informed of.

When you have seen these two princesses and any other who fall in your way and informed yourself as fully and particularly about them as you can, you are to make the best of your way hither to give the King an account of what you have seen, that so he may make the choice he thinks fit and do what he thinks further proper. The more dispatch you make and the sooner you come here, the better, for there is no time to be lost.

Whatever may be suspected to be your business, you are to own nothing of it, but your own good sense and discretion will direct you as to this.

I enclose a cipher and addresses to write to me by.

Postscript.—Prince James Sobieski, son to the late King of Poland, has several daughters, who, I believe, are somewhere in Germany. You may inquire about them and endeavour to see them all, if they fall in your way or be not much out of it. *Draft. 4 pages.*

THE DUKE OF MAR TO MAJOR JOHN COCKBURN.

1717, Nov. 25. Urbino.—I came here last Monday and had yours of the 20th on Tuesday, which I laid before the King. The affair you have been about for some time being now over on the King's part, I need say nothing of it, but he thinks you should continue some time longer at Bologna, till the person you were there about remove from thence, and in the meantime inform us what you hear about him or anything of that affair, and of what else passes there, which you think may be of use for us to know.

What you said to the Cardinal about me was very right. It seems by what you say, he told you that person had said of me that he had taken my writing to him right, and, had we met, I doubt not I would have made him sensible of what he has been deficient in for the civil treatment he has met with. I shall be glad to know what you can learn of his friend who came to see him, some of whose company I know you would at least see. I suppose they will be gone before this reach you, so I need not desire you to make compliments to them.

Since you have so fine an opera at Bologna, I fancy your being to stay some time there will be no punishment to you. We have some pretty good singers and instruments here, which I propose some pleasure in. Pray get the whole music of your opera for me and send it the first conveyance you can. *Copy.*

J. MENZIES to L. INESE.

1717, Thursday, Nov. 14[–25].—Here is another hotch-potch of our current news. Our Court is all now come to town, the old as well as the young. Divisions increase, money diminishes. Our fleet comes all home in effect from the Baltic but five or six of the lesser ships, but we furnish the Dane with money and necessaries for his.

The day for the Parliament being this day sennight, we must soon know if it will sit to business. Bolingbroke, on whom much of our scheme depends, is positively said to be here in private and at Gen. Hill's house, where Arthur More and many others are often in the night. Some think it is only these friends, but not himself. I cannot ascertain whether the one or the other.

When the members come to town we will see how the intrigings will go. The courtiers affect to have it generally believed that the Tories are coming in, all to make fair weather. We had a warm report the other day that the Duke of Shrewsbury had been at Council, and it is spread far and wide, but there is not a word of it true. One thing is certain, that nobody is willing to come in without him.

L. INESE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 26. St. Germain's.—Being just arrived here, and it being late, I have only time to put this cover to the enclosed, and, after what I wrote by the express, have nothing to add, only that a person who has good intelligence from England was this morning very positive that *Bolingbroke* is now in London privately. He gave out about a fortnight ago that he was going to Champagne and went actually from Paris, but they say he went then to England straight.

The Queen has a great cold, but is now much better.

ROGER STRICKLAND to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 26. St. Germain's.—By the last post from England my brother informed me that, since Sir Roger's death, my title to a small estate of about 400*l.* a year called Katterick is unquestionable. It being entailed, the present Government can't dispose of it, without making a particular Act to outlaw me, which they'll scarce think me worthy of. Johnstown lease is out and squinting Cholmondeley in possession of Katterick and Thorton Bridge, but my title to the first is so just that the lawyers in England doubt

whether he will stand a law-suit. However, we prepare for the worst, and Sir C. Phipps is our counsel. The favour I beg of you is that you will write to any of our friends in England to recommend my business to him from you. My mother had an account in a late letter from England that my Lady Duchess is very well and breeding. The moment I get leave to go over you shall be informed of it and any commands you honour me with shall be executed with zeal and punctuality.

The DUKE OF MAR to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1717, Nov. 26. Urbino.—I wrote to you from Venice the 13th and came thence to Bologna, your old quarter, “where I stayed a day till B[ooth] returned from delivering *Queen Mary’s* message to the *Duke of Modena*, who received him, as did all the family with a very cold and dry air, so that there is entirely an end to that project, which I own I am very sorry for. I had the pleasure that day I stayed there of hearing another very fine opera and of seeing several very (*sic*) things. I did not make myself known to anybody in that place more than I had done all the rest of the road, except to Mr. Cockburn and one who lives in that town and does business for us. I found by Cockburn that there was an end put to the affair of P[eterborough] and that he had a letter for him from Mr. Sheldon; this made me alter my mind about seeing of him, and I thought it right to give him an opportunity of doing it, if he had a mind, so that I wrote to him a line, of which I send you the copy enclosed, and also the answer (at least a kind of one) I had to it the next day. I thought it the more necessary to tell you of this, and to send you those copies, that I know, since I came here, from Mr. Cockburn that he told the Cardinal L[ega]t of my having been there, showed him my letter and explained it to him, and perhaps he may also speak of it elsewhere, which, unless he do, we must not. That you may know it fully, I send you also a copy of what Cockburn writes me, by which and his own answer you will see that he has been civil enough to me, so that I for my own particular have no reason to complain of him, and so must not give him any to do so of me. As to all the rest of his affair, I need say nothing, since by the papers sent to *Queen Mary*, you will know it all since you was last informed, if you will give yourself the trouble of reading of them. I confess I am in pain lest he should come to discover any of those from whom the information came about this affair, for he will be very diligent in hunting of it out, and it is likely he may be soon in your parts, where people who know anything of it had need be on their guard. You will easily see it is the M[ar]q[ui]s’ lean wife (as he calls her) I am in most apprehension about upon this account, and I have a good mind to write and caution them about it. Should he discover any of those concerned in giving the informations

against him, it would have terrible effects, and they will, I am sure, be in no little apprehensions on that account. I heartily wish that this *fracas* had not happened, but that is past and so I will say no more of it.

“From Bologna I came to Pesaro in two days and arrived here the next, Monday last, where to my great joy I found our master in better looks than ever I saw him. The next day I had yours of the 6th with *Ormonde's* enclosed, which is not worth sending you after what you tell me he said to you, that being ten days later than mine. I find by one I have from Paris that it is now known where he is, which I am sorry for, but it is a wonder it was not known and spoke of sooner, after some things you and I know of the writing of some of those with him. I do not think it impossible, but we may ere long hear of *King George himself* speaking of it in a very public manner, and it will be nuts to *him* and *his* people, as they used to say. It is needless for me at this time to write to him, and indeed I am afraid our correspondence with him for some time will be very little and very slow. I do not think, after all, that we have reason to repent of his journey, it will put us at a certainty what is to be expected from thence, and I hope it will yet turn to good account.

“It was no small pleasure to me when I found upon my coming here, that our master was as fully set upon marriage as any of us could wish him, and resolved to go about it without loss of time. You may be sure it would not have wanted my helping hand in bringing him to this, had there been occasion for a spur, but there was not, and who so heartily sets about such a thing, seldom fails of succeeding. He had a Princess of Saxe recommended to him, and *Queen Mary* would tell you of the Princess of Baden being named by *the King of Sicily*. He very reasonably thought it was fit to send one to see both, and to bring him all the information about them he could, before he determined himself or took any further steps in it; and the fittest we could think on for this errand, all things being considered, is Mr. Wogan, who is now at St. Germain's as Booth tells us, with whom he came from Italy. He writes to the Queen of this himself, and has ordered me to write the enclosed to Wogan, and to enclose it open to you, which since you will see, I need not give you the trouble of saying much more on it, only for God's sake let no time be lost in dispatching of him so that he may bring us a report soon. I can assure you I will be as impatient as if I were to be the lover myself, and I have reason to think our master will be no less. The Queen and you will think what further directions are fit to be given him, but of all things secrecy is necessary in this, and it were not amiss that you should particularly caution him as to his friend young *Lestie*, with whom I am told he had an intimacy when here. We have reason to think that any of those two young Princesses are to be had, their qualities are pretty equal, so

the person of the woman is what must determine the choice ; but, should the least thing of this come out before it were in a manner concluded, it would infallibly defeat the project, and there have been too many disappointments and delays in this affair already.

" I have a lamentable letter from poor Gordon about money, of which he says he had spoke to you, that there is considerable balance owing to him, and the subsistence not paid, and that Mr. Dicconson can do nothing till money come in. For God's sake get some order put to it. I hope Mr. Dicconson has got money before now, and that all will go on again, else Lord help those miserable people who have no other way to live nor can find none.

" We have no word yet of Creagh, and I have got some letters which I cannot read till he come for want of the ciphers I left with him to copy for you and *Inese*.

" I am sorry our packet for *England* was so long of going as *Capt. Ogilvie* writes you. That conveyance must be put in better order, which I wish you would think of and adjust with Gough.

" I have spoke to *the King* about the two sorts of commodities which we had recommended to *Lord Tullibardine*, &c., to get provided, and he is absolutely of our opinion that it should be set about without loss of time, so I hope you will take care of it.

" We have been so full about the affair of *marriage*, &c., since I came here, that I have not yet found time to speak of several little things of which you and I spoke together, particularly as to young *Leslie's* money and subsistence, but I will not forget it both upon poor Gordon's account and that I think the thing fit for *the King* to do, but I see by the want of money no time is lost by my not speaking.

" This is wrote to-day for prevention, as the way is here, and, if I have anything from you by next post, which is before this is to go, I shall answer it in a postscript if I have time.

" Amongst other things that I am glad to find in our master, he begins to be a convert as to this country music, and I am sure it will grow upon him. I brought some music with me from Venice and Bologna, and there [are] some pretty good voices and instruments here; so I hope we shall make a shift to amuse ourselves with it, till better days come. The house is an excellent one, but for the part of the country it stands in there are few places of the Highlands of Scotland that are not champaign level countries in respect of it. The K[ing] goes a promenading for about half a mile or so, but it is on the tops or ridges of hills from one to another, in which I see very little pleasure, and that walking about the large rooms and galleries of the house to me is a much more agreeable exercise. The air I believe is good, but we shall certainly grow very dull and insipid for want of a little good wine to enliven us, and give a fillip to our spirits now and then,"

5½ pages. Copy.

THE DUKE OF MAR TO L. INESE.

1717, Nov. 26. Urbino.—(About his journey and arrival at Urbino, the projects for the King's marriage and Lord Peterborough as in the last letter.)

I cannot help much doubting whatever *Menzies* now says of that *money the Bishop of Rochester* entrusted him with, after what I have seen in that matter, and I must hear again from them both before I can give any credit to it. *The King* has shown me one from *Dr. Leslie* on the subject you mention, and I have one from him too. I think the hint good and the example he gives of the Scots Acts, for no more it can be called, not amiss. The question is how to get an opportunity for *the King* to show his sentiments in the way *Dr. Leslie* proposes without doing it in too solemn a manner, which if he were to do, behoved first to be consulted with those with *England*, and the nicking time, as *Dr. Leslie* calls it, would be past before that could be done, so the only expedient I can find is for *the King* to write a familiar letter on it to *Dr. Leslie* in answer as it were to one he had wrote to him on the present subject. This we are now about, and I hope to be able to write to *Dr. Leslie* on it and in the meantime you must tell him my notion of it.

The King has given me yours to him of 26 Oct. Concerning what *Gualtier* spoke of to you concerning *Walpole*, and that he had wrote back that, if *Gualtier* could by his friend any way engage *Walpole*, it would be very good service, and he may be sure nothing should be wanting on *the King's* part for encouraging him. The answer *Inese* gave *Gualtier* was very right and all that can now be said, only he may repeat it as approved by *the King* so that *Gualtier* and his friend may set about it with *Walpole* and no time should be lost in doing it. *Walpole* is not generally thought to have more honesty than is necessary, so greater proofs of sincerity ought to be expected from him, than from those who have a fairer character, and, if he has a mind to look *the King's* way, he will now soon have an opportunity of giving convincing proofs of it without exposing himself.

I had it through from a good hand not long ago that he had thoughts of making up with *King George*, so *the King* must see some proofs before he can give credit to his sincerity. It would be a good step if *Walpole* will agree to receive a letter from *the King*, and better still, if he will make the first application to him. By all means let *Gualtier* and his friend be encouraged in this and not without hopes of reward to themselves when the time comes.

I hope to hear from *Lady Mar* under your cover next post. I had one from her just before she went over. I wonder *Menzies* delays sending what he says he had for me from *Scotland*.

Your news of the demolishing of poor Marly without being demanded as that of his cousin or half namesake (*Mardyke*) is

melancholy and a lively image of the vanity of the world, but is it real and can they be so straitened as to do so poor and mean a thing? We gardeners and architects must be forgiven to be scandalized at it, but, which is worse, I am afraid, since they make those retrenchments, it may go further.

I found here this enclosed letter from the gentlemen who were of Capt. George's crew, and gentlemen's sons I am told they all are, so ought to be the more minded. Before answering it, I proposed to the King sending it to you, that you and Mr. Dicconson should look into the affair, and send your report hither that he may order on it what he finds just.

Copy. 4½ pages.

THE DUKE OF MAR TO FANNY OGLETHORPE.

1717, Nov. 26. Urbino.—I wrote to you from Turin, which I hope went safe. I came hither a very few days ago by Venice and Bologna, so I have had a very agreeable journey, heard a great deal of good music, and seen some very fine things. I found abundance of letters here, so you must not expect much from me now. One thing though I could not delay writing of to you, because great care must be taken in it and those who are warned are half armed. *Peterborough* is now as free as ever, and has been as civilly used as the nature of the thing could allow. I believe he is pretty sensible of it, and has no resentment on this account as to *the King*, but very great against those who were the authors and occasion of it, and that he will do all he possibly can to discover who had any the least hand in the information. I know he thinks it was an English plot, and I believe he is not far wrong in his conjecture as to the design of the first informers, but I am persuaded those who sent an account of it had no ill will towards him, and did it purely out of concern for *the King*. I believe he will soon be at Paris, and will certainly see Madame *Mezières* wherever she be, from whom he will do all he can to draw something of it, and he has a great deal of cunning. Pray tell her to be on her guard, as indeed all should, who ever heard of it, for his discovering the least thing would have terrible effects, and prevent *the King* ever being informed of any thing. I design no hurt to him by this, but there are some things which 'tis no wonder people are solicitous for their knowing, and yet better that they never do, both for themselves and others. I hear *Peterborough* has lately spoke very civilly of *Mar*, and I have reason to believe he will desire Madame *Mezières* to say something to him from him. I know *Mar* is very sorry that any thing of all this happened and really *the King* is not to be blamed for it. However, it is over, and *Peterborough* suffers as little by it as could be, and less than could have been well imagined. You'll take care to let him suspect nothing of my writing about him, but I am sure he'll mention *Mar* as soon as he sees you.

I know you will all be glad to hear of *the King* being in perfect good health, which I never saw better. *Copy.*

THE DUKE OF MAR TO WILLIAM DRUMMOND.

1717, Nov. 26. Urbino.—I was unwilling to give you the pain of letting you know what the letter you gave me at Bologna informed me of, till I saw if it could have been remedied, but I find now you have played the fool by meddling in things above you, with which you had nothing to do, so the King thinks it not fit for you to be here. He is so good as not to withdraw your allowance, so you have no reason to complain, and it will be your own fault, if your being sent from this or being under the King's displeasure be known, for I believe none knows it, but the Comte [de Castelblanco] and the Duke of Perth, who, I suppose, writes to you, and will speak nothing of it. Getting into the King's favour depends on your own conduct. If you think of doing well, you must take your mind down a peg or two lower. *Copy.*

POPE CLEMENT XI. to JAMES III.

1717, Nov. 27. Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome.—When we believed the Earl of Peterborough's affair was completely finished by the kindness of your Majesty in deferring to our suggestions, which were prompted solely by the consideration of your good service, news as certain as disagreeable reached us yesterday from Paris, which was communicated this morning by us to Card. Gualterio, who will also inform your Majesty thereof as we have asked him to do. If the disturbance caused by such an accident could have fallen on our person alone, your Majesty may believe that we would have willingly sacrificed all our labour to the pleasure we have in meeting your wishes and in promoting as far as we can, your peace and safety, but as the same might have consequences sufficiently pernicious to our poor and innocent subjects, for whom we know your Majesty also deigns to have a most kindly affection, we cannot be insensible to so great a disaster. Wherefore with all the greater earnestness, we beg you to write to the Queen Mother, that she may be kind enough to employ all her credit with the Court of Paris to dispose them to hinder by their good offices the execution of that most unjust resentment which is threatened. We do not enlarge further on this topic, being certain that the Queen will regard this business as more hers than ours. *Italian. Holograph.*

THE DUKE OF MAR TO W. GORDON.

1717, Nov. 27. Urbino.—I have wrote to Mr. Dillon concerning money, so to him I refer you and I hope that matter is made easy again.

I have a letter from Sir H. Paterson of 25 Oct., in which he says nothing of having heard from you or me concerning his subsistence. The King orders it to be paid as agreed between Mr. Dicconson and me at Paris, which you would let Sir Hugh know. Pray take care to have the enclosed forwarded or delivered. If M. de Mezières' family be still in the country, give the letter for Mistress Fanny to their servants at their house in town to be forwarded.

I have spoke to the King concerning what you write of Lord Dundee's allowance being continued to his lady and children. Money is so scarce now, it is a bad time to continue charges, but his Majesty agrees to this for some time, and also that the 78 odd *livres* advanced by Mark Wood for his interment be allowed. *Copy.*

T. BRUCE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 29. *Brussels*.—To-day *Falconbridge's* friend went home, instructed as by *Falconbridge's* private opinion in the manner I formerly wrote of. He intends to see *the Emperor's uncl[e]*, but believes it will be the beginning of January before he can see him. He is of the same opinion I told you *de Wilda* was of, that *the Emperor* will give no answer, till his *ambassador* in *England* gets *King George's* answer, and he is likewise of *de Wilda's* opinion that *King George* cannot comply, though, if it is as *Inese* writes me of the 25th viz., that *the Emperor* has for some time got money from *King George*, and that he expects the same at present, *King George's* compliance seems not so difficult as it would be, if it were an *army* or *fleet*. He is also of opinion that *the Emperor* will not agree with *the King of Spain* though at the same time he thinks he ought. He will be better able to judge of these matters, when he sees his friends.

Yesterday *Falconbridge* showed me a letter from another friend, *Baron Reinswod*, who is for *life* one of the *States of Holland*. His friend presses him to come and see him, which he is to do in a week or ten days, and I believe a small encouragement may engage him in a month or six weeks to make another visit to his friend, who went from this to-day, so soon as he knows he is to meet with the *uncl[e]*. *Inese* tells me he has no directions about printing or dispersing that paper, as you wrote to me.

One Mr. Wescomb, who, it seems, is a gamester, has won the other day 180 *guineas* in ready money from two young Englishmen, and he told an acquaintance of mine he was going in ten days to Paris, and from that to travel to Italy. I was told by two letters from pretty good hands that the King and his friends are so afraid of the Prince's party in the next parliament, and so provoked against them, that they have under deliberation whether or not to find an errand for sending

the Prince to Hanover, but this wants confirmation. Desire *Mar* to look over his journal of June or July last, which he showed *T. Bruce* at *Liège*.

JAMES III. to DR. LESLIE.

1717, Nov. 29. Urbino.—I thank you for the account in yours of 29 Oct. *of the affair of Dr. Hoadly before the Convocation,* to which there was a stop put by a prorogation. This, with many other proceedings of the Elector's, seem to be designed by Providence to show the Church and people of England how little secure their laws and privileges are under the present government, for by the best information I can have the intrinsic spiritual power of the Church, or power of the Keys as exercised by the Apostles and most pure and primitive Church in the first three centuries has ever been thought an essential right of the Church of England, so that it may inquire into the doctrines of its own members and inflict ecclesiastical censures, not extending to any civil punishment. Now the civil government's putting a stop to such proceedings is in effect taking away that undoubted right of the Church, which, if it please God to restore me to my own just right, I am firmly resolved to maintain to it.

The many and repeated assurances I have given of *maintaining inviolably to the Church of England all her just rights and privileges secured by so many laws, of confirming those rights in our first Parliament, and of giving what further reasonable security on that head shall then seem good to our people,* is, I think, more than enough to quiet and satisfy the most scrupulous and apprehensive as to the security that Church will enjoy under our lawful government, and, if people would but compare what they now feel and see to what they may then expect, the conclusion cannot but be very much for my advantage in the opening the eyes of those now deluded, and convincing them that doing justice to me is the only solid foundation for a lasting peace and happiness to both Church and State. I could not but signify thus much to you, and you may communicate it to whom you think fit.

I doubt not but the Convocation will now soon meet again, for it would be too gross to put it off a second time, and then to be sure it will take this case of Dr. Hoadly's again under its consideration, and I shall be glad to hear from you what is done. (*The parts between asterisks are printed in the Stuart Papers, p. 37, note.*) *Copy.*

J. MENZIES to L. INESE.

1717, Monday, Nov. 18[–29].—By our public prints you will see our predominant humour. To court the Emperor, and yet we know not why, we run down the King of Spain, but with as little judgement, for we have more real business with Spain in one year than with the Emperor in 50. Last

week we killed the King of Spain outright. Now he is a little better but cannot live. We show our inclinations and he is afraid of us and dares not complain, which is mighty civil in him, and more his goodness than anything he can see in us. We have had a mighty clutter about the christening and the names and godfathers of the new born child, which is not yet settled. You'll see in the prints what the butchers of Clare Market say of him.

We talk much of the approaching Parliament, and yet no man can talk or think sense yet about it. Very few Tories are come to town. Their very leaders or who should be so are themselves in the country or just newly come, but the courtiers are not idle. However, every one fancies or pretends to fancy a considerable struggle. If the conduct of the Tories be as weak and shallow this year as it was the last, the Court will carry all they desire as they did then, though divided, and the Tories will have the glory of now and then a hot speech without a majority. *Belle consolation!*

One cannot but say too that the Whigs are almost grown Tories in conduct, divided and indolent and distrustful. Yet still we are all quiet and obedient even in this strange jumble of a troubled sea, for we have a pretty good army still.

Sir George Byng is come home with the greatest part of the ships in very indifferent condition and all the rest are to follow, so it is plain we fear nothing on that side. If we had known so much before, a great expense might have been spared.

We know yet only by conjecture what Monsr. du Bois or Benterrider came for, but we are perpetually guessing.

Lord Carteret, that is just come from Paris, destroys the imagination we had of Bolingbroke's being here *incognito*, so it seems it is only some of his friends that have those nocturnal rendezvouses.

Mrs. *Ogilvie* came to town with her goods late last Thursday night. Please let *Mar* know it, and her other relations that her goods are safe and care a taking of them. I wrote to you lately by a new conveyance for a trial and I long to hear of the fate of it.

It is said many foolish Jacobites are come over here and into Scotland, who talk big of great designs and great haste. It is just what the government would have at the beginning of a parliament, though they laugh in their sleeve at the news.

MR. MINSHULL to JAMES III.

1717, Nov. 18[–29]. London.—If it will be permitted you to receive and detain the two Georges as your prisoners by the government where you reside, nothing but your consent is wanting to put it in effectual practice next summer, in case the Elector does not step home very early in the year, and then, if you will have the other is the query? They

shall be sent safely to Pesaro, touching at no port in their passage. In consequence hereof, be pleased to send D[uke of] O[rmonde], who is so much beloved here, hither, ready fortified with your commission to wait this event, that then he may take on him the administration in all capacities, till you can arrive, that he may improve the consternation on his appearing or allay the same occasionally, for he will be unexceptionable to all parties.

If by this method you should fail, it may be concluded you have but few friends here, and this is a sure way to prove them. I wish we are not too late for the Tories and that they go not first into places, for the late Chief Justice Trevor is so endeavouring having been introduced by Sunderland and kissed the hand, and all will follow as can.

This comes from the self same sincere person, who sent Mrs. P. to you just before you took your journey last January, She is well and can commodiously receive D[uke of] O[rmonde] in Falcon Court, Southwark. She returned safely 4 March.

JAMES MURRAY to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 19[-30]. London.—Though your friends have resolved not to answer yours of 9 Oct. till after *the Parliament's* meeting, when they may be able to make a more perfect judgment of the things you recommend to them, and then to send their opinion by a particular person, yet, having heard of this occasion, I thought it my duty not to neglect any opportunity of mentioning what may contribute to your information and consequently *the King's* service.

I entreat to know if writing to G[eneral] D[illon] be not in every respect the same as writing to you, for on an assurance that you desired things to be communicated this way I undertook a correspondence with a gentleman I do not know, which could not otherwise have been my choice.

If you thought any uneasiness expressed formerly on not hearing was meant by any person whatever as a reflection on you, it consists with my knowledge that no man ever had such a thought, and I don't know a friend *the King* has in this part of the world who has not the utmost confidence in you and a most perfect sense of your great capacity and application. But, if I might pretend to expostulate in my turn, might I not think it a little cruel in you to suspect me of being capable of doing anything with an intention to hurt or reflect on a person for whom I have professed the most particular respect, one whose services to *the King* have tied me in the strictest manner to be his servant, beside many other most natural causes that oblige me to be so. I have often given you these assurances, and you yourself know more of late years than formerly, in which my conduct will appear very different from that of many others with whom you are acquainted. I hope those to whom I am known believe

that sincerity is a part of my character, all which ought to have protected me from the least thought of what is insinuated in yours of 1 August.

The fact was this : people did not hear in a long while. It appeared afterwards there was nothing in all that time to be heard, and, if the reason had been explained, there would have been no occasion for what you call a complaint, which however was meant by no means in the least to touch you.

I am very sensible of your difficulties to please many different people, and I hope you'll consider from what you feel in that respect that we have ours likewise. It is none of my inclination to complain of anybody, but I could not have forgot myself so far as to have complained of you. What was written on that occasion was by command, and, if one does not give way to opinions on some occasions, they will have little credit to conquer them on others. I thought in justice to myself I could say no less, and shall think my time well spent, if I can thereby satisfy one of the men in the world I esteem the most that nobody is more sincerely his servant than I am.

The inconveniencies we lie under by being at so great a distance from our partners are certainly very great, but surely some have been occasioned by other causes. For example mine to you, dated last August, did not leave this in a fortnight after it was delivered, nor did yours of 9 October come from Paris in three weeks after, nor arrive here before last Friday. If one person was appointed at Dunkirk and another at Calais to receive the cargoes, they certainly might be forwarded safely by the common carriers, nor can I find any use in the other persons going along with the goods, but to carry a parcel of women's stories, which I believe you are too wise to take any notice of. In every one of them there is some design, but it will be proper to overlook these things and let them go on in their own way.

I shall do my utmost to encourage the *collection of money*. If the accounts sent over of some particular people prove true, it will not only be so far of consequence, but the example will have a strong effect. Now give me leave to tell you, this seems to me the only thing in which *Lord Oxford* can do *the King* important service. If he has a mind, he can certainly procure him 20,000*l.* at least, and, if he declines this particular, you may judge of his inclinations, which I have long suspected to be no other than to be well with you, and so have an opportunity of assuming to himself the merit of other people's services without running any risk himself. But God forbid my suspicions hurt any man. Put the matter to the trial, and then people will be convinced by the event in what manner to think of him.

Your direction for your friend in Holland came most seasonably, and I shall not fail to make proper use of it.

We are not yet sure whether we are to see *Bolingbroke* or not. He has attempted to do *the King* all the mischief he could by his messenger, but has had so little success that some begin to say he will not come. I did my part towards that disappointment, and from particular reasons was able to contribute more to it than many others. On this occasion I cannot but in justice say that nobody has behaved better than *Wyndham*. He is a man of good understanding and great honour, however unfortunate he may have been in one particular. His situation was a very difficult one, and few are qualified for such undertakings. I was however surprised to hear that his answer to *the King's* letter never was delivered, for to my certain knowledge he wrote it, and with the same honest spirit which has governed his politics since.

I have endeavoured to see the youngest of the two gentlemen mentioned in yours, but have not yet been able to meet with him. I hear both he and the other breathe their discontents in a high strain, but how far their dispositions are mended as to our branch of trade I cannot say.

One of *the King's* letters is delivered, that directed to the person with whom you are but little acquainted. He received it in such a manner as was to be expected from him and will return answer by the next occasion when *the Bishop of Rochester* writes. He is a man of great parts and extraordinary courage. His integrity is such as to have resisted temptations which few are of consequence enough to meet with, and for these reasons he is at present justly the person in *Parliament* who has most power with the *Tories*. The other two gentlemen are not yet arrived, but certainly will be here before you can hear from this again.

I was extremely surprised with what accompanied *the King's* letter, but that being a particular I am out of countenance upon, and having explained myself fully to Johnny (Col. John Hay), I will not add to the trouble I have given by saying any thing further to it.

After *the Parliament's* meeting, when we shall be able to make a more perfect judgement of affairs, I will endeavour to send you a memoir with an account of the state of them, which I have always thought for many reasons a good method in business.

I have sent by this occasion to *Dillon* a short memoir containing a project of my own. If any merit can be made with *the King of Spain* by what will be done as to that particular, it is well, if not there is no harm done. I have desired him to transmit you a copy. (Giving two addresses for writing to him.)

Postscript. Sunday, Nov. 24[–Dec. 5].—The bearer having delayed his journey till to-morrow, I thought myself obliged to give you what further lights I can. The *Parliament* met last Thursday, and was opened with a speech which no doubt

you will have seen, before this can reach you. It contains these four propositions. I will have such an army as I think necessary for your security. A demand of money, on the pretence of arrears, to bribe foreign powers. In order to secure the Church of England, as it is said, in favour of the Dissenters, to repeal the laws which are the chief support of it. A desire to be supported in his measures for restoring the peace of Christendom, which are a squadron to the Mediterranean, &c.

Addresses on speeches being matter of compliment are seldom opposed, nor was it by any means proper, while the Houses were so thin, to push an opposition far. But, that an Address in which they promise to find some method for strengthening the Protestant interest, as they call it, might not pass *nem. con.*, and, that the courtiers might be under a necessity to declare their designs against the Church, an amendment was offered after the words "Protestant interest," "So far as is consistent with the laws made for the security of the Church of England, which your Majesty so justly recommends as the bulwark of the Protestant religion, and for which your Commons must ever have the tenderest regard, as it is the truest support of the throne." The courtiers objected to this amendment, and plainly declared that some of those laws ought to be repealed, and that they hoped they should go about that matter in the first place. The amendment was rejected, which will sufficiently convince the nation what these gentlemen intend, and produce that all the members who have the least regard for the Church will come up to town. This may prove a dangerous undertaking, for you know the Church in this kingdom is a tender point. The danger of it will inflame the people, and, as soon as the motion is made, that may be forwarded by divers measures. I have thought of one, to promote a measure of Addressing from all the corners of the nation, expressing their concern for the welfare of the Church and their zeal to defend it. This will bring the kingdom into such a temper, that, should the Court during the Session be obliged to dissolve the Parliament, it will not be possible for them to get another anyways to their liking. 10 *pages*.

JOHN PATERSON to his FATHER.

1717, November.—Explaining why he had not written for two years, giving an account of his circumstances and begging him to write to him. 4 *pages*. *Copy*.

ANTONIO DAVID to ———.

1717, Dec. 1. Rome.—Explaining that his long illness, by which he has been confined to bed for two months, was the only cause which has prevented him from finishing the portraits, but that he hopes in eight or ten days to take up his pencils again, and begging him to represent all this to his Majesty. *Italian*.

CAPT. SEMPILL to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 2. Paris.—Hoping that his Grace will not be offended at his begging to have some share in his remembrance, and that, when the King has use for his faithful subjects, he will obtain his Majesty's commands for himself and his son.

MRS. OGILVIE to CAPT. JOHN OGILVIE.

1717, Nov. 21[–Dec. 2].—My falling sick where you are was extremely unlucky, for what *Queen Mary* and *Mar* recommended so earnestly to me could come no other way but with myself, at least I was afraid so then, but I am told since I came here that *Queen Mary* wrote about that another way, and has had all the answer that could be given in so ticklish a matter. Mr. *Dillon*, for fear, I suppose, of any accident hindering me, sent off one of his people to his friends here, and I believed till these few days it was only to be better informed concerning that point on which all *the King's* friends had good reason to wish for all the light that could be had, and I thought Mr. *Dillon* absolutely in the right and was glad he sent here considering the hindrances I was trusted with, so that Mr. *Dillon's* friend was here long before me. However, had his business been what I first believed it to be, I am afraid he would not have carried much more back than what Mrs. *Ogilvie* acquainted *the King's* friends on your side of, nor even quite so much, for our merchants here would not readily trust such an affair to any more messengers than needs must, and they all seem surprised that any further light in it should be expected, and think themselves extremely happy to have been able by a timely advertisement to prevent the breaking of our chief merchant and ruin of our trade. However Mrs. *Ogilvie* has let our partners on your side know all she had commission for, which here we think a good deal, for she came the length even of telling names and giving as circumstantial proofs as can be had in anything not effectually finished, but, if anything can be sent more to the satisfaction of *Queen Mary* and others, it's like Mr. *Dillon's* friend may be trusted in it, who, I suppose, will be on your side before Mrs. *Ogilvie*, if she come at all, but, if any intelligence in that affair be trusted to him from hence, it must be from others than those who meddled in it first, but, as he came on less important business, his going soon or late is of no great consequence. As it happens, I know every circumstance of his message from one they little dream of. I wish less were sent over by word of mouth, for I believe all those messengers have exaggerated their commission, and in those cases some are too much exposed, and others very ill represented.

Lord Oxford is not yet come to town, but we expect him every day. He would not suffer Mrs. *Ogilvie* to go to him because of a crowd of company being with him, but I sent down his cargo

with one he left for that purpose, and he sent me up some money. I took it mighty kind, but I would have been very much put to it before I had asked him for any.

You will receive by this post a long letter from Mrs. *Anne Oglethorpe*, with a copy of the part of *Lord Oxford's* letter relating to *Capt. Ogilvie*. I saw the original, wherein he seems extremely concerned that *Capt. Ogilvie* or any of us should think him capable of shaking off so faithful servant to the *King* and friend to *Mar* and *Lord Oxford* as *Capt. Ogilvie* is. However, I am very easy now, since *Lord Oxford* is so good as to make this amends for leaving room to misconstrue his meaning. He declares he will have to do with none that could be put in *Capt. Ogilvie's* place, and likewise orders me to stop his journey by this post, which was very good news to me, for people had need be very strong, that take such journeys at this time of year. Mrs. *Anne Oglethorpe* begs you to continue your former friendship to her and promises you all the good offices in her power. She owns being a little out of humour with you of late, but it's all over. I told her *Queen Mary* was so good as to pay the charges of our journey, so she says that the small bills *Lord Oxford* answered of late she believes will come in good season, notwithstanding *Queen Mary's* compliment.

Mrs. *Anne Oglethorpe* has got *Lord Oxford's* promise to put Jamie to school immediately, in order to which he has caused a house to be taken near Westminster, that the child may not be fatigued with walking, and he actually sent Mr. Thomas to see warning given for the old house, so I hope you'll have no reason to be uneasy about him.

I think it next to a miracle that *Mar* should have so much as one enemy on earth, sure none are so that know him half so well as you and I do. I have not seen *Lady Mar* yet, but, if I have not leave to see her soon, I believe I shall break my promise and go. My dear *Lord Erskine* is not yet come from his uncle's house in Yorkshire.

Let Mr. *Dillon* know that I gave the parcels of goods out of my own hand to the two gentlemen for whom they were directed. The quarrel being entirely made up between Mrs. *Anne Oglethorpe* and Sir R. [Everard], both he and Mr. J. M[urray] chose to see me at her house and no other place. 3 pages.

WILLIAM MURRAY to JOHN PATERSON.

[1717, Dec. 3. Bordeaux.]—Giving an account of his safe arrival there and of his losing by an accident near Florence the letters he had been charged with. (See his letter of 8 Jan., 1718, calendared *post*, p. 376.) *Much damaged*.

WILLIAM DRUMMOND to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 3. Bologna.—In reply to his Grace's letter of 26 Nov. (calendared *ante*, p. 242), declaring that he is entirely

ignorant of what is laid to his charge, desiring to know his crime, and requesting that he may stay at Pesaro, till it be thought proper to recall him to Urbino.

Postscript.—A friend whispered in my ear that David Nairne had certainly rendered me very ill service with the King. 4½ pages.

THE DUKE OF MAR TO DR. CHARLES LESLIE.

1717, Dec. 3. Urbino.—His Majesty has written to you so fully in the enclosed, that it leaves me little to say. I think the hint you gave very right, and hope what the King has written here, with the use you will make of it, may be of very good service at this time, and produce very good effects for his interest. I need not recommend to you the sending copies of the letter to England without loss of time, and I doubt not the friends to whom you send it will take care to make it sufficiently known, and in my opinion too much it cannot be, but it seems prudent for them to take the advice of the principal men of the present clergy, who seem most scandalized at Dr. Hoadly's doctrine.

The King does not take notice of the Explanatory Act by the Council of Scotland, which you mention. He thought the essential words in it marked by you would be the stronger when made his own, and that being a Scots Act, and but of the Council made it not so fit to be made use of in this case, which chiefly regards England.

Two things you are mistaken in concerning that affair in Scotland, the Test was enacted by the Duke of York's Parliament, and not in the Duke of Lauderdale's, and the Scots Privy Council had no power to explain the Acts of its Parliament further than any judicature there, one of which it was, had, when those Acts came before them in a judicial way, but neither of these is material to the point now before us.

The King thought it better to express himself as he did concerning his promises for the security of the Church of England under his government, than to seem to think they have not removed all scruples and apprehensions, and on second thoughts, I believe, you will be also of that opinion. It is indeed odd and scarce to be believed that any reasonable and impartial man of the Church of England can have any apprehensions of danger to that Church from the King's government, after the assurances he has more than once given, and what he has now wrote so plainly to you may show them further how secure that Church should be then, and how little it is so now.

I will be very glad to have a particular account from you of what the Convocation does further in Dr. Hoadly's affair, how the King's letter is received in England, and what effects it has.

If anything else of this kind at any time occur to you which you think may be of use for the King's interest, I hope you will lay it before him. *Copy.*

J. STEWART OF INVERNITY to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 4. Rome.—The honour and pleasure I had by your permission of reading your letter to Lord Southesk makes me assure you that, since I saw you, except seeing the King I have had nothing that has made me so happy as finding your Grace pleased to mind me, and with an appellation I am extremely proud of, and it shall ever be my constant endeavour to show myself such.

MAJOR J. COCKBURNE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 4. Bologna.—As to what you desire in your letter by last post to know from here, all that ever I came to hear about the Duke of Gordon I wrote to Mr. Nairne, for I got no encouragement to wait on him, though I proposed it. Those of his company I conversed with told me they had heard Lord Peterborough frequently speaking on the subject of his own vindication, but always honourably of the King. That peer went off Thursday last for Venice, having dispatched a couple of his servants thither two days before by water. He had three chaises in his retinue, one for his lordship and his mistress and two for their attendants. He has left his coachman here with coach and horses, but those are useless moveables at Venice. I can learn nothing how long he stays there, or what route he takes from thence, and indeed his whole affair, since he came out of prison, has made very little noise here, except what he makes himself, for his particular way of living and the people he had ordinarily about him, who are not proper company for everybody, have been occasion of his making but a very obscure figure, and there is an end of him.

Monsr. Belloni has not been negligent about the music of the opera you recommended to him, but it takes time, and there is even some difficulty to obtain it, if it were not for the interest he has generally here, for this has had the vogue of all the operas acted in Italy this season, which makes them somewhat unwilling to give copies of it, so, when it comes to you, you will be pleased to caution your people not to give copies of the whole music, though they may of some *arietta* or other. Besides I believe it will cost money, but Monsr. Belloni is a generous man and refused to tell me anything of that. You will take your own way as to that. The representations of it ended Tuesday last.

I delivered what you enclosed for Mr. Drummond and gave Monsr. Belloni the private address of your letters. A courier from St. Germain passed here about midday, but I had not wrote my letters and he made haste to be gone.

The DUKE OF MAR to GENERAL HAMILTON.

1717, Dec. 4. Urbino.—On coming here last week I had yours of 13 Oct., and I hear since you are come to Paris,

I am glad Mr. H[oo]ke is cured of the mistakes he was under, and, as his capacity is well known, I doubt not he may be of very good service in our Master's affairs, if he will apply himself that way. The Court you name is where he may be of most use, and at present we have very little business there, so the services he can do must take their rise from himself, and, if he can bring those people to alter their way of thinking and doing in relation to our Master's interest, it would be doing him very good service.

Our Master was very glad of my having seen you well. Since you cannot be publicly in Paris, he believes your stay there will not be long, but that you will be at some convenient place for hearing from that gentleman to whom I told you how to write. I shall be glad to hear sometimes from you.

I never saw my Master look better, nor better in his health, and I wish he may soon have an opportunity of making a more active use of it than he has in this dull place, where I have nothing to entertain you, and, when I tell you we have scarce any wine that can raise mirth, you'll regret the less not being with us.

I shall get your commission exped immediately, and you would let me know whether I should exped it for you, or send it with the first sure hand. *Draft.*

CARDINAL GUALTERIO to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 4. [Received.]—I am inexpressibly confused to see myself anticipated by your letter, which would not have happened, had I been previously informed of your arrival at Urbino. I should have wished to have returned thither after your arrival to have discharged my duty in person, but flatter myself I shall have the pleasure of seeing you here, where I offer you a house to be at your disposal and every thing that can depend on me. I beg you to honour me always with your orders about every thing that may regard the service of his Majesty or yourself. *French.*

COL. J. PARKER to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 5. Montargis.—No one can be more sensible than myself of the extreme disappointments and hard usage our Master and his subjects suffer in this kingdom. In a time we had both interest and freedom to give them such proofs that their undoubted interest was to perform promises made to restore us, and it's visible to all mankind it was never their intention. Our first affair, when we were sent to Ireland without money and a handful of arms good for nothing, yet, when they found a likelihood of our passing with those troops for Scotland to join with Lord Dundee, which at the time had infallibly done our business, the French ambassador opposed it with *chaleur*, reiterating the wonderful assistance we should have the next year, &c. I had several contestations with him on this head and then plainly saw what the several fruits afterwards confirmed.

It's a year since you honoured me with a line, and I am sure if you knew the great hardships I and my family have suffered, no pensions paid and her Majesty not in circumstances to assist us only in 50 *livres* a month. We were obliged to sell our clothes and little necessities for bread and water. It's very impossible for me to obtain leave to return for a month to England to settle some remainder I have left. I see no prospect but to starve or be hanged.

What I have to recommend to you, is, that his Majesty would let my sufferings be represented from him to Card. Gualterio, to whom I am known and have represented my case. His Majesty's recommendation would certainly answer the end, for he knows very well my zeal and sincerity and my hardships. Onslow, who is of the republican stamp yet George's favourite, having married my sister's daughter, was solicited to obtain me a privy seal for two months to return to settle my affairs, but his answer was that, as long as Marlborough has interest, it would be impossible for me to return, and, if I ventured it, sure he was I should find no quarter, but, if I would address the Parliament, as I ought in good form, I might find friends, which he knows I'll never do. I am in the most urgent necessity, and, if I do not soon hear from his Eminence, I must quit France or starve. I cannot resist a month more here, for our credit is so run down and the people so poor, it's impossible.

I hope you will obtain his Majesty's consent to recommend me to the Cardinal immediately, for last year he had recommended me to his Holiness, but the expense of the year was then settled.

JAMES MURRAY to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1717, Nov. 24[–Dec. 5]. London.—I send you the enclosed packet for our friend, which is not meant as an answer to his last, which a friend of yours is to bring, but having this occasion I thought it my duty to give what lights I could. I have enclosed a memoir, of which I desire you may send *Mar* a copy. Its nature will be best known from its contents.

The inconveniencies in the present method of conveying our thoughts are certainly very great. I hope you will comply with a proposition made you for another way. The courtiers last Friday in Parliament plainly declared their intention to repeal some of the laws enacted for the security of the Church, which you may believe will produce a very strong effect in this kingdom. You will know the state of affairs more fully by the next occasion. (Giving addresses by which he may be written to.)

L. INESE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Monday night, Dec. 6.—The enclosed packets from *Menzies* came almost all together, though of very different

dates. The packet from Scotland came under a blank cover addressed in Father Græme's hand from Calais. *Menzies* mentions a letter of the 3rd by another conveyance, but that I have not seen. Most of the prints are not, I think, worth the postage, as *Mar* will see by the enclosed. By what he says in his last of the 18th, it seems *Bolingbroke* was not yet come to London, as had been expected. I wrote to *Menzies* and Ch. K[innaird] to do all they could to hinder all *the King's* friends from seeing him, when he comes, or giving him any countenance. I well remember on his coming to Paris from Lorraine, where for the first time he had seen *the King* and conversed for several days with him, I asked him how he was satisfied with *the King* and what he thought of him. He fell out mightily in his praises, and amongst other things said he had never met with a person of *the King's* age that had more judgement and penetration, or that spoke more reasonably on all kind of affairs and much more to that purpose. Now, as I am satisfied that he then spoke what he himself thought, it was but natural and indeed necessary for him to write his thoughts in the same manner to his friends in England, who had by *James Murray* engaged him to enter into *the King's* service, and I am persuaded he did so, and gave at that time a very true and advantageous character to them of *the King*. If therefore any of his letters writ at that time could be recovered and produced, nothing could more confound him and stop his mouth. *Mar*, who, I suppose, was then at London, may possibly have heard of these letters. However I have now writ to *Menzies* to try whether by means of *James Murray* or Ch. K[innaird] some of these letters may not be yet recovered.

I must refer *Mar* to *Dillon* for all that relates to *Ormonde* and friends on that side, with whom he alone has correspondence. *Queen Mary* expected him here last night, but he is not yet come.

I receive this minute the news of honest Dr. Abercromby's death at Lille after a long expensive sickness. He received in October the 200 *livres* *Mar* directed *Dicconson* to send for him, and his small pension was regularly paid, yet Capt. Wauchop writes that all his wife's clothes were in pawn for the expense of his sickness, and that they could not bury him but on the credit the Captain got, the poor man having spent all he had to get his books printed, which were mainly intended for the support of the monarchy. Can his dying request to have his pension continued to his widow and family be granted? *Mar* can best judge what ought or indeed can be done. I intend to speak to *Queen Mary* that the pension be at least continued to the widow, who is in the last misery, till *Mar* let us know *the King's* resolution. 2 pages.

MAURICE MORAY to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 6. Paris.—Expressing his regret that he had been twice so near his Grace without having the honour to speak with him.

Your last letter had one enclosed to a friend, which I failed not to forward the first post, nor he to profit as much as he could of your advice, though he gave me no particular answer, till last post I had a letter telling me so, and bidding me assure you of his unalterable respect and friendship. This is the second time I have had the good fortune to be partly an instrument with you in helping to save that bacon, for the turning it once from black to white, which you'll remember I happened by your assistance to negotiate, was one of your favours, which I hope none concerned in that family will easily forget, and your seasonable advice has put its representative in a better way, though he says his late indisposition has given him such a backset as he cannot recover, till, as you say, time works a thorough cure.

He seems too to be much in pain about some tolerable settlement to his brothers. The case of the youngest is so well known to you already, I shall only tell you he says the same apothecaries you advised him to deal with, it is expected, will prepare a new medicine which may also be of some use to him. Since you cannot find work for him where you are, it is supposed by some friends he may be more useful there, though that air is at present so infected, that it must needs be disagreeable to his stomach, and the subsistence his old Master and you appointed him here beginning already to come slower, it would require conduct and assistance equal to yours to order its being communicated securely at that distance. Then as to R[obi]n, whom you also mention, you know what a large share he has had of misfortunes. Though he be now at liberty, he has lately lost his wife by a fever, whose jointure had been hitherto some help to him, and she has left him several motherless children.

To ask your assistance and advice in both these cases is a favour I should scarce have ventured to demand from a person of whose wisdom and friendship I had a lower opinion than your Grace's. $2\frac{1}{2}$ pages.

MARGARET ABERCROMBY to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 6. Lille.—Informing him of the death of her husband on the 2nd and begging him to represent her case to the King, as she has nothing else to depend on, for her husband bestowed all his little stock and credit in publishing the works he wrote for the King's service, of which he never reaped the benefit, nor can she expect a sixpence from them, for they had advice from Edinburgh seven months ago that his creditors were going to dispose of them immediately at any rate. Had it not been for the singular goodness and friendship of Capt. Wauchop, Brigadier Wauchop's brother, who left his garrison at Bethune and acted the part of a kind countryman to her husband at his death, she would not have known what to have done. *Prefixed,*

DR. PATRICK ABERCROMBY to the DUKE OF MAR.

Writing for the last time to his Grace to inform him he is seriously apprehensive of approaching death and begging that the King and his Grace will not suffer his poor wife to perish for misery and want when he is gone. It is fit she should go home, and he therefore begs his Grace to obtain from the King the means for her to do so, and an allowance for her when she is there. 15 Nov., 1717. Lille.

J. MENZIES to [L. INESE].

1717, Monday, Nov. 25[–Dec. 6].—Enclosed are the beginnings of this session. The malcontents are highly offended with his Majesty's speech. I give you some hints of their commentaries in the margin.

One thing all the world sees plain, the folly of those Tories that had a mind to come in and in order to that made mighty reports of the party's coming. Now, instead of giving the Church or the Tories more power, they must open their arms and enlarge their barrier to strengthen the Protestant interest, *i.e.* the Dissenters. Now the poor Tories wonder they did not see this before, which every cobbler might have seen, as I plainly told you formerly.

No man of truth and sense can as yet pretend to form a judgement of this session. If any give themselves airs to give you one, it is dream or flattery, to be sure vanity.

Few of the Tories are come, so do they manage their matters. The pretending leaders are but just come themselves. Others, seeing their indolence and omissions and fear, *en fin* the Tory qualities, have exerted themselves at a pinch and taken all imaginable pains to have them come to town and retrieve mistakes. Some, that see a little into the millstone, labour hard to procure a good understanding between them and Walpole. If they unite now as in common sense they ought and might have done last year, this may prove a warm session. If they do not, every thing will be carried that the Court desires, as last year. I tell you always truth without flattery, I am none of the sons of Zebedee.

As to the Addresses of both Houses that goes in course and compliment whilst a Prince is in possession and in the beginning of a session, but you see how they both drop the German Princes in profound silence.

Does the Bishop of Rochester complain any more about the money? 2 pages.

CAPT. H. STRAITON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov. 25[–Dec. 6]. L ——. I had yours of 30 Oct. and am most heartily glad that your good uncle (*i.e.* the King) is in perfect health. Long, very long may he be so. I wrote a very long letter to Mar 28 Sept., and another 3 Oct. and have

accounts that both came safe to *Menzies'* hands, so I hope they may be with *Mar* before this.

(Recapitulation of the part of his letter of 28 Sept. about young *Maclean's* affairs.) On receipt of your last I sent for young *Macleod* and more than once read to him what you last wrote concerning little *Maclean*. What he said for himself was so trivial that it's not worth repeating. However I said very little to him, for I am and always shall be most unwilling to give the least offence to any man that's willing and capable to promote *the King's* interest. After all, though it's full three months since I delivered the money, *Sir H. Maclean* is not yet brought to town. However, as I have already pressed his coming, I will continue to do so, and, when he comes, shall take particular care he wants for nothing necessary. I am sorry you have met with so much trouble about this affair, and give you my most hearty thanks for your charitable opinion after reading *Macleod's* letter to his friend at Paris. When all accounts come to you, you will know if I have been faulty.

I told you in my last I had engaged *Lockhart of Carnwath* to speak to *the Earl of Eglinton* concerning trade, particularly that of money. *Lockhart* has had a full and free conversation with him on that subject, and he assures me that *the Earl of Eglinton* is heartily sincere and frank and positively promises to have 2,000 guineas ready on the first occasion, and, if that were not sufficient, he would do more, and this he desired *Lockhart* to tell me, and that he would have seen me, had *Lockhart* spoke sooner, but *Lockhart* had not a convenient opportunity, till a short time before *the Earl of Eglinton* was going homeward. I should think it not amiss that *Mar* would write to *the Earl of Eglinton* either as from *the King* or himself, for I am persuaded it would make him more forward and likewise oblige him to influence others, and I am sure he can prevail with three or four very substantial merchants, and I know he has many lesser ones in his reverence, and it's reasonable to suppose he may influence such of those as are but tolerably well inclined.

By what I can learn from all hands *the King's* friends are still increasing, and *King George's* declining. The last seem to have little or nothing to depend on but *the army's* favour, and it's thought he is not fully sure of that, and it's hoped *the Parliament* will soon give light to matters, and crave his own and diminish *the army's* stock. It is not yet convenient to trouble you with particulars concerning the collection of money, but I am hopeful it shall go on as well as circumstances will allow.

Macleod and others tell me that many of those merchants in the *Highlands and North of Scotland* company, who did not so well as was expected in the last voyage with you, are longing much for an opportunity to retrieve their mistakes, I'm unwilling to say, misbehaviour.

This place affords little news unless I tell you that numbers of pamphlets and papers are printed and published in England, and many of them reprinted and dispersed in Scotland, yet the most diligent Justice Clerk cannot find out either printers or dispersers. All or most of these scurvy papers reflect much on the judicious and great King George and his family and reason against his and for the Chevalier's right, and that without any sort of disguise, but in plain English call the one usurper and the other lawful king.

C. Kinnaird has desired me to tell you he shall be most careful of everything you recommended to his care, and, as soon as he can, he will give you account. 3 pages,

SIR H. PATERSON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 7. *Leyden*.—I received yours of 12 Nov. from Venice and the enclosed, which I forwarded some days ago and I hope it will go safe. This will, I hope, find you safe at *Urbino*, from whence I long to hear from you and to know that you found *the King* in good health concerning which we have had some bad accounts of late. You would find several letters from *Lady Mar* and *Sir H. Paterson* on your getting to *Urbino*, by which you would know all your letters to them have been received. My last to you was 18 Nov., and you had two others from me since you left *Paris*.

I have wrote frequently of late to *Ormonde* and had last week a letter from him of 10 Nov., saying he believes there is nothing in the bargain you heard of between *the Uzar*, *the Regent* and *the King of Prussia*, and he has reason still to believe that the first continues in the same sentiments he was formerly. He had not then heard from *Jerningham*. I hope *Sir H. Stirling* is with him before this.

I have heard frequently of late from *Menzies*, the contents of one of which he desires may be communicated to *Mar* and I have likewise wrote it to *Ormonde*. He says that the divisions between *the Elector* and his son and their partners daily increase, which very much embarrasses *the Ministry*, who have yet nothing prepared for *the Parliament* and are in terror of them and not yet sure on what foot they are to stand with them. *The Ministry* have on this account actually retrenched part of *the army*, thinking by that to prevent *the Parliament's* request. There have been some differences too betwixt *Cadogan* and *Stanhope*, who are rivals in trade at bottom, and it's thought the first will have enough to do to stand it.

The King's friends in England have rejected *the Elector's* offers and are not prevailed on to have any dealing with him. *The King* gets daily new partners and those not inconsiderable ones, and many of *the King's enemies in England* offer to enter in partnership with him, so that, had *the King* only a small cargo of men and arms to import, he could not fail of making a good market, for he never had so good an opportunity for

disposing these goods, and a very small quantity would make him rich. *Menzies* desires *Mar* may be assured of this. I had another from him this morning much to the same purpose with one enclosed to be sent to *Sweden* from which, he says, they have had some agreeable accounts lately. I hope to find a way to send his letter soon, by means of *the King of Sweden's* factor, whom I am to be with to-morrow. I got from him last week some memoranda relating to the affair I mentioned in my last, which I am preparing with the help of *H. Maule* to be sent to *England*, where it is much desired. That factor seems very willing to give all the light in these matters he can. I am to endeavour to get *H. Maule* and him acquainted who, I am sure, will be able to convince him of the mistaken notions *the King of Sweden's* factors formerly had of ever thinking they could make up with *England* while *the Elector* has any footing there, who must always be the other's rival in trade, and that *the King of Sweden* cannot pretend to have any interest there inseparable from that of *the King*. He gave me a paper on that subject which I have put into *H. Maule's* hands to revise. I think I told you that *Cadogan*, before he left *Holland*, had pressed *the States General* very much to go to war with *the King of Sweden*, and for that end to send ships to the *Baltic* which *the States General* having told him they were not in a condition to do, *Sir H. Paterson* is now informed from a good hand that *Cadogan*, before he left *Holland*, had consigned a good deal of money effects to *Amsterdam* to enable *the States General* to perform it, and this, with some effects of that kind they have lately sent to *the King of Denmark* to enable him to exert himself, they think will make all secure on that side.

There is very little news here at present. We are in expectations of a great deal on the sitting of the Parliament towards which everything is preparing, though some letters seem still to doubt of its meeting to do business on the day appointed. The Government has actually disbanded part of the army to take away any pretence for heats and grievances on that score. It is said this reduction will amount to 5,000 common soldiers, for none of the regiments are broke, and it is computed about 16,000 may be still on foot in Britain and the garrisons abroad; whereof 10,000 in the first, which, considering how they are dispersed, are little enough to keep the discontented in order, who still make complaints and allege that this reduction is not sufficient, since none of the regiments are broke, and that the Government can recruit them again when they have a mind. It's said the Imperial Minister lately arrived in England has made a demand on that Court of 900,000*l.* due to his Master since the last war, of which he is satisfied to take 500,000*l.* in specie and the rest in men and ships to be employed against Spain, but, considering the present difficulties of the Government to raise money and the other occasions they have for it, it is not to be expected

they will be able to comply with this demand, and it's said the Treasury is so drained already by remittances abroad and elsewhere that Mr. Stanhope has been lately endeavouring to transact a considerable sum on the credit of the funds the Parliament is to give, for which he has offered a greater interest than what they now give to others. The last English newspapers give an account of some mobs lately in Exeter and other parts of Devonshire, where great numbers of clothiers had got together in a very audacious manner and refused to pay any more taxes, unless there were a new Parliament, and the prohibition taken off as to the commerce with Sweden, by which they say all their manufactories are ruined. Some troops were sent by the Government against them and it was thought they would be dispersed.

A great noise is likewise made about the late prorogation of the Convocation, which has much alarmed the clergy, but it's hoped the wise and prudent conduct of the Government will rectify all these grievances. I hear *James Hamilton* has been obliged to keep *incog.* for fear of his creditors, who have been looking after him, and he knows not yet what measures to take with them. *Menzies* in his last acknowledges one from *Mar.* I wrote lately to *Dillon* as I did formerly, but have never heard from him, if any of my letters come to him. 5 pages.

MAJOR J. COCKBURN to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 8. Bologna.—Apologizing for having neglected to advise him of Lord Peterborough's departure by the courier that passed there last Saturday.—I am likewise a post behind in giving you an account of the departure of his travelling coach and horses by his order towards Placentia that same afternoon, but this was none of my fault, for Mr. Belloni, from whom I have had all my intelligence about him, omitted to tell me that, and did not know it himself till pretty late that evening. All that I can hear remains of him here is his finest coach. I cannot inform you how long he is to stay at Venice, or if he makes any stay at Placentia. Belloni has written to Venice to see what can be learnt of his motions but can have no answer yet. The music of your opera cannot be got till towards Christmas, he who copies it being necessarily employed otherwise.

The MARQUESS OF TULLIBARDINE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 8.—*Glendarule* having writ to you once or twice I had nothing particular to say since my last of 8 Nov. The enclosed letters came to me two days ago. What they mention was perfectly new to me, and not knowing what to say about so strange an accident makes me send them you directly that you may see how the whole matter stands. The D[uke] of B[erwick] has certainly heard of this unhappy

affair. However it does not seem necessary he should have the least information of it from me. It's not very probable he will do the poor man any considerable service, and I would not be the means by which he may come to know what the other was so lately to have been concerned in, though probably that will break out, if things be brought to a trial or the like extremity with him. Could any method be found to get him off, all might be kept quiet, and is what suggests itself to me. From what I have heard, he seems a notable fellow in his way and fit for carrying on things of more than ordinary concern. *Endorsed* by W. Dicconson "Received 30 March, being a letter that was in the packet that came from Bordeaux 18 Dec. that was robbed." *Enclosed*,

LORD TULLIBARDINE to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

In case you should not otherwise hear of the strange accident to Mr. Barry, I cannot forbear letting you know it, that inconveniences may be avoided on account of business with him, and likewise, if possible, anything can be done towards relieving him. He had a project to set up a new sort of mint, if he could get encouragement from some of the neighbouring Courts. For this end copper is consigned to him from Holland, and in a ship of his were workmen and tools. A broker at St. Sebastian got about 40 Spanish pistoles from him, for one who wanted gold for silver. They were found insufficient by a goldsmith, which occasioned their being returned. Some days after a bag of tools was found near his ship. On that he was suspected of coining and an order was given to seize him. Hearing of it and knowing the rigour used in such cases even on suspicion, he retired to the Franciscan Convent, where he is strictly guarded, not being allowed the use of paper nor any body to see him. The workmen threw away the tools and ran for it, which makes it thought they might have coined without his knowledge. Some days after his correspondent, who lives in the same town, was seized and strictly examined, thrown into the common gaol and loaded with irons. Mr. Barry's creditors have seized his house and effects at Bayonne. It's said his sons are gone to Madrid, so how this will end is uncertain. 1717, Dec. 8. Copy.

[BRIGADIER CAMPBELL] to MR. BRAYAN (? LORD TULLIBARDINE).

Let none see the enclosed but the D[uke of] B[erwic]k or Glendarule. You should give Dillon and Mar notice of it. If you sent the last a copy, he would get Castelblanco or some other to write to Madrid. If they ruin Barry for those tools and copper, he suffers for indiscreet zeal and for overdoing. Tell Mar, if Barry be guilty, we have reason to thank God the discovery has been made before

we entered effectually into business. The embarrass is great enough already, but it had been another matter, had goods been bought and paid for. Some indeed are, but not worth speaking of. Here are factors of different nations, who would do anything to oblige Mar, if the necessary advances be made.

I give Nagle a bill on Mr. Gordon and when he answers it. I am paid till Jan. next. Augustin Barry restored me this morning the one I thought had been paid. It must be answered to Mr. Nagle's order and then I am paid for the last two months, for which he has discharge and for this. As he is in advance, I cannot trouble him, but pray write to W. Gordon something of this and, if possible, let me have a credit for 150 livres, for without some hopes of that I cannot subsist eight days. God knows how I have been paid those 300 livres for this month and the two last, sometimes 5 livres, sometimes 15, never 30 together but once.

I know you have heard of this several days ago, but the thing I would have concealed from everybody but his Grace of B[erwick] and Glendarule, and which must be a secret, if it be not to save that unlucky man's life, is his discourse to me of a mint. You may remember it was in the end of his letter. Mind to tell Mr. Gordon that, if he get a billet from me by a carpenter and another young man, let them not stay in Bordeaux, let them go to Ireland or where they will out of this country, for they are not safe.

You'll have difficulty to get this paper understood, for I am very much afflicted and hurried.

If Barry be a knave, he is a damned artificial one, to let me live miserable here, when he could easily have supplied me, but, as I am persuaded he is not, and that none of his family have any concern in the matter, I cannot enough pity them. It's but a jest to be guilty of overt acts of high treason in England, even in this reign, in respect of being suspected of coining in this country. 1 Dec., 1717. Bayonne. Enclosed,

[BRIGADIER CAMPBELL] to MR. BRAYAN (? LORD TULLIBARDINE).

You'll no doubt be surprised at Mr. Barry's being accused of coining Spanish pistoles, and that he is now blocked up in the Franciscan Convent of St. Sebastian. None being allowed to see him, or he to write, it is impossible to know what he advances in his own justification. His creditors fall on his house here and all is sealed. He has some lands, which by the same justice will be sequestered. His correspondent, Mr. Meagher of St. Sebastian, after several examinations, four days after his retiring to the convent, was seized and sent to the common gaol, where he now lies in irons, for nothing that I can learn but his having

been a friend of Mr. Barry's. Everybody of worth regrets both of them and their families. That odious crime is very frequent on these frontiers, and hence the laws against it are extreme rigorous. The occasion of it by the best informations I can get is this. An inhabitant of St. Jean de Luz, wanting gold for silver, employed a broker, who brought him 30 or 40 pistoles. He goes with his pistoles to a goldsmith and they were found not current, whereon he restored them to the broker and he to Mr. Barry. This affair made no noise for some days, till on the strand not far from Barry's ship a bag of coining tools was found. Then Mr Barry fell under suspicion and orders were given to seize him, who, knowing the severity of the procedure, retired to the convent. Some copper is also consigned to him here from Rotterdam. His poor sons have taken the alarm at this, it being their lawyer's opinion that this is an evident proof of a bad design.

If Barry is really guilty of coining (for as to Meagher I see nothing can be said to him, though he suffers much), I wish him hanged, were it but for the disgrace he has brought on his family, but, from what I see, it's but supposing the traveller or the broker a rogue or the seamen, any of which is as likely, and then I cannot condemn him, except of an indiscreet anticipation in the case of the copper and tools, supposing they had been his, which yet I know not if he will own. I remember among other projects, whereof he talked to me for King James' advantage, he said a mint for the lesser species would be useful to him, if ever he should return to Scotland, and the want of them in that country had done considerable damage to his affairs in his last expedition, that he, Barry, was then of the same opinion and had communicated so much to his Grace of B[erwick], and had proposed to set up such a thing in France or Spain, provided his Grace could obtain patents for that end from the Courts of St. Germain's, Madrid and France. This he reiterated twice or thrice, and never spoke but of the smaller species and talked of getting copper from Rotterdam, Hamburg or Sweden. This is my reason to believe he might have both tools and copper without any bad design. His Grace will no doubt protect him as to these two articles, for as to the gold, if true, there is nothing to be said but that there is not one false piece pretended to be either in St. Sebastian or here, and, if he be innocent of that part of his crime, I must declare what he talked to me as above. Pray put it into some order and get it privately conveyed to his Grace. On such an urgent occasion you may privately wait on him and the sooner, the better. He knows Barry well enough, and, if he wrote to Madrid, it may prevent two or three presumptions being a proof. It may be Barry knew nothing of the tools, for one of the fellows of his ship

understood such matters, and perhaps debauched the others ; which I believe will be his first plea, but, if he own them his, I am obliged to vindicate him from any design in keeping them, if no effects appear and hope his Grace will do the same. I understand Barry entertained a goldsmith in his ship, this dog has debauched the seamen, and, if they did work, it's likely it was without Barry's knowledge ; and the goldsmith has escaped with the whole crew after throwing their tools away, so the tools have been the goldsmith's, but I believe the entertaining that fellow was the prospect of making the smaller species when needful, as well as the copper from Rotterdam. 4 pages.

[BRIGADIER CAMPBELL.] to Mr. BRAYAN (? LORD TULLIBARDINE).

I cannot write with any certainty as to Barry's being guilty or innocent, or of having escaped out of the convent or not, or of a hundred stories about him, but this I can with too good ground, that I took the alarm too hot in his favours. Therefore, if you have not yet communicated this affair to the Governor General, delay doing it, and, if you have, pray advertise him that it appears to be more dubious than it did. Be so good as to write the same per next to Mar. We have no more use for Barry, whatever the event of his accusation prove, nor for any Teague here. Louis du Livier and others of the richest merchants here, who are known to be the King's friends but know nothing of me, will be glad to trade with Mar. I am glad I came here, though it has and will cost me pinching and Mar at least 200 livres for his address. God be thanked it's no worse, for, had we entered but a little into affairs, such dismal consequences had inevitably followed, that not only I but Mar and others had been spoke of. It makes my hair stand. I'll write more plainly to you and Mar when I see clearly into the matter.

I thank Mr. Gordon for his recommendation to Louis du Livier, though it will be of no great effect, if not well backed. I found it necessary to wait on M. d'Hureaux, the judge criminal and civil. He is most civil. If the Intendant had been here, when this affair fell out, I had been sent for at least, because I was then at a country house of Barry's. Several wrote to me to retire, that is to own myself his complice. Glendarule knows I was once taken for a dancing-master and was well pleased, but the devil had been in them who had taken me for a false coiner, who never too much loved even true coin. The worst of it is I have no protection here on any incident. Marlborough's nephew is a sad fellow, but I wish he were spoke to. See if Mr. Gordon can get from him a recommendation to his namesake here, a gentleman who had an affair &c. to Le Gendre, the intendant. 4 Dec., 1717. Bayonne.

LOUIS DU LIVIER to ROBERT GORDON.

1717, Dec. 8. Bayonne.—The gentleman you recommended appears of the character you give him, but his long staying here, with the knowledge every one has that he has been lodged at Mr. Barry's country house, and that he has been with him at St. Sebastian makes people curious to know who and what he is. I have given him notice of these rumours. Our Intendant will be here to-morrow and doubtless, if he hears of him, will question him and will acquaint the Duke of Berwick. He tells me, if things come to that, he will give him full satisfaction.

T. OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 9. Rome.—Condoling with him on his arrival at Urbino, but congratulating him and the King on their mutual meeting, and requesting him to procure the bearer, Mr. Cagnoni, who was at Urbino with the writer, the honour of kissing his Majesty's hands.

The DUKE OF MAR to the EARL MARISCHAL.

1717, Dec. 9. Urbino.—I have spoke to his Majesty as you desired of your continuing somewhere in France for some months, if the Duke of Ormonde do not write for you. I wrote to the King of this, when you spoke to me, but he, expecting me soon here, delayed giving an answer, and I have now his orders to let you know he agrees to it, and thinks you are in the right in it for making yourself master of the French.

I hear you have been at Paris and have gone back to Reims, so I hope you have found it better than you expected. I wish we had some of your wine here. The Burgundy you put me in hopes of finding here in plenty was all spoiled, and we have nothing but country wine till more come from France. I never saw our Master look better nor in so good health.
Copy.

The DUKE OF MAR to CAVALIERE NICOLINI.

1717, Dec. 9. Urbino.—I hope you'll forgive my not making myself known to you at Venice and cannot but thank you for your civilities there, and no less for your saying nothing since of what you suspected of me. You do not forget old acquaintance and I hope yet to renew it where I knew you first, and receive as much pleasure by it as ever. As you pass to Naples, where you told me you intended to go after the Carnival, if you will call here, it will not be much out of your way, you will be very welcome, and it will be doing a great deal of pleasure to an old friend as well as those I am with, nor will it be any treason, though you were to return to our country to-morrow, and it will be making useful new acquaintance for your going thither some time hence, with those who perhaps may be there before you. The Duke of

Ormonde will regret not seeing you. He and I have often wished for you since we have been on this side of the sea.

You promised me the music of the opera I heard you perform so finely in Venice. If you will give it to Mr. West, who lives with Mr. Smith, an English merchant there, he will find a way of sending it me. I was so pleased with it, that I long for it. I have got a little concert made up here of such voices and instruments as the place affords, some of which are not bad, and they perform in my room thrice a week. When I get your music, I propose a great deal of pleasure by their giving me some idea, though a faint one, of what I thought of it when I heard it last.

I hope you will pardon what may be amiss in the translation. I wish I were master of so much of your language as to converse with you in it. *Draft. Noted as sent in Italian.*

LORD PITSLIGO to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 10. Leyden.—Concerning the two letters he had formerly written him after his return there, and the death of Dr. Abercromby, and his widow's very bad circumstances.

Poor Mrs. Newport, her sister, died lately at Ypres. After Newport's death she married a Capt. Oliphant, Dr. Oliphant's brother, and, being brought to bed of a daughter in the seventh month, both mother and child died immediately after.

I have lingered longer here than I intended. I had no great humour to apply for a privy seal, which possibly would not have been obtained. I heard some persons conjecture that the Parliament would allow everybody to go home, except a few of the attainted, since several of the attainders themselves were to be reversed. If this conjecture hold, the ancient kingdom will be a little better peopled, but as yet 'tis not known what they will do. We have seen nothing but the Speech. Some went home awhile ago at a venture, and the Advocate has received orders to prosecute them and take them up. I hope the gentlemen shall be safe, and am not much alarmed at such news. If I slip over, which I very much incline to do, I'll take as good care of a faithful subject as I can.

The last time I wrote, I mentioned Lord Dundee's widow, and Provost Hay's brother, whose money is unluckily in such hands that he cannot touch it. *2½ pages.*

T. BRUCE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 10. Brussels.—Mr. Wescomb has still some thoughts of coming your way to crave your friend. I have used means to dissuade him by letting him know your friend's straits, and had prevailed with him, but he has a strange forward wife. He will probably come some part of the way, and I wish, when your friends meet him, they may second what

I have said. By letters from Holland we are told orders are sent to Scotland to seize all that have gone home without privy seals and particularly one Henry Crawford, but I can scarce credit these reports.

Count Volkra has been here a few days in his way to Vienna. He gives out that matters in England are very well disposed for his master's interest, and that he doubts not an English squadron will be sent to the Mediterranean. I cannot tell how far he believes this, but I know he has said so to several and most people here go into the belief of it though much contrary to the opinion they had of it a few days ago, and very much different from the accounts come lately from England.

Private letters by the last post from Vienna notice that the King of Prussia has given in a memorial or rather a manifesto to the Diet of the Empire, in which, amongst other things, he represents that the Protestant interest in the Empire is very much weakened and endangered by the King of Poland and his sons turning Roman Catholics, that this interest cannot any longer be safe under them as chief directors of it, and therefore that the Diet would think of means for its further security. He remonstrates likewise against the Emperor for having put the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne in the ban of the Empire, without consent of the States, and for having restored them in the same manner. There was a warm debate whether this memorial should be received and recorded, and it is sent to the Emperor for his answer. Some people think there is no great matter in this; that it proceeds only from a proper caution in the King of Prussia, arising naturally from the present circumstances of the King of Poland and his son, and that perhaps the King of Prussia has a view to place himself in their stead as chief director of the Protestant interest in Germany, but others pretend to carry this a great way further, that it looks like a challenge to the Emperor, and a concert with England. The reason for the first is, that he insists on that affair of the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, which being almost forgot, the reviving of it looks like picking a quarrel with the Emperor. Their reason for the other point is, they remark a paragraph in King George's speech to the Parliament, of which as yet we have only the heads, recommending that they would think of means for securing the Protestant religion *abroad*. This, they say, is a concert betwixt the speech and the memorial. The Jacobites and other enemies of our Government pretend that this will very much alarm and animate the Catholic potentates against King George, as endeavouring to commence a war of religion. for, say they, whatever reason or justice the King of Prussia might have to take care of the Protestant interest in Germany, of which he is a prince, yet the King of England's recommending means with respect to that interest *abroad* can bear no other construction, with a pretence

thereby to keep up an army at home and to form new alliances abroad, and in this they conclude the King of Prussia is entered into a concert with our King. I understand that within these few days the King of Prussia has made some new movements in Holland in his lawsuit against the Prince of Friesland, for three days ago Mr. *de Wilda*, an eminent lawyer here, who is advocate for the Prince, was suddenly called away to Holland on that account, and, if the conjectures I mentioned stood good, it is probable the Dutch will not be the more unfavourable judges for the King of Prussia's purpose. How far these conjectures are true, and, if they are, what impressions they may make on the Emperor's measures, I shall not judge, but, by what I understand by people come hither three days ago lately from Vienna, the Emperor seems very little inclined to recognize King Philip, though many of his best friends are of opinion he should do it.

For three weeks past all the public papers from all hands seem to agree that there is a peace concluded betwixt the Czar and the King of Sweden, but as yet I see no absolute certainty for it. We are also uncertain as to the peace with the Turks, and within these few days they begin to think here that Prince Eugene comes by way of Prussia and Holland for England. From this people observe that the Emperor is resolved to put himself in a condition to act offensively in Italy, though he should be obliged to leave himself on the defensive in Hungary. $2\frac{1}{2}$ pages.

RECEIPT.

1717, Dec. 10.—By Francis Maizey for 3 old *louis d'ors* and one new one, received from Joshua Virgin.

THE DUKE OF MAR TO LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1717, Dec. 11.—Acknowledging various letters from him and Inese, which he delays answering till Bask returns.

The reason of detaining Bask so long is *the King's* expecting an answer to a letter of his, which it is necessary for him to have, before he can answer fully those which occasioned Bask's journey. He expects it in a few days, and, as soon as the necessary dispatches can be wrote after his receiving it, Bask shall be dispatched. *The King* desires me to tell you, in case this should be with you before Bask, that he hopes that Wogan's journey was not stopped on what you sent by the express, and, if it was, that he should be detained no longer, but dispatched forthwith according to his first orders. It will take a considerable time before there can be a report from those whom *Ormonde* sends to see *the Czar's* friend (*i.e.* daughter), and, in case that report should not be satisfactory, it is good to be informed of the others, that no time may be lost, in case one of them be chosen. I cannot though but say even now that *the Czar's* friend is much preferable to them,

if the report answer what we wish. *The Czar's* offer seems mighty kind, but I wish it may be without regard to the other part of the proposal in relation to *D'Uxelles*, which seems a little odd from those who had been so lately in that country.

Creagh and Sir Peter Redmond came last night, but brought nothing to occasion my saying anything more now. I had the Montmelian cipher and Mr. Kinnaird's two from the first, and I'll long for that of *Sparre* which you promise me. *Copy.*

FRANCIS FRANCIA to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1717, Dec. 11.—I had yours of the 6th. My last letter from a friend was from Ostend of 24 November telling me he there found orders to go to *the King* and make all the haste imaginable back to *Paris*. I wrote immediately to the friend, complaining that the proposal was neither followed, nor the objection arising thereon endeavoured to be reconciled, to which answer has been made me last post but one, desiring me to be easy, for that both *Queen Mary* and *Dillon* would shortly not only commend, but they humbly conceived and hoped they would deserve their thanks of this management. I shall on my side exert myself to the utmost of my slender power, and let you know by a next, which will soon follow, how things now stand, and the issue of the late insurrection, which, it is thought, is only a State's policy, *King George* being entirely distrustful of *the Parliament*. *Copy.*

JAMES III to CARDINAL ORIGO.

1717, Dec. 11. Urbino.—I cannot recall Mr. Cockburne from Bologna without charging him to give you this letter of thanks for all your civilities towards him during his stay in your Legation. I repeat my thanks for all the zeal you have shown in the business of Lord Peterborough, regretting greatly that it has caused you so much trouble. But I hope you are now rid of it and that there is no ground for alarm at the threats spoken of on the side of England. I am mortified that you have suffered the least unpleasantness on my account, and, in case you have any apprehension, I am ready to employ all the best offices I can with his Holiness in your favour. *French. Entry Book 1, p. 214.*

L. INESE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Monday, Dec. 13.—This packet has all I have received from England since my last. I have seen other letters that are very positive that the two main points of the Speech, relating to the Army and the Dissenters, will yet meet with great opposition. Meantime the two Addresses are very complying, and seem only to say Amen to every article except the arrears of subsidy to foreign princes, of which they take

no notice. When the Tories are all there, they will be out-voted by a great majority as to the Dissenters, for in that all the Whigs, both of court and country, will be sure to join, but, as to the other point of the Army, 'tis hoped Walpole's party may join with the Tories, and then they will be sure to carry it.

The Queen has kept her bed these four days of a great cold. She is better to-day, but not yet well.

J. MENZIES to L. INESE.

1717, Monday, Dec. 2[-13]. London.—On Thursday I gave you a plain though hasty account of our Parliament matters then. By the order observed in the estimates the Navy was the first, which nobody thought would create any struggle, because some fleet and a competent one we must still have. The next is the Army. You have seen the King's speech and how he lays it down as indisputable that the present force, 16,000 men, is the least, consistent with the people's safety. Many malcontents, Whig and Tory, grumbled extremely at this eternal army. If the Parliament give a supply suitable to this number this year, then they cannot move to have it diminished. It was expected this question would be in on Friday. But, when the time was coming, the seemingly greatest number of the House seemed to be for gaining time and to go on in a slow method. Several members, one after another, proposed some more papers and accounts to be laid before the House, without which they could not well go on the matter of the Supply at all. The courtiers were a little surprised at this, and seemed in disorder, for they did not expect any opposition, so they dropped their design and said nothing. But they had at bottom another reason of their disorder, which was not then known in the House, which proves to be such as now astonishes everybody. In short that day about noon the Prince of Wales was taken into custody, that is, committed prisoner to his own apartment and to see nobody but his own servants.

(Account of the quarrel between the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Newcastle narrated more fully in the next letter.)

It was expected the Prince's arrest would have been laid before Parliament to-day by one side or other. But neither did, and the House of Lords are adjourned till Wednesday. The moment I write, about 11 at night, it is said he is removed out of St. James' and gone in a hackney chair to Berkeley House, which is Devonshire House, others say, to Lord Grantham's in Albemarle Street. But that's no matter, it is a private house, which we shall know to-morrow morning with the other particulars. You may guess what a strange phenomenon this is in England, and will be in all Europe, a Prince of Wales in prison. All the foreign ministers on Saturday sent expresses to all their principals, and you will

hear it far and wide. The consequences must be extraordinary some way or other, but that we must leave to time and chance and conduct. I shall only say that this great event draws our attention entirely to it, and supersedes in a great measure all other things. Yet the House of Commons met to-day, gave a supply for the Navy, and are to go on that for the Army on Friday, where the grand question before mentioned must come in. By the air and talk in general of the members to-day there appeared to be an inclination to reduce the Army to 10,000 men, but of this you shall hear when it comes to be debated, and he is too wise that pretends to foretell.

The Tories begin to come up more numerous. What the refining and hot metaphysical heads had neglected, the cooler and solider have endeavoured to repair, and have exerted themselves to the utmost to bring all to town. Mr. Walpole and those that stick to him seem very vigorous to reduce the Army. The wiser Tories have a value for his help.

I have yours of 30 Nov. this evening, but have not gone through it, till I get at my books. You will see by the enclosed verses how angry the malcontents are. 3 pages.

JAMES MURRAY to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1717, Monday, Dec. 2[–13].—I had yours of the 6th this evening, which was a pleasure to me, because I began to be afraid that my letters to you, since I have been in town, had miscarried. “But, since this is to inform you of a fact the most extraordinary that has happened in this kingdom for many years, lest it should be intercepted, I have transmitted the contents to you in another manner, which, I am confident, will come to your hands

“I have formerly acquainted you and with that concern you could expect from one of my principles, that there had been great disputes at Court between his Majesty and his Royal Highness about the christening of the young Prince, his Highness and the Princess having made it their request to the King that the Duke of York should stand godfather with his Majesty, and the Queen of Prussia godmother, and the King on the other hand having been positive (at the Duke of Newcastle’s desire as ’tis thought) that the Duke of Newcastle should stand godfather with him, and the Duchess of St. Albans godmother, the matter was at last settled by the Prince submitting to his father’s pleasure, after many messages which the said Duke brought them from him, and which people say he delivered in a way not so respectful as could have been wished, so that at last the young Prince was christened last Thursday night. Immediately after the ceremony was over the Prince came up to the Duke of Newcastle and spoke to him in the following manner. My Lord, said he, you see that I have submitted to my father’s humour in all this affair, but I must let you know that I am

sensible that all the uneasiness I have suffered and the ill blood which has been created between us, is owing to you, for which reason you are a rascal, and be assured that one day I shall be able to revenge your insolence, having at the same time trod upon his toes. The Duke made a complaint of this treatment to the King, upon which a cabinet was called next morning; the result of which meeting was in the first place a message from his Majesty to the Prince to know if he owned the fact. This message was carried by the Duke of Roxburgh and some other Lords of the Cabinet. His Highness made no scruple immediately to acknowledge that it was true, and, when the Duke of Roxburgh took occasion to say that he was sorry the Duke of Newcastle had incurred his Royal Highness' displeasure, and as to his standing god-father, he could assure them that it was not a thing his Grace had courted, but that what he had done in that matter was purely in obedience to his Majesty's commands, the Prince told him he did not believe one word he said. A report being made of this, the King wrote immediately with his own hand an order to him to remain prisoner in his own apartment till he should know his pleasure further. This order was delivered last Friday about two o'clock, and he has been prisoner accordingly ever since with a yeoman of the Guards without the door, who denies access to all but his own servants. It is said he has written two several letters to the King full of the most respectful expressions, but that he made no mention of giving the Duke any satisfaction for the indignity done him, and for this reason his letters have not produced any effect. What will next be done, no mortal can imagine; some talk of his being sent to the Tower, but that is inconsistent with the privileges of an English peer now that the *Habeas Corpus* Act is in force. In short this is the present situation. You may believe our friends are embarrassed to the last degree, but in what manner the scene may change is more than I am able to inform you. In the meantime you may imagine how uppish the Jacobites are upon this disaster, and it must be owned they never had so much reason. For now the Ministry and in particular the Cabinet Council are so dipped in this affair against the Prince that it is hard to say what they have to expect from him. Mr. Walpole did this day make a speech against the Army, and it is thought that matter will be settled one way or other this week. *The Bishop of Rochester* is still ill and keeps his bed which renders him incapable of doing anything."

Postscript.—The Prince and Princess are turned out of St. James' House and are forbid the Court. She is very ill, having been obliged to come too soon abroad. 5 pages.

JAMES HAMILTON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Monday, Dec. 2-13. London.—(Giving an account of the quarrel between the King and the Prince of Wales as

in the last two letters, adding, that both the Secretaries declined to write the order for the Prince's confinement, so that the King wrote or copied it, but in what language I know not, for the Prince said he knew the King could not write English and insinuated a doubt of his writing any other language, but 'tis certain the order was strangely scrawled.)

I am told the King said to the Council that, had he been in Hanover, he knew what to have done, but, as he came here to govern by the laws of the country, he desired their advice in this important affair.

The Princess has wrote a very submissive letter to the King, but what effects it will have is not yet known, nor how this will end, both the father's and the son's party being equally exasperated, for, though their differences have been of long standing and much stifled in foreign courts as Jacobite malice, this strange incident will let the world see the irreconcilable animosity between them, and what consequences it may have here are hard to guess, both parties being so obstinate.

At the writing of this a friend of the Court assures me that the Prince and Princess are sent from St. James' to Devonshire House in two hackney chairs.

James Hamilton is so severely ha[u]nted by his creditors that he has not seen the sun these many weeks, nor does he find that *Mar* will venture to speak to his father-in-law to accommodate matters with his creditors. He begs you may influence *Mar* to act a little in his favour.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Tuesday, Dec. 14.—I wrote to you last Saturday and enclose the contents of two letters received yesterday from *George Kelly* and also the Speech and the Addresses of both Houses. It seems they had some accounts in *England* of the *King's* having made a proposal about marriage, whether grounded on conjecture or otherwise I cannot determine, but it has been reported here these six weeks, and still continues, that the *King* is to be united to the *Princess of Modena* in the beginning of the New Year with several circumstances concerning the agreement on that account. It's impossible to hinder men from thinking and divulging their thoughts, many, if not most of mankind, being fond of their own suggestions, and, though they have stated this case wrong, one may as well expect they would not think at all, as hope they will not speak of it. This report will be the wonder of nine days, and, when they find it has no effect, it will soon drop.

It's said *du Bois* will return to *England* in two days. His errand is kept as great a secret here as it was there, so that *Dillon* could have no true information about it. I have no news from *Ormonde* since my last.

Supposing the *King* approves the *Czar's* proposal about marriage, as I wish he may, will not the *King* think it advisable

to communicate the offer and his answer to *the Bishop of Rochester* and *Lord Arran*, recommending the secret to them, if *the King* thinks that precaution necessary? 'Tis not to be doubted they will keep it most religiously, and this confidence will please and induce them to carry on *the King's* interest with more vigour and resolution. If I be not much mistaken, they will esteem this union of *marriage* one of the most essential steps that *the King* can make towards regaining his own right. *The Bishop of Rochester* and *Lord Arran* are to be informed of what hopes there will be from *the Czar* and *King of Sweden*, and, if this were concealed from them, they may with some reason be dissatisfied. I am sorry not to have mentioned this by the express, but had not then thought of it. 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ pages.

FANNY OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 14.—My last letter from you was from Turin. A very good correspondent of *M. de Mezières* sends him word that *du Bois* is arrived from *London*, stayed but two days and is gone back. He is discontented with b (? *King George*). He has not succeeded, but has taken new instructions of *the Regent*, and is gone back to try to finish, if possible. *Stair* has received orders to stop all the expenses he was a making till he hears further. *Laws* is fallen out with the *Duc de Noailles* and pretends he can stand on his own legs. This is all our news. The first part is of consequence enough, if it continues, for you to be informed of it.

My youngest brother has at last taken the resolution to go see his eldest [brother] at Rome. He intends to ask to kiss our Master's hand. I suppose he'll address himself to you. He is charmed with your goodness to him at T[urin]. You never miss an occasion to attach us more to you. It's needless since nothing can be added to our way of thinking. I wrote to you about Theo[philus'] affair. I am persuaded you'll serve us like a friend, but I am not so much that it will succeed. If it does, it's a great favour, and we shall look on it as such.

The rainy weather and the country is enough to inspire every creature and me especially with a heaviness that makes a letter very dull.

WILLIAM GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 14. Paris.—I had Mr. Nairne's of 18 Nov. advising that you were not come but hourly expected at Urbino. I had yesterday a letter from *Capt. Ogilvie* asking if I could send you a packet, so, if you expect anything of consequence by any private address I doubt not you will send such orders that they may come safe to you. I advised him you were not then come to Urbino, but, as soon as you did, I expected orders about letters, so, if you have not done it, please do it without delay, for he writes as if it were particular letters of your private affairs.

By my last I advised you of Dr. Abercromby's death and burial at Lille, but have not since heard from his widow as I expected. We are still as scarce of money as ever, though the Queen spoke herself to the Regent and to the Duke of Noailles. Some say the Abbé du Bois is returned or soon to return to England. Lord Stair continues ill, and some say not without danger. His sore has been twice lanced and cut up already.

MAURICE MORAY to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 14. Paris.—I wrote to you last post partly to the same purpose on a letter I had from my brother A[bercairn]y, and suppose you'll not disapprove of my taking the first opportunity to forward this also. I am desired to communicate whatever you are pleased to answer. You'll see, now he's a widower, he's as ready as I could be to come where you are, could you find work for him. *Enclosed*,

R[OBIN] M[ORAY] to [the DUKE OF MAR].

As by the death of his wife about a month ago, he and his five children are deprived of the scanty subsistence they had, remitting the whole matter to his Grace and expecting a speedy and pleasing return, since he is persuaded his Grace believes him as deserving as some who are cared for. 12[-23] Nov. 1717. Edinburgh.

WILLIAM DRUMMOND to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 14. Bologna.—Expressing his joy at his Grace's letter of the 9th, and declaring he should wait till the Comte de Castleblanco and the Duke of Perth came there and then follow whatever orders his Grace thinks proper, and begging him to remove any wrong impression his Majesty had taken of him for his foolishness and to speak to the Duke and the Comte, that he may know when they come there, that they may take him with them.

J. MENZIES to [SIR H. PATERSON].

1717, Tuesday, Dec. 3[-14].—Our breaches grow wider every day. The Prince, after 4 days imprisonment was last night about 6 set at liberty, and being turned out of St. James' went with the Princess, though she was not recovered, to Lord Grantham's in Albemarle Street without guards or coaches or anything. Not a farthing of money. The Duke of Devonshire has offered him his house, which is much better. The breach and animosity grows very high. All, who have places both from the father and the son, are to reside on one side and give up the other. Nay, if any lady that serves the Princess has a husband that enjoys any place from the father, he must give up one or t'other. So the Duchess of St. Albans surrendered yesterday to let her husband continue

in the father's family. Several others are doing the same daily, and it's said that Lord Hertford and all others must. Yea, Lord Berkeley, that's in waiting, Bedchamber to the father, intimated to-day to the Court at St. James' that whoever went to the Prince must not come there. Such a scene was never seen here. In the House of Commons there seems an intention to break yet more troops and to reduce them to 10,000 men in the island and foreign garrisons. This comes on on Friday.

We want four mails from Holland and you may easily believe how we long for them.

Postscript in James Hamilton's hand.—I long very much to hear from you and beg you will write to *Mar* to use his interest with his friend here, for they decline doing anything, and you will guess how hard 'tis with me every way.

PIETRO FRANCESCO BELLONI to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 15. Bologna.—Informing him that he had availed himself of the departure of Major Cockburn for the Court of Urbino to send him the opera called *Merope* in a book with the whole of the accompaniment of the instruments, as he had heard it on his passage through Bologna. *Italian.*

JAMES III to the BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

1717, Dec. 15.—“*Mar's* absence was the occasion of my being longer deprived of yours of 15 Aug., which I received by him with an account of what related to my affairs with you. *Your long silence wanted no apology. Where the heart and actions speak so plainly and effectually, letters become less necessary as agreeable as they are and always will be to me both by their author and their style.* The account you give me of my affairs in general is comfortable indeed, and I am not without hopes of giving you soon as satisfactory a one of them as they relate to the Continent, but have at present no further lights to give you than what you have already heard. The meeting you know of, is now, I hope, at least begun, and *Ormonde's* neighbourhood to it is of the greatest advantage. Pray God that those facts be not made ill use of this winter by enemies with you, for the first is, I fear, known, and the other cannot but be easily guessed at. I am indeed at ease in any event as to *Ormonde's* safety, but it would be great pity, if what he so cheerfully undertook, and my service so eminently required, should prove ineffectual.

“The fixed resolution *the King* is in of marrying without delay is what will, I believe, be very agreeable to you, and your advice did not a little contribute to it; he was, as you know, determined for the person proposed by you, and you are not ignorant of the reasons which make that affair impracticable, but, in failure of that, many others of suitable rank present themselves, and though I am absolutely sure of none, I think it impossible that all should fail, or that the affair be not

soon concluded with some one. I mention none by name for fear of accidents, and because none is yet fixed upon, but I shall venture to say so much, that, if my chief project in that respect succeeds, we shall none of us have reason to repent of the failure of **the Princess of Hesse*, whom I was once ready to have preferred to all others as most agreeable to my friends and Henry (*i.e.* England),* with whom I hope I shall not lose the merit of it, nor in general that of submitting at all to marry at this time, which in respect of my unsettled circumstances, was no ways suitable in private to my inclination, but on his account and his only, I have got the better of myself,* and am willing to enter into any marriage rather than none at all,* since it is the only way I can provide for his future happiness, and that I am sensible that our obligations are reciprocal. I hope he will not be unmindful one day of those due to me, and what I do now for him ought to be a sufficient earnest, that I shall always make all temporal things, how nearly soever they touch me, subservient to his peace and welfare, which is now my study and shall be my only care, if ever in my power.

“If I did not conclude you would have from other hands a letter I lately wrote to *Dr. Leslie*, I would send it you. I am sorry there was not time to consult you previously about it, but it behoved to nick the time, and I am persuaded it will meet with your approbation.

*“*Mar* writes to you in relation to a certain cap about which I should be glad to have your advice. I should think Henry would not much regard such a trifle, and that it could not be of any ill consequence, it being a thing in course and what would be looked on as a slight by others in my station, if they exercised not that privilege, but after that Henry’s disposition must decide, for however unreasonable he may be in indifferent things, it is fit to yield to him, and there are few evils so great, as that of disgusting of him. I shall expect your answer on this head before I make any step in the matter.*

*“I wish you would explain to me what you say to *Mar* of Mr. Cook (*i.e.* the Catholics). As favourable as I may be thought to be to that gentleman, I shall be the first to censure him if he proves faulty, and to prevent as much as in me lies any false step he may be upon, but sure he cannot be so blind either as to *the King’s* interest, or his own, as to give any umbrage at this time. I am sure if he follows either my advice or example he will give none at any time, but I cannot answer for the indiscretion of some, and as I take your hint very kindly, so I desire your further light and advice upon it.*

“I heartily wish *Peterborough’s* affair had never made any noise, but you know I acted on solid grounds, and, as the affair has ended, I hope it will be of no ill consequence.

“The enclosed I desire you will deliver to its address, it is short, for I refer to you, knowing the deserved confidence you have in that worthy person.

“With friends like you it is not easy to finish a letter, but it is time to conclude this with my heartiest thanks for your indefatigable zeal in my service. I can only ask the continuation of it, and that when convenient you will let me hear from you in making your correspondence as useful as it is agreeable, by imparting to me your advice and opinion with great freedom and frankness, for I can say with truth, that you will never offend me by telling it to me, and that I should not look on you as my friend if you hid it from me. My heartiest good wishes and all my kindness attend you now by writing, and will, I hope, one day by my actions.” *The parts between asterisks are printed in the Stuart Papers, pp. 23, 15, 26, 6, 2. Copy.*

JAMES III to the EARL OF ARRAN.

1717, Dec. 15.—“Though I shall not trouble you with business, of which *the Bishop of Rochester*, to whom I have writ at large, will inform you, yet I cannot let slip any opportunity of expressing to you the true value and friendship I have for you, which your own merit as well as near relation to my chief friend do so eminently deserve from me. You will, I believe, have fresher accounts from himself than any I could send you, and I pray God give a blessing to his unwearied endeavours, and unparalleled zeal in my service. May the day soon come, in which he may reap the fruits of his labours, and in which I may show you both that I look on you more as friends than servants, and that your happiness and advantage is as much regarded by me as my own from which they are inseparable.” *Copy.*

SIR H. PATERSON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 16.—I will be very glad to know you have received my long letter of the 7th and some others of former dates. The enclosed I had last night from *Menzies* and his news makes a very great noise here. The last mail with the letters having been stopped on the other side, we have not yet received any further particulars, only this morning I had a note from *the King of Sweden's* factor at *the Hague*, who says that the Chancellor was sent to the Pr[ince] to let him know it was not fit he should head a party that opposed the sentiments of the Court, to which, it seems, he gave no satisfactory answer, for, on the Chancellor's return, orders were sent to him to keep his room, which he refused to do and said he did not think himself liable to any military discipline, and on this the Guards were called to give their assistance to compel him to it. This must no doubt give a good deal of uneasiness and we shall know soon the consequences, and what measures the Peers will take upon it, *Enclosed,*

J. MENZIES to SIR H. PATERSON.

Pray direct this very note to Ninian (? Mar) to let him know our news to-night, which are extraordinary. The Pr[ince] had resisted long as to the godfathers, but last night the thing was done, as the father, the K[ing], would have it. As the ceremony was over, the Pr[ince] came to the Duke of Newcastle, told him he knew he owed all this hard usage chiefly to him, called him rogue and rascal and put his foot on his toes. The Duke went and complained. A Cabinet was called and another this morning. The Pr[ince] is confined to his chamber, and it's thought to-morrow things will go higher, in particular the Tower, &c. 1717, Friday, Nov. 29[-Dec. 10].

JAMES III to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1717, Dec. 16.—On *Mar's* return I had the perusal of your letters to my mother and him with an account of all that relates to our correspondence. “It is impossible to be more sensible than I am of your application and zeal in my law suit, and I hope the time is near in which my heart and pen will not alone speak on that topic.

“You have from *Mar* all that relates to the main affair. The prospect is good, but nothing as yet fixed, though I think the uncertainty cannot long subsist.

“Your wishing my return from my travels is kind and reasonable, but I should be glad to know what are your views in that respect. Few can be fonder of a journey than I am, but how is it to be compassed, and, if it be not, what can you propose to diminish at least the great inconveniencies of so cruel a distance?”

(Concerning the affair of “the cap” and the projects for his marriage as in the letter of the day before to the Bishop of Rochester.)

As to *Pet[erborough]'s* affair, you will have heard of the progress and conclusion of it. A commendable zeal in you and a reasonable prudence in me occasioned what I wish now had never happened, but I hope no ill effect will come from it. Neither of us could act otherwise than we did, and, as I am sensibly obliged to you for your part in it, I am persuaded you'll be convinced of the reasonableness of my conduct, when you consider all the circumstances.

I shall be kind to *Capt. Ogilvie*, since you will have him with me, and heartily wish you may replace so honest and active a trader. I think this is all I have to add to what *Mar* writes you.

I shall be always glad to hear from you, looking on you as a true friend on whose advice I must depend. I desire you will make my kind compliments to *Mr. Cæsar*, whose hearty letter I have received. *Copy.*

THE DUKE OF MAR TO OWEN O'ROURKE.

1717, Dec. 16. Urbino.—By my long absence from the King I have had no opportunity of writing to you since he came into this country, but, now I am with him again, I'm very glad to renew the correspondence with you, though the place we are in be so dull and out of the way that it will be very little entertainment to you. Where you are is more in the way of the stirring world, and I hope you will sometimes let us know what they are doing in the land of the living. The enclosed is for your Master. Mine, from whom it is, thought it better to address it so than by his own name, and hopes yours has not lost the key they used to write by, by which he may write and address his to him under your cover. He has wrote so much of the present situation in the enclosed, which it is not unlikely you may see, that I need not repeat anything of it here. We are still living in good hopes without neglecting what is in our power to bring about what we wish, which soon or late, I am persuaded, will happen, and in the meantime we have nothing to reproach ourselves with. Oppression cannot always be permitted to prevail, and I hope the time is not at a great distance when it will be in my Master's power to requite the many instances of friendship he has from yours.

The people of this country are in great apprehensions, and indeed by the present aspect of affairs it looks very like the eve of a war over most of Europe. Should it so happen, some people cannot well be worse than they are, and a very little turn to affairs may make them a great deal better, both for themselves and those they may be obliged to.

It will be long before you can have this, and much longer before I can have a return. Great things have happened in less time than that can be. Come when it will, it will be welcome, as that to the enclosed will always be, and deservedly from so true a friend. (Sending addresses by which he may be written to.) *Copy.*

THE DUKE OF MAR TO FANNY OGLETHORPE.

1717, Dec. 16. Urbino.—Since I wrote to you a few days after coming here I have two of yours of the 21st and the 23rd. I did not neglect the first opportunity I found of speaking to *the King* of the affair for Theo[philus], and I found him as ready to do anything which might do any of you a pleasure, as I could be to propose it. He said your father's merit, as well as all your zeal for him, entitled you to ask anything of him, and that he thought himself obliged to comply with a thing the family so justly deserved. He gave me orders immediately for preparing the warrant, so you may be sure it shall not be neglected, but I could not delay the pleasure of giving you account of it, till it was ready to send, which shall be in a very little time with my next. He is resolved that

in all such things the first step shall be, as is natural, that of *a lord baron*, so you will not be surprised at this being so. He says that, should he do otherwise, nobody would think that a favour, nor thank him for it, and that it would make that of 255 (? a peer) too cheap, that this gave the essential privileges as well as what was higher, and that it was fit he should still keep in his power to make advancements on such people's good behaviour. These reasons convinced me, and left me nothing to offer against them, and I doubt not of their satisfying you, who are reasonable people. Failing Theo. it is to go to Jamie, and *the King* is very sorry the custom has not been to give it further as you propose, which he would gladly have done on account of *M. de Mezières* as well as Madam's, and he thinks, with reason I must say, it would be of ill consequence for him to go out of the common road in things of that nature especially. Such a thing has sometimes been done to the nearest of kin in the male line, though seldom, but then the person must be in being at the time. What you propose does not answer that, for it is neither of the male line nor of the eldest, but the loss in this is small, for the person it is proposed for will never think of going there, unless *the King* do, and then it will be still in his power to help it in his own person. *The King* hopes on his account as well as your own, that the thing's being done will be an inviolable secret, so I need say no more, only let me wish you joy of it.

A gentleman is here just now who had been here with Theo. and brought me a letter from him and left him at Rome about 8 days ago. He tells me he will set out for M[alta] before a letter could reach him, else I would have wrote to him. You amongst you are best judge whether he himself be to be entrusted with this being done. Let me know what you are to do in that, that I may regulate myself accordingly, when I write to him or see him. I believe since young F[ur]y (*i.e.* Anne Oglethorpe) wrote to me of it, I must say something to make her easy when I write to her, but let me know what you are to do in that too. that we may act alike, and I may hear from you on this, before I shall be obliged to write to her. I'm afraid old F[ur]y (*i.e.* Mrs. Oglethorpe) could not keep it, which might be hurtful both to you and us, and I wish it may be safe with the young. Why do you answer for her (Anne Oglethorpe) never m[arry]ing? If one were out of the way, I am persuaded it would be none of her fault if she did not, and I fancy she has power enough over another to make him comply.

I made your compliments to McM[aho]n. I believe your being right with him depends on his being so with you, which is always in your own power. I believe he is now easier here than he was, so will not be so splenetic as perhaps he has been. He is really a very good conditioned, quiet, modest man and speaks with all the gratitude in the world of his obligations to *M. de Mezières* and you all.

As to *Lord Ilay*, I told *the King* of what you wrote me *M. de Mezières* thought advisable to be done, but he is not altogether of his mind, neither as proper for him, *the King*, nor the probable way of gaining *Lord Ilay* and his friend, and I am also of that opinion. What seems in the other way fit to be done is for you to write to him freely and expostulate on his laconic dark dry way, and represent it is not reasonable for him to expect more, till he open a little further, or they show by their actions they are in earnest and may be relied on, which they may soon have an opportunity of doing, and that you are sure they will not have occasion to repent of it from this side, and, by the generous way of proceeding here with them already, of which he seems sensible, they may easily be convinced of what would follow. It is not the way to gain people or to keep old friends to make favour to such too cheap, and, when *M. de Mezières* reflects on it and all that is past, I fancy he will be of these sentiments. When we know what answer we have to your letter and see a little further how their parties form this session, we'll be better able to judge what is further fit to be done as to them, and I wish I may know the answer you get soon. If you think fit, you may make *Lord Ilay* my compliments; but I leave it to *M. de Mezières* to advise you whether it be better to do so, or to write entirely as of yourself. *Peterborough* will be going your way after the Carnival, if not sooner. Pray be mindful of what I cautioned you in my last. He has set about an odd paper enough, and with less regard of manners towards *the King* than he showed in all his discourse and writings before, and it is fulsome on his own part.

If Jamie be still with you, my compliments to him, or when you write. I'm afraid he can scarce carry over the strong box without its being opened, but you can best judge. I doubt not you'll have a letter from *Lady Mar*. She got well there and found her little one so.

Do you not regret *James Hamilton's* being taken up? I told him what would be his fate, but his friends would have him go. If they hang him for a conjurer, they mistake their man, but will it not be comical, if they found a plot on any thing they can make out of him? I long much to hear of *M. de Mezières* getting another letter from *Sparre* and sure it ought to be soon now, if things go to our liking there.

You cannot now stay long in the country, if this find you there, and, when you come to town, you'll make your letters more frequent.

The King gave me the enclosed paragraph of a letter to send you, having earnestly recommended that business to the Cardinal, and he is wrote to again to press the last part of it. 5½ pages. Copy.

J. MENZIES to L. INESE.

1717, Thursday, Dec. 5[-16].—It may seem pretty ridiculous to write a letter, when it's above a hundred to one if it comes

to the hands it is designed for. It is generally assured that all the letters of the two last posts for France and Holland were either burnt, or the suspected ones stopped and reserved to be read. Yet, since all the world may read this, I send it to take its chance.

I told you in my last I had yours of 30 Nov. You are strangely misinformed as to *Lord Lansdown* and his other friend W[?yndham]. The direct contrary is true hitherto, and both of them worthy men.

C. Kinnaird stayed but 4 or 5 days in London, and went home to his own country to his private affairs, without seeing his friend W[?yndham], who was not then come to town.

Morton's (Bolingbroke's) apology is ready for the press, but when he comes to town I know no certainty. I shall only as to news give you the pleasure that the Court last night and to-day have gained their chief points, as to the Army and money for it, by 60 and odd majority. Mr. Shippen for a hot speech is sent to the Tower. Many Tories are still absent, and those who will needs be their leaders are strange leaders indeed.

JAMES HAMILTON to L. INESE.

1717, Dec. 5[-16]. London.—I sent you some time ago the paper you desired, which I hope came safe, and, though no doubt you have heard his Majesty's speech, I send the printed one. Since my last there have been considerable changes afloat, and, as they make a great noise here, I thought it not amiss to send you the following account.

The Prince was much offended that the Duke of Newcastle should stand godfather to the young Prince against his knowledge and consent, and called him rascal and other names to his face, on which his Majesty ordered him to be confined to his apartments from Thursday night to last Monday, and then he was ordered to leave the Court, on which he and the Princess left St. James' at 9 on Monday night, and went to Lord Grantham's in Albemarle Street, where they continue. As soon as they left the Court, orders were sent to the Horse Guards to be ready to mount at a minute's warning. On Tuesday the Duke of Argyle was with the Prince two hours. The same day the King sent to all the foreign ministers to desire they should not visit the Prince, and ordered at the same time, that all those of the quality, gentry &c., who go near him, may not appear at Court. Also orders were given that all who have places in the government and under the Prince likewise may dispose of one or other. Accordingly, Lord Lumley has resigned his command of the First Troop of Horse Grenadiers, being Master of the Horse to the Prince, and the Duchesses of Montagu and St. Albans and Lady Cowper have resigned their places as Ladies of the Bedchamber to the Princess, besides a great many domestics of both, and other changes are hourly expected.

Yesterday Mr. Shippen made a motion in the House of Commons for reducing the Army to the usual number in times of peace, and said, It was a great misfortune that the King was ignorant both of our laws and language, and that he made a speech calculated rather for the meridian of Hanover than a British Parliament, and that it were to be wished the Ministry would advise him otherwise. (Copies of the resolution sending Shippen to the Tower and of the votes of men and money for the Army printed in *Commons' Journals*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 653, 655.) It's said the Dukes of Somerset and Devonshire have offered their houses to the Prince, but it's not known yet where he will go, the house where he is being too little for him.

JAMES MURRAY to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1717, Dec. 5[-16]. London.—(Concerning the breach between the King and the Prince as in the last letter.) Her Royal Highness has been extremely ill ever since, and she is not as yet believed to be out of danger. Amidst all this confusion a report has been set about to-day that some people were endeavouring to bring about a reconciliation, but I cannot say there is any good reason to believe such a thing probable. However, the truth of this can only be determined by time, and I wish from my heart this whole matter may receive such a turn as may be for his Majesty's interest and that of his people.

(Concerning Mr. Shippen's speech and his being sent to the Tower, as in the last letter.) It was most remarkable in this affair that Walpole and the Speaker, who are both violent for the reduction of the Army, joined with the Court in this measure against Mr. Shippen, which will probably spoil all that could have been projected from a union of these two parties, it being most natural for the Tories to show a resentment on such treatment. *The Bishop of Rochester* continues ill, for which reason nothing has yet been attempted in the affair of the *money*, but I think, happen what will, your friend *George Kelly* will leave this next week, and nothing in my power shall be wanting to hasten him.

The Court have carried the present Army, amounting to 16,300 men, in the Committee by a majority of above 60, but several of the Tories were absent from a resentment of what happened last night, so it's like to run nearer to-morrow on the report, but it will be carried. 3 pages.

GEORGE KELLY to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1717, Dec. 5[-16].—By last post I gave you a full account of business as it then stood, which, I am afraid, will suffer much by a late accident to Mr. *Shippen*. *Lord Arran* is not returned from the country. I have been all this night with *the Bishop of Rochester* alone. whose health is something better, though

far from being well. I find him very cautious about the money affair, and he is much concerned at Mr. *Shippen's* misfortune, not only on this account but several others, and particularly concerning the commission you sent, for he liked that matter so well that he undertook likewise the management of it, and the *Bishop of Rochester* is afraid it must now drop for want of a proper person to carry it on, and, as for the money business, nothing can do that more service than an account of *Ormonde's* success on that side, as I told you in my last, and answered the other particulars of your letter then. I find the *Bishop of Rochester* now of opinion to send away *Kelly* soon, and, as he proposes to write himself to *Dillon* and others, I shall refer everything to his own account. He engaged me particularly to assure you of his friendship. If you think *Kelly's* staying any longer requisite, please write, because it will be improper for him to disobey any commands of theirs, and at the same time he would willingly know your inclinations, though I don't at present see what account his continuing any longer here can turn to.

(Concerning the quarrel between the King and the Prince, and Mr. *Shippen's* commitment as in the previous letters.)

The Court party are resolved to pass whatever scheme they have now on, which some think is to declare the Duchess of Munster Queen, and her children (for now they begin to talk of a hopeful young fellow she has) the successors, but, be that as it will, 'tis certain Cadogan and his party are very well pleased, and the Prince satisfied that they intend to dock his entail.

Sir R. Everard told me this morning he would write at large to-night.

JAMES III. to CARDINAL DAVIA.

1717, Dec. 16. Urbino.—Thanking him for his letter of good wishes for the approaching Christmas and New Year. *French. Entry Book 1, p. 215.*

COMMISSION.

1717, Dec. 16. Urbino.—To John O'Brien to be major of a foot regiment to be raised for the King's service. *Entry Book 6, p. 2.*

L. INESE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Friday, Dec. 17.—The English letters are not yet come, nor those from Italy; so this is only to cover the enclosed from Brussels.

A very odd letter is come to *Dillon* from Francia, who writes that his friend, in place of coming to pay a part of what was promised to *Queen Mary*, intends to go first to the King and then to return here. All this looks of a piece with their shuffling all along. Four months ago Francia wrote very positively that all was ready on a call, that on a day's warning his friend would part and deliver whatever part of the money *Queen Mary* should name to any having her order. *Queen Mary* appointed a person, gave him her orders and acquainted

Francia 3 or 4 months ago, and ever since some shuffling excuse or other was sent for the delay, and now at last this person is pretended to be sent to *the King*. If he really goes to *the King*, I fear it is on no other account but to try to find out *the King's* designs and the state of his affairs, so I doubt not that *Mar*, who knows this matter from the beginning, will be on his guard.

The other letter from Lady Nithsdale to her husband was sent me just now. Lord Stair has been very ill of an aposthume or anthrax, the report just now from Paris is that he is dead. *Dillon*, who is at Paris, will no doubt, if it be true, write it to *Mar*.

CLANRANALD to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 17. Bordeaux.—I am obliged to *Tullibardine* for this opportunity. He, thinking I might be of some use in the affair trusted to *Barry*, desired I might come here from where I passed the summer and harvest quarters, and, though not entirely recovered of a great indisposition I laboured under the three preceding months, on the first summons I made shift to transport myself hither. Coming here I was informed of *Barry's* unlucky accident, the particulars of which you shall have from *Tullibardine* and *Glendarule*, so it will be unnecessary in me to enter into the details. I shall repair to *Barry's* quarters, where *Brigadier Campbell* is before me, to wait your further commands. I design to set out for it in a few days.

The DUKE OF MAR to LORD SEAFORTH.

1717, Dec. 17. Urbino.—I had yours of 13 Nov. three days ago with the accompanying paper, of which I immediately acquainted *the King*. One came here on that subject from another man 8 days before, which his Majesty delayed reading till yours should come, and now he is a good deal taken up, so it will be some days before he can find time to look on either, and, when he does, I doubt not he will write to you. A very material thing is wanting in yours, since you found so much upon it, copies at least of the other's letters to you, and especially that to your mother, which I concluded would have been affixed to the end of your paper, and I think you should send them as soon as possible.

One thing in your paper common justice obliges me to tell you you have been misinformed of, that is, the packet from the other's mother, &c., which you say fell into my hands, which was not so, and I only was told of that matter, but this is all I'll say till I hear again from you, only that you have had a much better clerk than the other.

I heartily congratulate you on the birth of your son, my young cousin, and hope you will have many more to strengthen your family. I hope my lady and the young gentleman are well, and that the first will soon be in a condition to come over to you again. *Copy.*

MONSR. PAJOT DE VILLARS to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 18. Paris.—Forwarding a dispatch from the Queen to the King, and a packet of letters for the Duke and the ordinary Gazettes. *French.*

CAPT. JOHN OGILVIE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 18. Dunkirk.—You'll be surprised at what has detained me here all this time. The reason is, I received a letter from *Lord Oxford* ordering me to stay here till our boat comes back, which is not yet come, but, as soon as she comes, I shall part.

I send you a letter from Mrs. *Ogilvie* to me and a slip of paper in it, which makes me fancy *Anne Oglethorpe* or some of them was present when she wrote, and, that they might know nothing, she has put in this slip. God forbid, I should be any ways instrumental to create any ill understanding betwixt friends, but it is and ever shall be a maxim of mine that no man can say he either understands what it is to be a true friend or indeed honour itself, if he do not strive to preserve his friend, even at the risk of his blood, and, if it be not in his power to do so, yet to advertise him, that he may preserve himself, for a warned man is an armed man. Therefore I pray you to put the right construction on what she writes. She has mettle enough to find out the very bottom of it, for she truly loves and esteems you. I shall write to her to come over here, where I can learn more by speaking with her than I can by writing, so you shall know everything material. I also enclose a copy of a letter from *Lord Oxford* to *Anne Oglethorpe* relating to me. He talks of an angry letter he received from *Capt. Ogilvie*. Lest you should think he should have done some indiscreet thing, I send you the copy of the letter he wrote to *Lord Oxford*. I would have nobody see it but yourself, from whom I shall never have any reserve, for I know you to be a sincere friend to those to whom you profess it. One article in *Lord Oxford's* letter, that it was at *Capt. Ogilvie's* request what he desired of *Mar* is fit to be explained to you. At the time I believed you were to go to *the King of Sweden* I desired *Lord Oxford* to pray you to take me along with you. I was very plain in telling him my affection for *Mar*. It was not I fancied myself of any merit to deserve this, but I know I had both honour and resolution to have stuck close to you at the risk of 10,000 lives, had I had so many.

Let *Lord Oxford* write what he will by the boat, I am determined to come to you, for I have several things to acquaint you of, that cannot be so well done by writing, therefore I pray you to write to Mr. Gordon to let me have a small credit to bear my charges. If I should go to *Queen Mary*, I know I should be sent to *Dillon*, which I never will do. If you think it necessary I should be here for *the King's* service, I shall return immediately, after seeing my master and you,

I had almost forgot to tell you another thing. Mrs. Ogilvie was seized in her down coming with a continued fever, thought to be very dangerous. It continued above 20 days, before she was able to come out of bed, and the physicians are much fitter for horse fevers than for Christians', for a Dutch constitution is much like that of their horse. However, she recovered, and went over as soon as possible. I hear she is pretty well and may serve again, if need be. Lord Oxford was very generous and sent me over a bill to make amends for the little money he gave her when she came last away, notwithstanding the compliment Queen Mary gave, which I advertised him of. It came in good time to pay the expenses of her illness.

We have no news here, but the Admiralty of Dunkirk has seized a Swedish privateer and another Swedish ship for reprisals of some ships of theirs taken by the Swedes. The captain of the privateer is an Englishman. They have taken his commission from him. It's very ample, for he has orders to cruise above Calais in the Channel, and to take, burn and destroy all that he judges enemies to the King of Sweden. As for the English, he has no war with them further than that they have given themselves to the Duke of Hanover, who is at war with him as Duke of Hanover, whom he does not acknowledge as King of England. (About the quarrel between King George and the Prince of Wales as in previous letters.) 4 pages. *Enclosed,*

CAPT. JOHN OGILVIE to the EARL OF OXFORD.

There is no greater satisfaction to me than to hear you keep your health well. God grant the continuance of it. It would have been no small pleasure to me to have seen you after your late recovery (i.e. acquittal), but, since my unhappy fate could not permit it without making you uneasy, I must submit. It mortified me not a little to find by Mrs. Ogilvie's letters from England that Lord Oxford seemed dissatisfied with what Capt. Ogilvie wrote last to him. Capt. Ogilvie had no further plot than the safety of his friend, and I am persuaded Lord Oxford cannot miss to know the sincerity of Capt. Ogilvie and that he never took one step but what was for the interest of Lord Oxford and what was entirely approved of by Mar, whom I know to be the best friend Lord Oxford has. Capt. Ogilvie has copies of everything he gave the King and his other friends as instructions from Lord Oxford, who did Capt. Ogilvie the honour to trust him in all those matters, and I am persuaded that, when Capt. Ogilvie sees his friend, he will himself approve of all he has done to serve Lord Oxford, whose interest and welfare next to the King's has ever been Capt. Ogilvie's chief aim. This will perhaps be the last time he will have an opportunity of letting

Lord Oxford know that amongst all that ever he obliged none ever served him with a more grateful sense than Capt. Ogilvie.

The Queen and Mar both seemed surprised at Capt. Ogilvie's being desired to leave this place and the more because it was by Lord Oxford's advice. Both seem to be at a loss for one that can be trusted by all parties. Capt. Ogilvie is no further ambitious of it than to serve his master and be useful to his friend. God grant that neither of them may suffer by the change. The former, I hope, is in no danger of it. I do not doubt his friends will find one faithful in his interest, at least I hope so, but for the latter, everyone that professes friendship to him is far from practising it. I thank God Lord Oxford's affairs have never had the least miscarriage in Capt. Ogilvie's hands. Heaven give him as good success in those of others. Capt. Ogilvie cannot let himself believe that this removal of his was meant unkind by his friend, though from any other it would scarce admit of a friendly construction, considering how Capt. Ogilvie was recommended to Mar, for all that was said left room for a double entendre, had not Capt. Ogilvie been conscious that he never took any measures in the King's affairs or in what related to Lord Oxford. but what he can answer to God and to them both. However, Capt. Ogilvie has great reason to be thankful that this recommendation was writ to Mar, who is a man of entire honour, justice and sense and too much Lord Oxford's friend to make a handle of anything to either his disadvantage or Capt. Ogilvie's, whom he knows to be sincerely attached to Lord Oxford. It's true Mar as well as others was to seek what could be the reasons, till I undeceived them by assuring them it was to obtemperate the Bishop of Rochester, which I knew to be matter of fact, for I am very sensible that Lord Oxford was sufficiently importuned on that head in his lodging below bridge (i.e. the Tower). I cannot imagine what should make the Bishop an enemy to Capt. Ogilvie, who, I am sure, never injured him, but always wished him extremely well, knowing he was embarked in the King's interest as deep as any man. It's impossible to think a man of his parts should resent what passed concerning Mr. Downs. I am so far from repenting what I did in that affair, that I think no man that studied either duty or honour could do less than advertise our friends on this side what ill offices that gentleman was doing them, for at that time nothing could be more unjust and barbarous than to give out that the King was wedded to nothing but Popery and that there was a very ill understanding betwixt Mar and Ormonde, both which I knew to be false aspersions, and I own I advertised Mar of it and, had I corresponded at that time with Ormonde, I had

given him the same account. I sent Mar a gentleman's letters at the same time with my own to show I advanced nothing but what I had vouchers for, so that I am sure any of Mr. Downs' friends, that will give themselves leave to think, must know that all I designed by it was the good of my master and the quiet of my friends and that for the future those aspersions should be quashed. I never saw Mr. Downs in my life, so none can suppose I have any personal pique at him. However, except it be this affair of his, I can find out nothing that should have made the Bishop so solicitous to have me laid aside, so God forbid my being in the way should create the least uneasiness amongst the King's friends, for, though I believe he can have but little use for me about himself, having too many idle people there already, I depend upon Providence and, while there is use for men by sea or land, I don't fear want. I am resolved neither to want bread nor be a useless burden to my master, while any lawful prince in Europe wants men. There is but one in the world that can suffer much by my absence, the thoughts of which I have scarce fortitude to bear. Is it possible that, after all she has so unjustly suffered on my account, she must be reduced either meanly to work for her bread or want? I'll starve first. She must not want, while my sword can earn her bread. I have given her my best advice and I am sure she will obey me, which is, to board herself in the convent with her sister. There she will be safe and easy, for I know she would starve sooner than do a mean thing. 5½ pages. Copy.

COLIN CAMPBELL OF GLENDARULE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 18. Bordeaux.—I herewith transmit a letter received last post from *J. Macleod, junior*, by which you will see what part *Stuart of Appin* acts, and I will have from time to time a particular account from *J. Macleod, junior*, of all the steps *Stuart of Appin* makes in that affair. I do not discourage *J. Macleod, junior*, from prosecuting that affair of the Duke of Argyle, yet by his letters there seem to me less hopes of it now than in his first letter to me about it, which I then sent you. I own it's no disappointment to me, and I continue entirely of opinion that it's much more the King's interest he should be passive, than any part he can act for him, considering the many inconveniencies he would carry along with him.

I received last post a letter from Ards[h]eal, *Stuart of Appin's* cousin, telling me that *Stuart of Appin* lives at his own house, that he waited on him and asked him many questions concerning the King's affairs, but his answers were so ambiguous that he could make nothing clear of him, that might afford him the least hopes, therefore he desired to know from me if they are to keep up their hearts. Though poor Ards[h]eal has been very hardly dealt with and has had considerable losses, he

writes with the same spirit and good heart he always had towards *the King's* affairs, and begs me to make you his compliments with a full assurance of his readiness to serve under your wise conduct on all occasions. I hope you will approve of my letters to Ards[h]eal and others concerning *Stuart of Appin* on receipt of yours of 10 Oct., in which I gave a pretty free character of good *Stuart of Appin*, who seems in a fair way of getting himself hanged, if all be true that's said of him, but, let him do as he will, Ards[h]eal will make up that loss. I had sent you his letter, but was unwilling to make too large a packet. My letter to him was not then come. I have writ to him this post in terms I hope will please *Mar*.

I had also a most kind letter from *Mar's* own kn[igh]t, Sir Du[nca]n Ca[m]pbell, who makes the greatest professions imaginable of his sincere intentions to serve *the King* the very first opportunity, and declares he devotes himself to *Mar's* service. I am writ to from several I can trust that he is certainly sincere, which brings a thought in my head about him. If he acts his part as he promises, he can do service that may make him worth noticing, therefore I propose he be made Mr. Hanly (? major) to *Glendarule* for three reasons, the first, is the service he can do *the King*; the next, that whatever part *the Duke of Argyle* acts, the more of those men that are fixed independent of him will make him less wanted and easier to be dealt with, if he be found necessary, at any time; and the third is that it will very much strengthen *Glendarule's* interest in that part and extremely facilitate him in making up his friend Mr. Taylor (? regiment). If this be thought convenient, a paper to that purpose may be signed and sent to *Glendarule*, but all this is with entire submission to your good pleasure.

Also is enclosed a letter from *Brigadier Campbell* to *Tullibardine* relating to that unlucky affair of *Barry*, of whom I need say little, he having rendered himself unfit at present to do any service. Therefore it was necessary to think of some man of credit there to make up the want of *Barry*. *Tullibardine* discoursed fully with *R. Gordon* about it, who knows all the men of best business there. Mr. Louis du Livier he recommends as a man not only of entire credit, but as sincerely affected to *the King*. Enclosed is his letter to *R. Gordon*, in answer to *Gordon's* concerning *Brigadier Campbell*, who mentions him also in his letter. *Tullibardine* acquainted *Dillon* of *Barry's* misfortune, which will put him to a loss, if any money be ordered for *swords* and *targes* before *Tullibardine's* last letters come to you. Therefore I shall trouble him with a line this or next post and mention du Livier as a person that may be trusted that no time may be lost, *Tullibardine* having writ to him so often without any return that he is unwilling to give him any further trouble. *Clanranald* is come this far on his way to where *Brigadier Campbell* stays, who would not venture on that affair without him, so now no time will be lost by them.

I may with confidence assure you that no man is more your servant than *Tullibardine*. He reflects often with uneasiness on the little mistakes that happened, and, did you know the unworthy and base acts used and the pains taken to put him wrong, you would not have wondered at what happened, but now, I am most firmly persuaded, he will continue to you a firm friend and true servant. I continue to live with him, till *the King's* affairs require me to do otherwise.

Stuart of Appin gives out falsely that *Clanranald* and *Lochiel* designed to go to *Scotland*, but that is like the rest of his stories, for neither one or other thinks of it unless ordered by *the King*.

You have but part of *J. Macleod, junior's*, letter. The rest I cut off, being a long unpleasant story of my little affairs.

Tullibardine made no application to *Marlborough's* nephew concerning *Brigadier Campbell*, but *R. Gordon*, who is well acquainted with him, applied to him, but made no mention of *Tullibardine*, who has no ways made it known to him that he is in these parts. *R. Gordon* says he instantly writ to the Intendant to show his friend Mr. Nicholas Gordon, at Bayonne, all friendship, that being the name *Brigadier Campbell* goes under there, and *R. Gordon* this moment received a letter from him, showing the Intendant was most civil to him. *Brigadier Campbell* seems straitened in his circumstances. You see the occasion of it. All here are under very great obligations to *R. Gordon*, who to the utmost of his power serves every man concerned in *the King*. 4 pages. *Enclosed*,

J. MACLEOD, JUNIOR, to GLENDARULE.

I had yours of the 2nd instant, but some persons to whom it first came had opened it. (Suggesting a method to avoid such inconveniencies in future.)

I desired in my last, which I hope came safe with Neil Mackginnis, (i.e. Mr. Lacy) and the lieut.-colonel's letters, to understand what had brought your friend Stuart of Appin to those parts, but it seems you resolve to be so much on the reserve as to keep your friends here in a continual mist as to the King's business, which can't fail to render them less capable of doing you service. I was no sooner acquainted with his being here than I set all my little wit at work to dive into his designs, being not a little apprehensive, that his dear self, whom he has most at heart, might incline him to act less consistent with what he formerly professed in the King's behalf, and I have it assured me from unquestionable authority that he came hither instructed from the King's most inveterate enemy in your parts (i.e. Lord Stair) and that since his arrival he has managed his business so with King George's agent, as to have got a sist of execution, in consequence of which he has gone to his country place,

where he lives at liberty and without the least dread of messengers or diligence. He gives it out as certain that Lochiel and Clanranald will in like manner be very soon here, but that part of his accounts meets with very little credit.

A step he has taken which, I hope, may turn to the King's advantage is, that it would appear from the discovery I have made, that he stands engaged to King George to give some clearance in the matters wherewith the Duke of Argyle stands charged, and to be assisting in making out that charge against him, which will infallibly render him of all others most acceptable. As I have very good reason to believe this, so I can positively assure you, that he is now making offers to the Duke of Argyle to lay the whole design open to him on certain conditions, by which means he doubts not to gain at both hands. An account of this is sent to the Duke of Argyle, and, if he hearkens to the preliminary articles, I don't doubt to give you betimes a particular account of the whole treaty. Meanwhile, I conjure you to acquaint no one living of this affair, as I had it told me as a grand secret, and that the revealing of it may incapacitate me to see further into this affair, but you may consider whether it mayn't be proper to acquaint the King or Mar of this, if possibly they can make any use of it. With submission to your better judgement I think it not amiss that Mar, amongst other arguments his wisdom may suggest with regard to the Duke of Argyle, should signify the villainous designs on foot against him, as shall seem to him most proper, and who knows but such an account with the demonstration of the truth of it which shall be given at home, may prove a prevailing argument?

You desire in your last to understand if the Duke of Argyle designs to become the King's friend. I can say nothing but what I more than once repeated, that is, that he is extremely piqued and fully sensible of his bad usage, from which I concluded it was very proper to let you know so much. I have not been idle in doing all in my power to improve his just resentment to the King's advantage, wherein I dare not hitherto despond, for the gentleman I employed to lay Major Mackginnis' story before him, assures me he'll do it very pathetically, and does not despair to have a very free conversation on that subject. You know my correspondent is your good friend and a person of honour, but, since he does not know my having communicated any of this story, I must leave you to your conjectures.

I have hitherto been no stranger to what Il(?)—r has been practising against the King, and I have settled matters so that I hope to be upon his secrets, but, since the best laid projects may miscarry, pray fail not to acquaint

me some considerable time before you or any of your friends take journey for your own country, and I shall put it out of his power by a stratagem I have fallen on to do you any hurt. 31 October[-11 November]. Over 2 pages.

CAPT. DAVID GEORGE to L. INESE.

1717, Dec. 18. Bordeaux.—Sending an attested copy of the receipts of the people that complained, that he may see how groundless the accusation against the writer is. *Enclosed, Attested copies of receipts by the crew of the Bonaccord pink for their wages for various periods ending 23 Nov., 1716.*

JOHN CAMERON OF LOCHIEL to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 18.—Thanking him for his care in procuring for his nephew the subsistence his Grace ordered him, and requesting him to tell his brother, Allan, that he is alive.

W. DRUMMOND OF BALHALDY to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 18.—Thanking him for ordering him some small subsistence, which he has at last got, and the more so as he understands his enemies have mis-spent their time in misrepresenting him to his Grace.

L. INESE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Monday, Dec. 20.—*Mar* will be informed by the enclosed and by letters *Dillon* sends from *J. Murray* of the great news that surprises both friends and enemies at present, their pretended Prince of Wales being made prisoner, at least confined in arrest and forbid the Court. This is like not only to make ill blood but also to have great consequences in that Court, for all that know that young gentleman's temper are of opinion that he will resent this affront in some extraordinary way. We are now every moment expecting the return of *Queen Mary's* last courier. Till he comes, *Queen Mary* does not think of dispatching *Wogan*, or indeed speaking to him of marriage concerns for, in case the *Czar's* proposal is agreeable to the *King*, as we hope it will, it were unnecessary to open to *Wogan* the other plan relating to marriage.

Queen Mary herself has been, and still is, indisposed, though without any danger. *She* had a great pain in her hand before it swelled, but now *she* is much more easy. *Her* physician is not sorry that *her* ailments are turned to the gout.

I have given the complaints and accounts sent to *Mar* by Capt. George's crew to *Dicconson* to examine, for he alone can do that, having all Capt. George's accounts from the beginning. If he finds anything wrong or doubtful, he can still call him to account, and, if he be found to have embezzled any of the money, I think he should not only be obliged to repay it, but should be severely punished. As to what they pretend of his having defrauded them of part of their

pay, I think the shortest and quietest way were for each party to name a person on the place, who, after hearing both sides, should finally decide. These gentlemen in their letter are very injurious to *Inese*, in saying he is partial to Capt. George, because he is a convert. If this be so, it must have been long before I knew him, for I ever heard he had been bred a Catholic from his infancy.

But *Inese* has no kind of interest in him, nor thinks he ever showed any partiality to him. Justice is due to every man, and *Inese* knows and has said that he, at the earnest desire of the *King's* friends, left a very good trade he had, and came over to serve the *King*, when none of his employment that these friends could trust would undertake it.

As to what *Mar* writes of *Menzies*, I am of his mind entirely, and one must hear once more of the *money* from the *Bishop of Rochester* before there is any reasonable ground to be satisfied with *Menzies'* management of that. *Menzies* was of the *Bishop of Rochester's* own choosing, for I do not think *Mar* ever recommended the *money* to be given to him, and I am very sure *Inese* never did, for, though I cannot but still think *Menzies* to be perfectly honest, he having given so many and so long proofs of his honesty, yet I am of C. Kin[nair]d's mind that he was not to be employed in managing of *money*. In his letters he has referred his accounting for that matter to letters sent by a friend, who is not yet come. When he comes, *Mar* shall know all I can learn. $2\frac{1}{2}$ pages.

SIR HUGH PATERSON to L. INESE.

1717, Dec. 20.—Requesting him to forward the enclosed to the *Duke of Mar*, after perusing it, and hoping he had received one from him by the last post, with a similar enclosure.

SIR HUGH PATERSON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 20.—I sent you last post our accounts here of the late breach betwixt G[eorge] and his son, and cannot give you better what further particulars we have than by transmitting the enclosed, which contains all we have yet learnt about it. It makes a good deal of noise here, and they are at great pains to conceal it, and would fain give it another turn, but everybody knows it. The postscript to the enclosed is from *James Hamilton*, who is still *incog.*, and entreats *Mar* will write to his friend he went over with to see if anything can be done for him. Enclosed is *Menzies'* letter of 3-14 Dec., calendared ante, p. 277.

J. MENZIES to L. INESE.

1717, Monday, Dec. 9[-20].—Whilst I send only the common occurrences James Craggs may do with my letter even what he will.

I told you last Thursday that the Court had carried their point as to the Army, and the necessary money in proportion.

On Friday and Saturday several Whigs altered their minds on particular views. The whole matter was recommitted, and there seemed to be a majority for at least reducing regiments entire, and not by the present method of reducing so many sentinels a company. The dragoons were chiefly aimed at, they being most hurtful and most odious to the country. On Saturday there seemed to be a majority against the Court, so they did not venture the vote, but dropped it for that time. But to-day again, having picked up most of the stragglers and exerted themselves, they have carried it by 14 majority. It is a small one, but no matter. If they can but get the money, it is another session gained. Seventy of the Tories are still absent, hunting the fox and drinking strong beer. Those here are reeling in confusion and factions, the undertakers and leaders changing their maxims every hour of the day, very visionary, very shallow, and very hot, but more Tories are soon expected in town on better advice.

We have had much talk these two days of a reconciliation between his Majesty and the Prince, and that Argyle will be dropped, but of this no man can know of for certain, till it be declared, one way or another. If the Prince submits, it must be *carte blanche*.

Six Dutch mails are due to-day, so you can expect nothing in our prints. The author of the *Scourge* is ordered to be prosecuted, so he is frightened and disappears, and the paper is quite blown up. This frightens the *Weekly Journal*, and he will either lay down or be prosecuted. The last of his *Journals* was very silly speculation, as very often they are, but sometimes there is something that is free, and that will sink it. The other prints, which are the Government's, show the Government's notions and maxims and desires and intentions, so far as they think fit to speak out, and indeed in them is to be seen the spirit and drift of their whole affairs always plain enough.

JAMES MURRAY to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1717, Dec. 9[-20]. London.—Your affairs continue in the same state as when I wrote last. I have prepared a memorial containing a full account of them, which your friend will, I hope, soon bring you. But his relation, *the Bishop of Rochester*, is still so very ill that he cannot leave as yet. It is amazing you have heard nothing in so long a time from *Ormonde*. (Concerning the debate in the House of Commons mentioned in the last letter.)

JAMES III to the ATTORNEY or SOLICITOR GENERAL
OF ENGLAND.

1717, Dec. 20.—Urbino. Warrant for preparing a bill creating Theophilus Oglethorpe a Baron by the title of Baron Oglethorpe of Oglethorpe in the county of ———, with remainder to the heirs male of his body with remainder to

James Oglethorpe, his brother, and the heirs male of his body. *Torn. Draft. There is also a fair copy in Entry Book 5, p. 59.*

JAMES III.

1717, Dec. 20. Urbino.—Warrant for preparing a bill creating Sir Peter Redmond, Knight of the Order of Christ, a knight and baronet of England, with remainder to the heirs male of his body. *Torn. Copy. There is also a fair copy in Entry Book 5, p. 60.*

COMMISSION.

1717, Dec. 20. Urbino.—To Capt. McMahon to be a colonel of horse. *Minute. Entry Book 5, p. 61.*

WILLIAM GORDON to DAVID NAIRNE.

1717, Dec. 21. Paris.—Acknowledging his of the 18th and 20th, and thanking him for his care in settling so with Monsr. Langlois and Monsr. Pajot that the correspondence of friends in his parts with their friends in Britain be not interrupted, adding that he has not yet had time to see Mr. Pajot to know the success of Nairne's letter, and that till then he shall address the letters of friends at Urbino as he has done this post.

WILLIAM GORDON to [DAVID NAIRNE].

1717, Dec. 21.—Sending an enclosed for the Duke of Mar, which came after his letter of that morning enclosing several for the Duke.

WILLIAM GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 21. Paris.—I have yours of 27 Nov. from Urbino with the agreeable news of your safety after so long a journey, and doubt not you have received all mine addressed to Mr. Nairne.

I am persuaded it has been Sir H. Paterson's forgetfulness, for I wrote him twice by Mr. Dicconson's order, that his subsistence was to commence from any time he pleased, and that he might take 60 *livres* a month as Sir John Pr[eston] had, who was next him on his list, and, if he did not think that enough, I desired him to advise me. I never had any answer, but that Mr. Dundas had paid him what he called for, so I have written to Mr. Dundas to know what he has paid him, and for what use, and have done the same to Sir Hugh himself.

Your encloseds were duly delivered as directed, and I shall acquaint Mr. Dicconson of his Majesty's pleasure as to Lady Dundee.

Sir H. Paterson wishes to write you about subsistence to Mr. Edminston (Edmonstone), son to Broich, a Stirlingshire gentleman, who served in Lord Linlithgow's regiment. I shall apply to Mr. Dicconson about him, but, if he should not think fit to do it, please give me your orders. Poor John Duff's wife is dead at Rotterdam, and her burial charges will be hard on him in this winter season, if his Majesty is not pleased to allow

him something. The enclosed from Sir H. Paterson lost a post by the Dutch post coming a day late, occasioned by the ill weather.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Tuesday, Dec. 21.—Yours of the 26 Nov., with the enclosures, came safe last Saturday. *Dillon* was the same day at *St. Germain's* to communicate all to *Queen Mary*, the *King* having referred the latter to his information.

We hourly expect the return of *Dillon's* messenger, for which reason *Queen Mary* does not think fit that *Wogan* should be spoke to till he comes, being uncertain if the *Czar's* proposal about marriage may not occasion some change in the message *Mar* recommends. The choice of *Wogan* is, I believe, very good, and I don't question he'll perform his mission with much discretion and to the *King's* satisfaction. Secrecy shall be strictly recommended, and you need not have the least apprehension from his former intimacy with young *Leslie*. *Dillon* came from *St. Germain's* last night pretty late, and the post parts at 11 this morning. He therefore refers you to a more particular answer by the next. In the meantime, I enclose my last letter from *James Murray*, wherein you'll find both uncommon and surprising news. I also enclose some prints for the *King's* and your diversion. May the discontents of that illustrious family end according to the true wishes of *Mar* and *Dillon*. You know we are in duty bound to pray for our sovereign lord the *King*.

I had a letter from *George Kelly* of the 2nd, o.s. He says the *Bishop of Rochester* was so ill with gout that none could have admittance to him for three days before, which is a great impediment to the *King's* concerns. It's hoped he'll be soon in a condition to see friends. *Lord Arran* was not then come to town, nor the major part of the *Tories*, which I hear is their usual custom, when their presence is most necessary.

The MARQUIS DE VILLEFRANCHE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 21. Pernes.—Having just heard of his arrival at Urbino, begging him to honour him with his orders and wishing him a happy New Year. *French*.

PATRICK GUTHRIE to L. INESE.

1717, Dec. 10[–21]. London.—I had yours of the 14th, on the 13th of our style safe. The reason of its not coming sooner was contrary winds and my not having called for it. I return you my most hearty thanks for having procured me those 10*l*. I am sorry you did not receive my first.

We Whigs will probably carry everything we have a mind to this session, as we have hitherto, though this is not so much owing to our own prudent management as to the bad conduct and want of concert amongst our enemies. The *Tories* lost their business last sessions by not courting *Walpole*, and they are like to do the same this. He's a good speaker, a popular man, and experienced in business, and therefore ought to be courted,

though in the main he is a vain, rattling fellow, which hinders him from making his court to them, and yet he's glad of any opportunity to mortify a Court that he knows will never forgive him, for, when he waited on the King at Newmarket, he took no manner of notice of him, though he spoke to everybody else that was in the room. On the 4th he moved that the troops might be reduced to 12,000 men, including officers, and harangued most nobly, as did Mr. Shippen, Mr. Hungerford, Mr. Jeffrys, Mr. Bromley, Sir Thomas Hanmer and several others to the same purpose. On the other side spoke Mr. Aislaby, Mr. Lechmere, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Mr. Young, Mr. Craggs, Sir David Dalrymple, Mr. Baillie, and some others. The Tories had much the better of us in speaking, but we carried it by numbers, though not without vast struggling, that continued till eleven at night, and even then we were obliged to delay the question till next day, when about six in the evening, after great debates, we carried it by a majority of fifty. The Tories urged that a standing army in time of peace might be of dangerous consequence, that it was inconsistent with the nature of our own Government, and that a good King should never have what a bad one might make use of to oppress his people, that a standing army was not only entirely useless, but most dangerous to liberty, quiet, and the ease of the subject in time of a profound peace, and when we were in a strict alliance and friendship with most foreign Powers. Besides, said Mr. Hungerford, when there is occasion for an army, the officers with a drum, a guinea, and a barrel of ale can bring them together. On the other hand the Whigs said that the King was a good and wise prince, that we ought to repose an entire confidence in him, and that he was the best judge what troops were necessary, that the reducing the army after the peace of Ryswick was the occasion of the last war, by lessening the King's reputation abroad, making the Duke of Bavaria join France, and the King of Spain leave his crown to the Duke of Anjou, that the affairs of Europe were very much embarrassed, that the Czar and Swede had made a peace, that the King of Spain was making mighty preparations, that, if the King should be obliged to reduce the army further, it would lessen his credit abroad, and encourage an invasion, which the people were but too much inclined to favour. The Whig members from the different counties declared with regret that the generality of the people were very much disposed to rebellion, and that an army was absolutely necessary to keep them quiet. Sir David Dalrymple and Mr. Baillie said they did not pretend to know England, but that to their certain knowledge the generality of Scotland was more than ever inclined to rebellion, that they not only had received his Majesty's most gracious pardon with ingratitude, but with contempt and disdain. This speech was thought to come ill from men who last year pretended so much moderation and clemency. But 20 of Mr. Walpole and the Speaker's

friends stood by them, Mr. Smith was thought to have been bribed of by the Court, as well as some others. The sixth, Mr. Walpole said, since the House had thought 16,347 men necessary, he hoped that it would be very agreeable to them if a way could be fallen upon to save the nation 100,060*l.* of the sum that had been proposed as necessary, which he said might be done, if nine regiments of Dragoons and some foot were broke, and their officers put upon half pay, and the companies of standing regiments augmented. He was seconded by Sir Joseph Jekyll, Mr. Smith and Sir William Thompson, who are reckoned Court Whigs, and by all the Tory speakers. Most people were surprised at Sir Joseph Jekyll's leaving the Court, but he is a man of honour, and is provided for during life as Master of the Rolls. This matter was debated from Friday till Monday, and the House sat every night till seven, in one division the Court carried it by a majority of 25, in another only of 14 and, had all the Prince's servants been present and some of the Tories who were in taverns, the Court had been probably defeated. A great many of the Tories are not yet come up, and some of the Whigs, but more of the first are absent. There has nothing material been done since except voting three shillings of the pound land tax which was carried by a great majority; Walpole voted for it, only the old Tories were against it. What is done besides you will see in the minutes and votes, they have already voted 2,400,000*l.*, so that most of the money matters is already over, that for the civil list, and payment of interests being provided for by former parliaments, the land tax at three shillings, of the p[ound] amounts to above 1,400,000*l.*, so that there remains only to go upon ways and means for a million of the sum voted, which they will do quickly, for business goes cleverly, the King being resolved to go early next spring to Hanover. I am afraid I have already wearied your patience, but the post is going off, otherwise I would write you a great deal more. I doubt not but you have long ago had an exact detail of the unhappy difference of the insulting carriage of a great man to the Prince, of the hard usage he has met with, that the few servants that followed him are turned out of the posts they had under the King, that vast numbers of the gentry and nobility went for some mornings to wait upon [him], but he did not see them, that since everybody is forbid under pain of not daring to come to Court, that all the foreign and our Ministers and Envoys are instructed what account to give in foreign Courts of the difference, that search is made for the printer of the letters from the P[rince] to the K[ing]. The whole of this business looks like madness on all hands, on the part of the K[ing], on the part of the Court, on the part of the P[rince], on the part of the D[uke]. I say it with regret, but am afraid it will [be] of mischievous consequence. What a mean opinion it gives folks at home, how it confirms the people in the belief of all the foolish stories that have been industriously spread!

What a reproach upon our councils in foreign Courts! Good God, our security proceeds only from the weakness of our enemies. I am afraid that if it is not made up before January it will be a parly (? parliamentary) business, for side winds will blow in an unsettled country like this. And; which adds to our misfortune, the wisest think it never will be made up. Several attempts have been made, the P[rince] yielded to everything to no purpose, and has since retracted, but the K[ing] is prodigiously positive in everything, he knows not what it is to forgive, and the Ministry push him on, that he may have no share in the Regency during the King's absence.

The Tories, by their struggling from Friday saved 40,000*l.* as the pay of the general officers, which the Court yielded without dividing.

The DUKE OF MAR to FANNY OGLETHORPE.

1717, Dec. 21.—Having this opportunity of one going to Paris in a few days, I thought it better to keep my other letter till he went, and to send the warrant with it, which I now do, and hope they will reach you sooner than they could by the post.

CHARLES FORMAN McMAHON to JAMES III.

1717, Dec. 22. Versailles.—When I imagined myself entirely lost in your good opinion, though my chiefest resource was to throw myself at your feet, I wrote at the same time to Mr. M[enzies] in London to send over such a testimony of my stedfastness, loyalty and conduct as our correspondence, when I was in business, and he engaged in your affairs there, enabled him to do. He has at last answered my expectation in a letter to Mr. Gordon, as far as prudence would allow him without particularizing matters of fact.

It is so much in my favour that modesty will not permit me to transmit a copy of it, leaving that to Mr. Gordon. I thought myself obliged to give this account, for fear I might be thought not to have placed a sufficient confidence in Mr. Nairne's letter, and to have writ to Mr. M[enzies] after the receipt of it. I beg most humbly to thank your Majesty for your gracious assurances in that letter of the continuance of your protection and favour to me and to assure you that I will never give you the least grounds to alter your royal intentions towards me.

FANNY OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 22.—I am terribly afraid you'll say, "Lord, how troublesome this girl is; she's in the country, has nothing to do, so must every day plague me with her dull epistles," but have patience, the news that is the cause of this, if you have it not already, is the reason, and is worth reading.

(Then follows an account of the quarrel between King George and the Prince and the debates about reducing the Army, already given in previous letters, with a few more particulars, as that the Princess of Wales had written to the Prince d'Anspach and the Queen of Prussia to be godfather and godmother, that, when she was to leave her children she fainted twice, and that she was like to have died, and faints for two hours together the same day.)

The news of Paris is that a certain princess is again sick of the same distemper of Mrs. Baladin.

All our family are your slaves. We hear no more from the eldest (Anne Oglethorpe), but other people send me word she is prodigiously angry with me, though she does not say for what. The weakest always bears the burden, but I suffer it with patience and will be willing to do the same whenever it can be of use. I hope to manage better another time. We are more convinced than ever that what she knows is by the Sicilian correspondent, who told her and showed her the packet which was directed for my mother, and *Lord Ilay* sending for it gave her room to guess.

Sure the Georges' follies will do us good.

René is this minute come from Elbœuf. The two brothers are here, I never saw two such different animals.

We're told that Brinsden, who carried letters to England from Lord Bolingbroke, has been beaten most unmercifully, and has had his nose cut off. I believe his Lordship is not well pleased with his ambassador's ill usage, and a nose in a man's face makes a difference. I believe our nobility will be stunned at their princes' odd manner of treating them. Our nation is fit for slavery if they bear it. It's said the Duke of Orm[onde] is gone to Sweden. $2\frac{1}{2}$ pages.

BRIGADIER CAMPBELL to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 22. Bayonne.—*Barry's* most strange and unhappy affair fell out more than a month since. I cannot say anything positive about his guilt or innocence, nor more than what I desired *Tullibardine* to write you and *Dillon*, when I had first notice of it. I have heard twice from him since. He stands on his justification, and says that two Frenchmen who understood those matters, and whom he entertained for an honourable purpose, made a wrong use of their talent, and having escaped left him in the lurch. Had I written to you about him a fortnight ago, I had condemned him, for it was then told me by several, I thought above exception, that some barrels of copper cut for the impression of Spanish pistoles were consigned to *Barry* from Rotterdam. I find since these barrels of copper are copper shavings of no use but to be melted again, which he told me he would cause to be brought from Rotterdam, Hamburg and Gottenburg, that he might the better judge the price and quality in order

to serve himself for an end quite different from what he is accused of.

There is a story as if he had given a broker some false pistoles; if true, he is the greatest rogue alive, for he had brought us all in for it, if we had had a little more dealing with him, but I cannot find one of those pistoles extant, so that I cannot but lament his case and his poor family's.

(Informing the Duke of the writer's irrecoverable loss on this emergent, he being brought into 200 *livres* of necessary debts, and begging his deliverance.)

There is no getting an answer from *Dillon*, no more than credit from *R. Gordon*. Had his namesake Gilbert (*i.e.* Gen. Gordon) been here or many others, it had cost you the quadruple, and, had I any the least reserve as they have, you should never have been troubled with it.

I see by the public papers that the difference between *the King of Sweden* and *the Czar* is concluded. I understand the same by private accounts. I dare not beg a remove of station, though I know myself to have more interest in those gentlemen's families than any who has gone there; except such people as *Ormonde*, etc. Pray think on it. We have always occasions by sea, and I know more there than any can tell you, and it will cost you little.

(Recommending him, if he has any business thereabouts, Peter Neagle, merchant, as a correspondent.)

CARDINAL GUALTERIO to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 22. Rome.—Sending him his compliments for the New Year and desiring the continuance of his good graces. *French*.

LORD ORRERY to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 11[–22].—I am very much obliged for your good opinion of me in your letter of 9 Oct. I will endeavour to merit at least the continuance of it, by sending a very plain answer, and endeavouring to give you some tolerable light into our present situation, though I dare neither to write with my own hand nor with all the freedom you may perhaps think necessary. “You cannot expect, nay perhaps you could hardly wish, a much better disposition towards you than there is here at present. The many and the great grievances which have been felt by almost all sorts of people for these last three years have created a manifest abhorrence of the authors of 'em. The wretched qualifications of a certain person have raised a pretty general hatred of him, and a contempt of him almost universal, and the little prospect there is of any relief, whilst under ——— even from a change of ministers, if that could be had, have all contributed to give a turn of reflection, I am persuaded, to the generality of people very much in favour of ———. This is in my opinion our true state, and great advantages may

certainly be expected from it, nay, if the right use be made of it and prudent measures taken, I think the great project will be very likely to succeed, as likely as any project well can be, that must from the nature of it be liable to many accidents.

“But, I must say at the same time, there may be too great a dependence even on this fortunate conjuncture, for as good and as general as this disposition is towards the great work, yet that can only be assisted, not entirely effected from hence. Nothing, to be plain with you, but a considerable force from abroad can compass that end, how much soever it may be desired and wished for here, and, if any calculation be made on any other foundation, I am apt to believe it will be a fatal error, but things may be kept afloat here as you desire, and in probability they will, if there be any reasonable hopes of foreign assistance in some little time.”

I have now wrote a very naive description of our condition in general. If I can be of any use, I must be particularly instructed, and a trust must be put in me to make use of my knowledge and informations where I shall find it necessary. Some people foresee mighty difficulties in any scheme that can be proposed for overturning a formed government, though never so odious and despicable, others, that would be willing to enter on proper measures to shake off the present load almost at any hazard, have yet terrible apprehensions about Religion. If I was enabled from the best hand to open in proper places and at proper seasons so much of the design and of the methods proposed for effecting it, as I should judge necessary for convincing some cautious people of the probability of success, and was authorized too to give all possible assurances of the real intentions to secure and encourage the established Religion, I might perhaps be qualified to do my country some service.

Your great distance from us, I think, carries many inconveniences. If the affair should draw in length, would it not be possible for you to come nearer. 2 *pages*.

ACCOUNT.

[1717, December 22.]—For board wages and other disbursements from 6 Feb. to 22 December, 1717. The writer was at Epeny (Epinay) between his being at St. Amand (St. Mandé) and Liège, so Epinaay or Espinay, was probably the place where Mar stayed, after leaving St. Mandé, which is mentioned in the last volume as Esp—e and there conjectured to be Esperance.

FANNY OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 23.—Reminding him of what her sister took the liberty to speak to him of, viz., the grant of a peerage to her brother, and setting forth at great length the services of her

father and other ancestors, mentioning that King James left with her mother his George and privy seal, which she delivered afterwards to him with her own hands, and that the family was ancient enough, as the pedigree taken out of the Herald's Office to make the writer to be received a chanoinesse "which I should now be, if it did not oblige to residence almost always and other things which does not suit my present situation" proves. 5 pages.

J. MENZIES to L. INESE.

1717, Thursday, Dec. 12[-23].—We have had so many and so strong reports of the stopping of letters since this affair of the Prince that it seems most uncertain if anything by the common post shall come to your hands. But, since our correspondence consists only in matters of our own particular private affairs or in the public news, our letters can neither hurt nor offend anybody, and so perhaps they may pass.

As to the public, the King's own friends or party have got an entire victory at present over all opposition, for, after some light skirmishes in parliament and some hot speeches, wherein the Tories and the Walpole men have shown themselves very shallow and continued disjointed, the Court has in spite of both found a majority. And now, since the Walpole men have considered the Prince as submitting, and consequently that their support failed, and their further danger was certain, and complaining likewise that they were neglected by the Tories, they have made a sudden and thorough turn, and have run in *tête baissée* to the Court, so that in yesterday's vote in the Committee, and to-day in the full House for 3 *shillings* in the pound Land Tax, the Tories stood alone to the number of 80 or 90, and very hard to get so many of them to attend, even of those who are to come to town, but about 70 are not come at all. And now indeed they may stay at home, for the principal points of fleet, army and money are already voted and settled, which are the great business of the session, the fleet entirely as last year, the Army 16,000 men, without breaking of regiments or corps, and for this army 650 odd thousand pounds, which, if well managed, will maintain 25,000 men, if the Court has a mind to. The day this was voted in the full House many of the Tories were abed, and near a dozen of them went to dine and drink with Mr. Shippen in the Tower, who for a hot speech is thus not only punished, but disabled for this Session.

In short their behaviour this Session is generally compared to the whole affair of Preston, strange commanders, and strange conduct, etc.

The Prince's affair is variously believed and asserted. It is generally said, and by those who should know very well, that he entirely submits *carte blanche* and the particulars are very oddly talked of.

The order for his first confinement, and that for his getting him out of St. James' with his three letters to the King and the papers given to the foreign ministers by way of manifesto, of which there were two, you will see in print and in the public news in a little time, so I need not trouble you with them at present, not knowing either, if it be fit for a private man yet to meddle with them.

Though generally this entire submission is talked of and believed, yet others positively deny it and believe the contrary. *Nearly 2 pages.*

MRS. OGILVIE to CAPTAIN JOHN OGILVIE.

[1717], Dec. 12[-23].—I hope the long letter I wrote on Monday is come to you. One came to town yesterday from *Lord Oxford*, but he did not write to anybody, so all the answer I had was that, God willing, he would infallibly come to town Saturday night, but that I must not fail by Thursday's post to prevent *Capt. Ogilvie* stirring from where he is, for he declares his correspondence shall cease, if *Capt. Ogilvie* is not there. What he always designed is that no goods of his should come through any other hands but those he has trusted all along, and that, when he proposed *Capt. Ogilvie's* going with *Mar*, he thought there was a great deal of reason to believe that *the King's* family would have been here before now, and that *Capt. Ogilvie* would have had an opportunity to come back with him, but, had he thought there would have been use for sending so much as one parcel of goods more, he would never have dreamt of sending away *Capt. Ogilvie*. However, he says he is sure *Capt. Ogilvie* has better sense and knows *Lord Oxford* better than to believe he is capable of shaking him off, unless he give him some reason to be unkind, which he is very sure will never happen to him from *Capt. Ogilvie*, and on the other hand he says it's time enough for *Capt. Ogilvie* to suspect *Lord Oxford*, when he gives any demonstration of neglecting him or his. I find by his saying so, he is disobliged at your insisting on it. Therefore I beg you not to sour him too much. I know he likes you, therefore it would be quite wrong to vex him and besides it gives a handle for his not writing if you remove, and I should be very sorry *the King's* affairs were in the least neglected, but especially by any mismanagement of yours. Write to *Mar* and ask his advice. I am sure he will be entirely for keeping measures with *Lord Oxford*. He is too capable to serve *the King* not to be well used by all that are friends to him. I most earnestly recommend one thing to you, which is a parcel of goods that will come to you next week from here. *Anne Oglethorpe* will send it first to our friend at Calais and he will send it you. I beg you to forward it immediately to *Mar*. It is of very great value; and must be sent soon and safe. It must go by Mr. W. G[ordon's] way, if that be as quick and sure as *Mr. Dillon's*, but don't lose a moment in sending it. It's from the gentleman that sent

the King the pretty verses in imitation of Horace. *Lord Oxford* being out of town so long vexes me, because of keeping Peter all this while here. However, I hope to see him on Sunday at furthest, and then I'll know a little better what measures to take. It's talked here that the agreement will soon be made up at Court, the Prince having sent submissive letters.

It was *Mr. Cæsar* that came up yesterday from *Lord Oxford*. He seems to think you wrong to insist on going further, since *Lord Oxford* is absolutely against it, and he gives a very solid reason for it, (viz., that *Lord Oxford* was mistaken in thinking the King would soon return, *ut supra*). You can be much more useful where you are. He likewise says that, though it's true *the Bishop of Rochester* proposed your being laid aside, it would have been the last thing *Lord Oxford* would ever have done, and he takes it very ill that any of us should think him capable of abandoning an honest man for anybody's caprice. I shall write again on Monday after seeing *Lord Oxford*. I am to see *Lady Mar* to-morrow. Enclosed in *Ogilvie's* letter of 3 January. Over 3 pages.

SIR W. WYNDHAM to JAMES III.

1717, Dec. 12[–23].—Expressing his surprise and concern that his humble acknowledgments for the great honour done him some time ago had not reached him. Having since inquired from *Menzies*, to whom he delivered it, he had learned that it was, with several others destroyed.

You mentioned in your letter something of your breaking partnership with *Bolingbroke*. I am very sorry his subsequent behaviour has but too much justified that step, but how advantageous a light soever former friendship may have for some time set his actions in before my eyes, yet I can with confidence say, it never once led them from the fixed point of my duty.

THE DUKE OF MAR to J. MENZIES.

1717, Dec. 23.—I have been here about three weeks, and have had some of yours to *Inese* sent me, and one to *Mar*, which I delivered. I have since heard of *James Hamilton's* falling into his creditors' hands, which I am very much concerned for, but I hope none of his sureties will suffer by it, and that he will soon get himself cleared. I apprehended this very much, but your thinking there was no danger in it made me consent.

I am sorry mine of 9 Oct. was so long coming to you, but I hope it did long ere now, and that there's an answer by the road. Till I receive it, it is needless for me to say anything on the affair I wrote of so much then and formerly, and of which you write an excuse for what *James Hamilton* wrote about it. I answered that letter of *James Hamilton's* before yours to *Mar* came. I should be in more pain about it, were it not that

one to *Lady Mar* sent by the same address came safe after his misfortune, and that has encouraged me to write again that way to her, in which I desired her to speak to you to enquire for another letter sent her by another of *James Hamilton's* addresses. It is necessary new addresses should be sent both for her and you. I hope *James Hamilton* had none of his lists about him.

You'll take care to have the enclosed delivered safely, in which *the King* and I have wrote so fully of all the affairs of the company, that I need not repeat them.

The King was never better in his life, but we'll long impatiently to hear from you and other friends.

Postscript, December 29.—Having a sure occasion of sending this a good part of the way, I kept it till the occasion was ready, and I have so many letters to send by it that I am in some hurry, so cannot add much. *Inese* has since sent me yours to him of 11, 14, and 18 Nov. and that of the 10th for *Mar*, but I cannot now answer the particulars. I am very glad *Mrs. Ogilvie* and her cargo was at last arrived, and I'll be in expectation every post of hearing again from you on the disposal of the cargo, and when you saw how the goods were liked.

Mrs. Ogilvie will not probably be sent again, and on some extraordinary occasions at most. I have wrote both to the *Bishop of Rochester* and *Lord Oxford* about some speedy course being taken for establishing a new conveyance of goods or putting the old on a better foot, and *Capt. Ogilvie's* leaving the port where he was factor makes it the more necessary. Were there two ways of sending, it would be surest, and perhaps the customers would like it better too, but one way or other, I hope they will have one at least established soon, and, now that *the King* and I are at such a distance that it cannot be concerted with us, I have desired them to do it with *Dillon*.

Bolingbroke, we hear, is like to play the part of a complete scoundrel, and it seems he has lost all sense of honour, honesty and shame, but sure he is too well known by friends to be able to do hurt, and those he now courts by those vile ways cannot but despise him.

You say not a word of *James Hamilton*. Pray what is become of him?

I long to know what passed between *Edwards* (? *King George*) and *Shrewsbury*, you mentioned some time ago in one of your letters. I have recommended this to *Dillon* to forward by a sure conveyance. 3 pages. Copy.

L. INESE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 24. St. Germain.—All letters by last post from *England* assure that the breach between the father and son augments daily, as *Mar* will see by the enclosed, and what he will have from *Dillon*. The Parliament's so easily and with so great a majority allowing the Army to stand as it is,

and settling a fund for paying it next year has surprised every body. It would really seem to me as if that very breach in that family has very much contributed to it. If that be, the son must have a party, if not, it would seem that Walpole has a secret understanding with the Court. Be that as it will, I am persuaded *Mar's* character of Walpole is the true one, and that *Gualtier* either is imposed on himself or would impose on us. But on our side there is no danger in hearing, and that is all the length we shall go till we have surer ground to walk on than as yet, or, I fear, is like to appear.

Menzies gives but a very imperfect account of the state of affairs on that side in the enclosed, and mistakes entirely what I wrote about *Lord Lansdown*.

I said not a word of his honesty, but what I wrote supposed him to be honest. I wrote that *Lord Lansdown* being an old intimate comrade of *Bolingbroke's*, we were told this last was now endeavouring to make up with him and to renew old friendship, and therefore, to hinder that, I desired both *Menzies* and Ch. Kinn[aird] would do all they could to dissuade *Lord Lansdown* from having any correspondence or giving any countenance to a person who was using so infamous means to make his peace as *Bolingbroke* now was. What *Menzies* means by Morton's (*Bolingbroke's*) apology is what I never heard of, nor do I understand, perhaps *Mar* may.

The other two enclosed I had to-night together. I guess they are from *Sir H. Paterson*, but am not sure. He desires me to communicate their enclosures to *Queen Mary*, but, both being sealed, I did not think fit to open them.

The enclosed to *the King* I was ordered by *Queen Mary* to write to give him an account of *her* health, *she* having only time to read the dates of *the King's* letters which *she* will answer next post.

THE DUKE OF MAR TO DR. ERSKINE.

1717, Dec. 24. Urbino.—“ I saw lately a letter of yours of 29 Sept., o.s. to *Ormonde*, which, though short, is substantial, and shows how much *the King* is obliged to you by the kind proposal you make him from *the Czar*. *The King* is very sensible of it, and has ordered me to return you his hearty thanks, and he hopes you will still go on in your good endeavours for his service of which he will be ever mindful. This being only designed for yourself I may write freely on the subject to you. You know it is children we want, the sooner they come the better, and their not coming at all would be ruin to us. Besides, in the situation *the King* is, an agreeable person is a good deal to be considered, when he has so few things that are any way so to entertain himself with. I wish *the Czar's* daughter may answer all these, which if she does, *the King* cannot certainly match so happily elsewhere. The offer in *the Czar* is generous, and I hope the time will come when it will be of good account to him. You will allow that

it is reasonable *the King* should be informed of her person before he engage himself. I hope that may be soon, and I wish to God the account may be to his liking, and then it cannot be too soon concluded. We are told she is but young, not above thirteen, but that is a thing which is always amending, and can be no fault to obstruct it, and I am sure, if there be any that can, it will be a very great mortification to *the King*, who is very fond of the thing, but *as to it all our friend Ormonde, who is so near you, will adjust it with you, the King having wrote to him fully on it, and what else concerns his affairs in those parts.*

“If the newstruck friendship go on betwixt *King George* and *the Emperor*, and 'tis likely and we hear it does, what you propose of bringing *d'Uxelles* to, may be thought of and not unlikely to succeed, but so long as things are as when I left those parts, it would be to no purpose and indeed not safe to mention it to him, though I am persuaded that he and *the Regent* too would be very glad to see others show a good countenance to *the King*, and, when these came once to assist him, it is very probable *the Regent* would give a helping hand even without any stricter friendship betwixt those ladies (*i.e.* *King George* and *the Emperor*) than was formerly. But, should that grow more close as by the situation of affairs it can scarce fail of doing, I have no doubt but *the Regent* would be glad to assist *the King* as far as he could. In either case, the affair of marriage you propose for him cannot be disagreeable to *the Regent* and *d'Uxelles*, but I think it is better to say nothing of that to them till it be finished.

“We long mightily to know how things are agoing betwixt [the] other two ladies, *the Czar* and *the King of Sweden*, I would fain hope that all is settled by this time, and then that as *the King* will find the good effects of it so that *King George* shall the contrary.

“We are here in a strange place of the world, or rather I may say out of it, pray give your helping hand in getting us soon to a better though colder climate. I hope I shall not be allowed time to go to see the fine town and that would be a balk to one of my taste, though there are ways to make it an agreeable one. I have not heard from our friend *Sir H. Stirling* a long while, and I fancy he may be at least near you before this. If he be, my kind compliments to him.

“I wrote you from Liège a long letter about my health, which I fear never came to your hands. I have been pretty well all the time I was a travelling, which has been almost ever since I wrote to you till a month ago that I came here to my master, and it still continues so. There will be likely an occasion of sending letters soon after you get this from *Ormonde* hither, and you may be sure I will be glad to hear from you. I wish you would send me the receipt of that powder for my stomach you promised me and forgot to give it, for from thence all my ails proceeds.

“Your cousin Will. [Erskine], my fellow traveller, salutes you, and wishes we had good wine here to drink your health and

preserve ours, but, though it be a wine country, that which is tolerable is scarcer than, I believe, amongst your snow and ice. If the affair of *the marriage* goes on, as I hope and wish heartily it may, I may see your habitation e'er long I hope, and from thence that we may go together with some good company to see our old friends and acquaintances." *Draft in Mar's hand.*

THE DUKE OF MAR to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1717, Dec. 24.—God forgive you for exposing poor Father Græme's letter. He did not think it would have gone further than yourself, which made him write so freely. He is not over wise, but means well and is good enough for the use I made of him, and was of some in getting me intelligence of what passed thereabouts. I shall not inform him of his letters being seen, but he'll hear of it, as he does most things at *St Germain's*. These people all hate him, and this will give them a handle to do him all the mischief they can. I once proposed to him to keep correspondence with another, but he would not, nor have any dealing with anybody there but yourself. Do not think I am over fond of him. I know his love to meddling, that he is credulous, and not overstocked with discretion, but I have always found him honest, and know he loves our master and would venture his life to serve him, and, though he speaks his mind freely, where he thinks he's safe, nobody has a greater regard for *Queen Mary*. I do not wonder to see *Queen Mary* angry with him on that letter, and I'll be far from justifying his indiscreet zeal, though the thing had been true, as it is not, but his credulity made him believe it was. I am not pleased with him for another reason, his showing my letters to the Jew, contrary to his promise on my first entering into correspondence with him.

I have the offer of a new correspondent in these parts, who, to show his intelligence, tells me of some things I thought could not be known without the help of a familiar, and I cannot imagine how he came by that knowledge, thinking myself sure that not above three more than myself knew anything of them, and those I thought myself sure of. Were I in the land of the living, this correspondent might be of use, if he can find out other secrets as well as those he has given for an example, but in the wilderness we are in, I see little service it can do. *Copy.*

THE DUKE OF MAR to L. INESE.

1717, Dec. 24.—*Dillon* will inform you how you come to be so long hearing from us. (Mentioning what letters of his he had received since he wrote on the 26th.)

We are here as it were out of the world, at least Europe, so it signifies very little what we think or say, and our writing is to very little purpose. Many a revolution has happened in less time than since we heard from the land of the living,

which has not been since Bask arrived on the 5th, so one can have but very little gusto for writing from hence, especially as, before his friends can receive his answer to any thing they write, what they write about must in all likelihood be past. I do not wonder the people of this country give themselves to music, architecture, etc., since they are in a manner out of communication with the world, and must have things not depending on it to entertain themselves.

From that, together with their hot climate, comes their laziness and inactivity, and, if some of us stay long here, we shall become as much so as they can be. When I think so of it in winter, you may judge what I will in the hot weather. Heaven send us a good and quick deliverance at least from this place.

I hope there are letters on the road for us from England, for I long much to know what they are doing there. Your fancy of the three people they may make use of for a plot seems not ill founded. Should they bring in *James Hamilton* for a fourth, it would be comical. If they hang him for a conjurer, they mistake their man. I see not how they can hurt him, if his own simplicity and prating, judging himself all the while very cunning, do not give them a handle. I apprehended this on his going, but *Menzies* would have him come. I long to hear of him, and I wish it may not bring *Lady Mar* to some trouble, since he went over with her. *Menzies* is mighty long of giving satisfaction in the affair of the *Bishop of Rochester's money*, and, if he do not do it on what I wrote him last, it is needless for me to say more.

The money from the *Pope*, which we thought ourselves so sure of on occasion, is like to fail altogether, and, if that of *Francia's* do so too, the consequence must be fatal, even should the *Czar* and the *King of Sweden* agree in assisting the *King*, and I despair now of any from *England*.

I have several from our correspondents at Brussels, since I came here, besides what you sent, none of which I could make sense of till Creagh came with the cipher, and there's little in them and scarce worth answering. I doubt not you have had several from him too. I'm afraid you'll be tempted at least to say to him what you told me M. de Louvois said to one of his correspondents, "to continue to write on imp——t, as it was." He means well and has a working head which has nothing now to be taken up with but those projects, but I suppose by this time he sees there is an end of them all by the new agreement, which is, I suppose, before this time betwixt *King George* and the *Emperor*, on which his friend there told him all depended.

You were wrong informed of *Lord Seaforth* and his aunt's having sent then the justification you mention, for it came not here till 10 days after that which you sent. *The King* would read both when he had time. *The Duke of Gordon* has had a very bad clerk and it seems they have not all their materials

by them, for some are inserted defective, and they should not therefore have said it was a true copy, nor was it prudent to name some things and places positively, since it is generally known that some of the things were not so and the true places are several miles from those named. I see you have been so cautious not to help one word of it, not so much as in making some parts of it sense, it not being so, occasioned, I suppose, by a Frenchman's transcribing it, and indeed the whole shows plainly you had no hand in it.

It has only some flings at *Mar* and it spares not *the Duke of Perth* nor *Earl Marischal*, though it does not name them as it does *Lord Seaforth*. Whatever either of them says for their own justification they say enough against each other, and one should think there should be no great entreaty wanting to keep them from publishing them, but all this to yourself. *The Duke of Gordon's* friend, who saw *Mar* at Paris, not seeing *the King* when in this country, as he told *Mar* he positively intended, looks very odd and can be ascribed to nothing but *the Duke of Gordon's* commands. This had best be added to the justification as a postscript, especially if it be printed, but enough of all that. I suppose they are both now returned from whence they came.

Glenb[ucket] said he would leave an address and cipher with you. Let me know if he did. He is an honest, brave fellow, and it will be none of his fault if he do not well when occasion offers. I need repeat nothing of what is said to *Queen Mary* and *Dillon* on the affair which occasioned the express.

I may have letters of yours before this go, but, if Bask go, as we design Monday or Tuesday at furthest, I shall not have time to answer them by him, but shall do it by the post.

(About how Lady *Mar* and he himself sent their letters to each other.)

You have long ere now, I suppose, seen what *the King* wrote to *Dr. Leslie*, so I need say nothing, only it will come in good time and be of use for defeating some of the mischief we hear *Bolingbroke* intends to do, besides other good consequences it cannot fail of having. Creagh has not brought me a receipt for the bag of papers of mine he left with you and your brother, therefore I wish you would send it me.

Postscript. December 27.—We still keep Bask in expectation of fresher letters to-morrow and Wednesday, though *the King* has got the answer to his letter he so long kept him for.

I thank you for the enclosed you sent, though it was not from Lady *Mar*, but from an old Whig acquaintance that still ventures to correspond with me.

The King has showed me Berry's (? St. Amand's) to *Dicconson*, by which it seems as if he knew little of *Ormonde* and his friends with relation to *Bolingbroke*. What you say you were to write on it can do no hurt, but I fear little prejudice he can do with

those two gentlemen you mention and the less either as to them or others, by what *James Murray* writes to *Dillon*. *Bolingbroke*, it seems, has lost all sense of honour &c. (About him as in his letter to *Menzies* of the day before.) C. K[in-nair]d is sufficiently apprised of all his doings, and, I am sure, will bestir himself in preventing any mischief he can do, as much as his courage will allow him, and with the two you name and have a mind he should speak, he is safe, and doubtless has been on it with them long ere now. I wonder *Menzies* says nothing of *James Hamilton*.

I find by one from *James Murray* people there are far yet from satisfied with *Menzies* about that parcel of money, so you may see what credit is to be given to what he says himself in that.

Postscript. December 29.—I have to-day yours of the 6th with *Menzies*' enclosed. It is odd he says nothing yet of *James Hamilton*, so I would hope he is again out of trouble. I have wrote to him now, which I have sent to *Dillon* with some other letters he is to send to *England*. I am truly concerned for *Dr. Abercromby*. I believe *the King* has wrote to *Queen Mary* about his wife.

Is *the Regent* resolved to pay no more money? I cannot help apprehending the worst on that head. 6¼ pages. Copy.

THE DUKE OF MAR TO LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1717, Dec. 24.—After waiting since I wrote to you the 11th for a return of *the King's* letter I then mentioned, and none yet come, we cannot think of keeping *Bask* any longer than Monday next in expectation of it, and that nothing may detain him then, I write now. I doubt not you think he's lost by the way. Two posts from your parts are not yet come to us, though due several days ago, occasioned, I suppose, by the snow on the hills.

The King is resolved to wait a few days longer to see if any return come to his letter (it will be exceeding odd if one does not of one kind or other) before he dispatch one to *Ormonde* on what you wrote by *Bask*, which he has been intending ever since he knew of that affair, and all the letters are ready wrote for his going. I should be glad all these letters were to be wrote over again, on *the King's* getting such an answer to that I mention above as he wishes, but I am afraid that will not be the case. *The King* is to send a copy of his to *Ormonde* to *Queen Mary*, who will show it you, and it is so full that it is altogether needless in me to recapitulate what's there. I wish we may not find that the affair of *the marriage* which *Dr. Erskine* mentions, nay even proposes, may not depend on the other part of the proposals taking place. This of *the Czar's daughter* is certainly preferable to any that has yet been in view, if her person be found tolerable, but this last is absolutely necessary to be known, before *the King* be engaged. My

greatest fear is that this affair may be spun out to a great length, and so disappoint others that might do, and not be sure itself at last, though the thing seems so advantageous that all that is to be ventured, and, whatever come of that, I think it would be much better for *the King* to be in some part of *the Czar's* country, if it can be brought about, than where he is, and I reckon you'll be of that opinion. *The Regent* could not but like it, and, if things go on betwixt *King George* and *the Emperor* as we hear, and as 'tis likely they do, he will come to like it more and more, and would undoubtedly endeavour to make it useful to him, which it were easy for him to do. In that view what *Dr. Erskine* says of proposing a certain thing to *d'Uxelles* might be advisable. *Dr. Erskine* supposed, I judge, that there are two parties about *the Regent* and I believe he found it so, but, till things alter very much from what they were then, it is not to be supposed that *d'Uxelles* would enter into such an affair, and so not to be proposed to him, nor indeed he entrusted with it. Things though may be very much altered since then, and of that you must judge as you find them. If *the Regent* see plainly new friendships made up betwixt *King George* and *the Emperor*, sure it will not be in *du Bois'* power to impose any more on him. I long to hear from you how that new friendship of those two ladies goes on. Nothing can be so lucky for *the King* as it's being very close and strong, for *King George's* with *the Regent* must decrease as the other augments. *Dillon's* much in the right to have something tried towards breaking or lessening that of the two last, and that paper he sent *the Bishop of Rochester*, of which he sent *the King* a copy in his of 13 Nov., is in my opinion a master-piece for that end. I wish friends may take the hint and enter into it, but they are sometimes too wise to be advised, I speak of them in a body. I am sure *the Bishop of Rochester* will take it, and so will some others, if he communicates it to them, as I doubt not he will, and I'll be in pain to hear their going about it. The message *Dillon* sent by *George Kelly* was very well, and sure there may be answers come or on the road to these two particulars and also to my last packet thither. *The King* could not defer answering the fine letter he had from *the Bishop of Rochester*, and, since he was writing to him, he thought it right to write to *Lord Oxford* too. I send them separate each enclosed in one from me, and that to *the Bishop of Rochester* enclosed again in one to *James Murray*, which is the way he desired me to send his. That for *Lord Oxford* I have enclosed as usual to *Menzies*. They are all sent open to you that you may peruse them, and then find a way of sending them safe as soon as you possibly can. Our distance is now so great and letters so long agoing that any thing we can say from hence is of very little use, which makes me much less inclined to write than I used to be. You will see I have proposed to *the Bishop of Rochester* and *Lord Oxford* settling with you a new conveyance or to have the former put

on a better foot, and that they should correspond with you. I believe it would not be amiss they had different ways of sending to and hearing from you, which has made me say nothing to either of them of my having wrote to the other about a new way of corresponding. If they propose one and the same way, good, but if not, it is better to be at the charge of two ways than to impose the same way on them both. (About how the letters are to be sealed.) In case *Lord Oxford* should write to you, I send a copy of the cipher I have with him, and I hope he will, for with us it will now be to very little purpose, especially in things requiring dispatch. It was not thought advisable to name *the Czar's daughter* to any of them there, and I believe you will follow the same course, till it be more certain.

Creagh brought me the addition to the Montmelian cipher, but I believe it will be necessary to make one entirely new on the same model and with the same names, which I'll do as soon as I have time, and send you a copy of it for yourself, of which you may give one to *Queen Mary* and another to *Inese*. *The King* is apprehensive that that cipher is now in so many hands that it will soon become no disguise at all, but, for helping of that, when we have any nice matter to write of, we may use that new one of figures made for us two, *Ormonde* and *Jerningham* last summer. I long for that of *Sparre's* which I expected by Creagh, that I may have one made in that manner, though I believe for all the writing I shall now have occasion for, I have ciphers enough. I hope you have heard from *Sparre* by this time. (About James Hamilton, as in his letter to *Inese* and about Father Græme, as in his other letter to Dillon.)

I have had several letters from *Tullibardine* and Glend[aru]le about the affair of *swords* and *targes*, but have referred them to you for directions in all that matter, and indeed, as soon as money can be got, it cannot be better bestowed than on those commodities. I know you are so much of that opinion, that I need say no more, and that you will not neglect it, when there is a possibility. I wish it were once begun, and the rest of the payments might be by degrees.

Postscript. December 29.—Last Sunday the answer *the King* was expecting came, and was as we apprehended it would be, so now the letters by an express for *Ormonde* are to be dispatched as soon as we can, and I heartily wish that *the Czar's daughter* may be found agreeable, and that no impediment may happen to prevent it's being a match, and as soon concluded as their situations can possibly permit.

Since Bask has been kept so long, we thought it best to keep him some few days longer for the letters we expected from France this week, which are all come. (Account of what letters had come.)

I am glad *James Murray* writes so frequently, and hope he'll continue to do so. By Mrs. *Ogilvie's* being now arrived with

them with her cargo, it will, I hope make them all the easier, and the more when they know he is not to come again, and that *Capt. Ogilvie* is removed, but I wish another may be soon put in his place. Pray send the enclosed packets for *James Murray* and *Menzies* as soon as you possibly can.

Bolingbroke is like to prove the greatest monster and scoundrel that ever was heard of. I suppose he has not left your parts, and, though there be little honour to be got by an affair with such a scoundrel and coward, he really deserves a hearty drubbing, and there are people enough who would have pleasure in doing it. I do not apprehend it will be much in his power to do great hurt to *the King* with *England*, but it is really a pity he should be allowed to go there without due correction suitable to such a vile wretch. What does *James Murray* mean by *Lord Oxford* for being so useful and able to furnish the commodity so much wanting, which I suppose is the affair of *money*? Sure it cannot be *Lord Oxford*, for he neither has nor ever had any considerable quantity of those effects, and he has ever wrote against any thing being done there for procuring them, as impossible to be done with any success and without doing more hurt by an unavoidable discovery it would make, than good. If he means *Lord Oxford*, you must know he never liked him, and this may be a design to make *the King* put him on a thing they know there he would not do. The Devil is in people, I think, there, that they cannot agree, when nothing almost but their doing so can bring about what they all wish for, but it is the old fate of *the Tories'* family, which, I hope, will never come on this side of the sea.

With some difficulty we have got *Bagnal's* letter deciphered, which, though confused enough, gives an odd view of *Görtz* and makes me still expect the less from him. I did not doubt he would not like *Jerningham's* or anybody's going thither on that errand, but he failed in his cunning when he told it. *The King* is the more pleased that *Jerningham* is gone there for his not liking it, and, I think, with reason. It seems *Görtz* is even afraid of people with his own master, and so, I believe, he has cause, for, soon or late, he will find him out. All I shall say further is that, on knowing of that conversation, I'll long the more for your hearing from *Sparre*.

I hear your family is increased. Allow me to wish you joy on't though a girl, for I fancy it is with you, as it used to be with myself, both equally welcome. 8 pages. Copy.

THE DUKE OF MAR TO JAMES MURRAY.

1717, Dec. 24.—I am very sorry to hear since I came here about a month ago, that mine for you of 9 October was so long getting to you, but I hope you had it safe long before now, and that there's an answer by the road by this time. I will not trouble you now about any of the affairs of the company,

since *the King* and I have wrote in the enclosed all we can say about them at this time. I never saw him better than he is at present. Pray write as often as you find a good occasion.

Postscript. December 27.—Since I wrote, I have yours of 11 November and that to *Dillon* of the 8th. You mistook if you thought I meant anything against you in mine of 1 and 12 August, and indeed I did not directly mean it against anybody. I was a little piqued at the reiterate complaints you informed me those people had, which seemed all levelled against me, when I knew I was no way to blame, though all I meant was, that, if I was as apt to take exceptions and make complaints as they, I had full better reason to do it on the grounds I then wrote, but for God's sake let us on both sides be more ready to excuse than to find fault, which is the better way to make the affairs of the company succeed, though, when complaints are made, I shall be very glad to be informed of it by you in order to my doing all in my power to have them amended. What you tell *Dillon* of your old acquaintance we have also from other hands. (About Bolingbroke, as in his other letters of the same date.) It was very lucky you chanced to be where his agent came, and, as your endeavours could not but do good against the poison there, so they will, I doubt not, have the same effects where you now are. If you can get us a copy of any of those things you mention of his putting about, we will be glad of it, and, if you cannot, pray give us as particular an account of them as you can and the very words in those papers he founds mostly upon. You have probably seen a paper of *the King* to *Dr. Leslie*, which will, I hope, have come in good season to show the falsehood of those aspersions he would endeavour to fix on that gentleman by the alterations he says were made of a few words in that paper you mention.

My last cargo not being come to hand at the writing of yours is wonderful, but I have reason to believe it was soon thereafter, and I have wrote so fully in the enclosed to *the Bishop of Rochester* how to prevent those dilatory accidents in future, that it is needless to say anything here. Pray let us hear from you as often as you can.

Before the opportunity of sending this was ready, two posts are come, by which *Dillon* sends me yours of 15, 18, and 21 November, (o.s.). You do well to write so frequently, by which *the King* is very well pleased, and orders me to return you his thanks and desires you to continue to do so.

The occasion of sending now offers, so I have not time to add much, nor to answer all yours particularly. I am glad the long expected cargo has at last come safe. I wrote to send the person who had the charge of them no more, seeing no occasion for it, and, as I told *the Bishop of Rochester*, the person who had the charge of embarking them on this side is now removed from that post, so I wish heartily another factor may be soon employed, and a more certain way of sending fixed. It was none of my fault *the Bishop of Rochester's*

parcels were sent last year by that conveyance, but I had no other sure way.

A thing in one of yours I do not understand, where, in speaking of the commodity so much wanted you say *Lord Oxford* is the ablest to do service that way. How do you mean that for the gentleman of that name, who, I know, never had any quantity of that commodity himself, and he has always said that getting it there was impracticable and not to be attempted, for the unavoidable discovery it would make could not fail of doing more hurt than all that could be got would do good? And indeed, unless the way I sent you word of, can be brought to bear of getting a few to do it, I see not how it is practicable or advisable to be set about otherways. 4 pages. Copy.

The DUKE OF MAR to the BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

1717, Dec. 24.—Regretting the delay about his letter of 9 Oct. as in the last letter.—The only sure way I had of sending letters last summer, which was the reason of my sending yours that way, has proved so tedious that I wish you could fall on another, and, what makes it the more necessary is I am not sure if the former way continues, the person who had the care of it on this side being called hither upon desire of the gentleman who recommended him. Before I left Paris, I wrote to one, who used to be assisting to him who is now recalled, to take care of that conveyance till another was appointed and that he should correspond with Mr. Dillon about it, to whom he was also to send all the packets that came from your parts. Mr. Dillon is so much nearer you than I, that I leave it to you and him to adjust this matter either by settling a new way or by getting the old put on a better footing. I have wrote to him of this, and I hope you will soon settle a sure and quick way. I would have wrote to you more particularly of this in my last, if I had not hoped that the master of the boat, who used to carry the packets over, would have been more careful in future upon what had been said to him, but I find now he is not to be cured and so other ways are absolutely necessary to be thought of. I think this affair is of consequence.

I never saw the King look better nor in so good health. He has asked your advice on a certain affair in the enclosed that he spoke of to me on my arrival. I told him my opinion very freely, but at the same time that he should consult those who know the present temper of *England's* people, I having been a considerable time from amongst them. I was besides unwilling that any countryman of ours should miss any benefit he could do him on my opinion solely of its being against his interest to recommend any to that post. He had been told, before I came, that the time drew near when it would fall to be his turn to recommend one to a Cardinal's post and that his neglecting to do it might hurt his interest abroad, by other princes thinking the Pope had not regard to him, and that it

was to be considered whether he should recommend an Englishman or a stranger. He put off giving any answer till he should speak to me, and I told him that in my opinion the English would not at all like to hear of his having any dealings with the Court of Rome more than he must, and that the more they saw him in favour or have interest there, the worse they would like it, and particularly in this of a Cardinal, and that, unless they saw he reaped some considerable advantage to himself elsewhere either from the person himself, or on his account, which he could not have otherways, they would not approve of it, and even the person being an Englishman would not make it otherways, on the contrary might rather occasion their being more displeased with it; that I saw no inconveniency in his not recommending one at present, for any who might think him neglected by none being made now on his recommendation may have the reason told them; that his not recommending now would be an ease to the Pope by his having one more to dispose of, and, if at another time the King should think fit to do it, his not having done it now would make his recommendation then the stronger; that the loss the English would have by Mr. Howard's not getting now that post, who is the only one of that country that could be thought of, though he never spoke of it to the King, will not be great, and, if any, will only be to some few of the Roman Catholics, which is not to be put in balance with any part of his own interest with the bulk of the English nation. This was what occurred to me which I submit to you, and I am sure you will advise in this as in other things what is fit for him to do, and the sooner, the better.

The King has wrote so fully on the affair of marriage that I need say little, only I must tell you it was a great pleasure to me, as I reckon it will be to you, to find him so fully determined to pursue it, and to have it done one way or other without loss of time, and I hope God will give a blessing to his endeavours.

I don't doubt you are pleased with the King's letter to Mr. Leslie, which, I suppose you have seen, and I hope it will have good effects. There was not time to consult you, but Mr. Leslie was desired in general to have it advised before the publication with friends on your side, I being unwilling to name you in particular, though I know he would understand who I meant.

We have heard lately from the Duke of Ormonde, since he arrived at Mittau, where he is by the Czar's advice till he have a return from a gentleman he sent to Sweden. We hope the agreement betwixt the Swede and the Muscovite is near finished by this time. The last grows every day more hearty and well inclined towards the King, and it will be odd if the other be found less so. Were those Princes once made up, we have reason to expect the good offices of it, which we have been so long wishing and labouring to bring about. It is scarce possible but the Government must suspect whereabouts

the Duke is, and that there is some negotiation on foot with these two princes, but it may not be unlucky that it knows nothing certainly about all that matter at the opening of Parliament, which we hope is not yet come to so great a length to take surmises for certainties, nor to do as if they were. We will long for accounts from you what this session is likely to do. They seem to want a plot much to support them, but I hope all they can say or do to forge one will not prove sufficient to pass it upon the Parliament and people.

Mr. Dillon gives me an account of a project he sent you to be made use of in Parliament, which in my opinion is a masterpiece; if you can get people to come into it, and, if our friends be as willing to join with the outed Whigs as they, I imagine, will be to do so with them, I cannot but think the Court will be very hard put to it, but for us at this distance to speak of those things is doing it in the dark, and we must refer them to you who are on the place and better judges.

I suppose on what I wrote in my last some of you have wrote what was necessary to the Duke of Ormonde, and I hope you may soon hear from him.

The distance we are at indeed is cruel, which I wish may not last long, but, while it does, it will be necessary for you or some by your direction to keep correspondence with Mr. Dillon, who will write to you immediately on what requires haste, and inform us of all in the quickest way. This I have wrote to him, I have proposed to you. I enclose a copy of the letter which you asked and I had destroyed, thinking it was of no further use. The paper mentioned in it, of which I wrote you since desiring your thoughts thereon, is on the road I hope ere now from you hither, and soon may there be occasion for making use of it.

This goes by an express which by chance offered, by which it will go much quicker than by the post to Paris, and I wish there may be as quick and sure a way found of sending it from thence.

Postscript. December 29.—Waiting for a sure occasion made me delay dispatching this till now, and I have just heard that mine of 9 October was at last come safe to your hands. 6 pages. *Copy.*

THE DUKE OF MAR TO LORD OXFORD.

1717, December 24.—In my last of 9 October I told you I was to set out for this place in a few days, which I did, but my journey was not very quick, there being little at that time to press me, and I was glad to take that opportunity of going a little about to see so fine a country, so I arrived here but 22 November.

(About the King's good health and about his nominating a Cardinal as in the last letter.)

I was overjoyed to find the king so fully determined to make no further delay in marrying but to have it done soon somewhere

or other. In my last I told you what made that match we formerly so much wished not fit to be any more thought of. Since he knew that, he has several others in his thoughts, all suitable and some very likely to succeed. He has people now about seeing several of them, so that on their report he may fix and set about the completing it without loss of time, and it will be hard and scarce to be expected that all of them will fail.

(About the Duke of Ormonde, as in the last letter.)

You will have had an account of all concerning Lord Peterborough from our friends at Paris long before this, so I need say little of it, that being now over here, as I wish it may elsewhere. The King would have been glad to have had your further advice in it, as I wrote, but the Pope came to be so alarmed about it, that there was no delaying his entire liberation by the King. He has published a very foolish paper, which, I suppose he'll take care to have also sent into England, in which he is not quite so civil to the King as he was in all his discourse and writings before. He is mightily enraged against those who gave the information, and will do all he can to discover them, and on that account I wrote to Madame de Mezières to put them on their guard with him. I never mentioned anything of that message in any of my letters thither but to yourself, Mistress Oglethorpe, Mr. C[æsa]r, and *Menzies*, to whom I could not avoid something of it, but to the last I only wrote in general and without naming anybody. I wish others, who were informed of it, may have used the same caution both at Paris and to England, for I dread his discovering something about it, the consequence of which could not but be very bad.

I am very sorry to understand that my last of 9 October was so long by the way, and I have not yet heard of its being come to you, nor of Mrs. *Ogilvie's* arrival. This is the third time we have been so served by that conveyance, and now, when *Ogilvie* is come away, as you would have it, I am afraid it will be worse, so it is absolutely necessary some new conveyance be established, or the old one put in a better way. It is impossible for us at this distance to do it, but Mr. Dillon, who is at Paris and whom you may trust, can do it with you. The great distance we are at makes it also seem necessary there be a correspondence betwixt him and you, but of this you are best judge, and you may be sure I would not propose your being in anybody's hands, but in such as I am sure you would be safe.

Postscript. December 29.—(Similar to that to the last letter.) 4½ pages. Draft in Mar's hand.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Saturday, Dec. 25.—I sent you last Tuesday's post what news I had then from *England*, and now enclose two letters since received from *J. Murray* and *George Kelly*.

I find by *Sir R. Everard* that *Shippen* was to be one of the chief actors in the *money* affair, and that he also undertook to manage a certain proposal sent over by *Dillon* some time ago, a copy of which was addressed to *the King* 13 Nov. last. *Mr. Shippen's* accident and *the Bishop of Rochester's* indisposition are very uncomfortable circumstances, especially in this conjuncture, but there is no remedy.

Sir R. Everard and *Kelly* repeat in many of their letters that nothing would forward the *money* affair so much as having good hopes from *the King of Sweden*, but you know it's neither fair nor becoming to give any assurance about that without sufficient grounds for so doing, for which reason all I could say hitherto was, that I hoped it would turn to good account.

I received a letter from *Ormonde* of 22 Nov. and one from *Butler* of the 29th. There is nothing material in either, nor the least news. *Ormonde* is very impatient to hear from *the King*, having received no answer to several addressed directly to him, I suppose by way of Germany.

Basque is not yet returned, and we had such continual rains these 20 days, that, if it was the same in Italy, God alone knows when he'll be here. He wrote to me the 3rd from *Plaisance* with a dismal account of the great floods which delayed him considerably.

I doubt not you'll be curious to know what *the Regent* and chief people think and say of the broils in *England*. I don't find they are in the least troubled at it. I am told *Du Bois* parted only yesterday for *England* and could not discover his late mission which is still kept a great secret. 3 pages.

FANNY OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Christmas Day.—I received to-day yours of 26 Nov., and am very glad you arrived at the end of your long voyage in good health. I writ you three lately, especially the last to which I long for an answer. As for *Peterborough*, if he comes, *Madame de Mezières* will take care [of him], and is not obliged to name anybody to him, but he'll be informed by other people of what I suppose [he desires] to know from her, for Mr. *D[illo]n*, *Strickl[an]d*, Mr. *In[ne]s* and 20 more know that *Anne Oglethorpe* sent the message. A secret is seldom kept by so many people. They have already communicated it to enough of their friends [and have] made the coffee-house people talk several times, as Mr. —, who is now in England, wrote me word. There is reason to believe he knows it already, since he intends to [demand] an explanation from her. The very man that was sent was kept here a fortnight, long enough to be known, where he was asked publicly questions at *D[illon]'*s. It's unlucky *Anne Oglethorpe* is named, because it will expose the first authors of the message, I mean *Lord Oxford* and his party. Had he been put on another scent, it had been better,

which was very easy, since the news came from several other hands the following posts. Besides it's disagreeable to have a man like him for an enemy, who, you may be sure, will sit on our skirts. I believe he's now furious and you may be certain that, if he or his friends can hurt *Anne Oglethorpe* or her brothers, they'll find the effects ont. As for *Madame de Mezières*, presumably he can do her neither hurt nor good. We are informed for certain he is making a manifesto and that he paints in very black colours those he accuses to be the authors of his misfortune. (Then follows a passage so torn as to be unintelligible.)

You dont say anything of *Lord Ilay's* affair. Could it be that he was not pleased with his last letter, which he thinks not plain enough? You know the animal. It's a great deal for him. He always dreaded giving any answer, thinking himself then engaged and time will now bring the rest. They say his friends were in the last occasion entirely for disbanding the army. You must judge by his actions when things come to a push. We must endeavour to conjure up spirits enough to drive him from his cold fit.

The *Etats* of Brittany to the great astonishment of the Court, have positively refused to give the *don gratuit* of two millions, till they are re-established in all their ancient rights and privileges, on which the Marschal de Montesquoy rose and broke the assembly by a letter he had from the Regent in his pocket and retired. They continued sitting, pretending that a letter of *cachet* was not of consequence enough to dissolve, which is very insolent. The Court has ordered 24 *escadrons* and 12 *bataillions* to march to reduce them to reason, which will soon have the desired effect, if the neighbouring [province] does not follow so ill an example. There are cabals to turn out M. de Noailles and they talk of M. de Maret to take his place. I question if you comprehend [all] of my letters, for I forget daily my English without getting any other language.

The BISHOP OF ROCHESTER to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 14[-25].—(Printed in the *Stuart Papers*, p. 11.)
8 pages.

JAMES MURRAY to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 14[-25].—Having sent you a memorial to give you a view of your affairs in general and being told by *the Bishop of Rochester* that he intends himself to convey to you some hints he has lately received, I will confine myself to such particulars as I apprehend you may not otherwise be thoroughly informed of. "In the first place, may not one suppose that what has happened of late may possibly change *the Regent's* way of thinking? His aim is to succeed to the *King of France's* estate in the event of his death; as to which particular, *England's* interest, whoever may have the direction of him, is unalterably of his side, since it can never permit

England to suffer one person to be master of *France* (probably a mistake for Spain) and to possess *the King of France's* estate at the same time. Why then is it not certain that *England* would have it more in its power to secure *the Regent's* claim and at the same time its own interest, if by *the Regent's* means *the King* was brought to it? since that incident would remove those divisions which at present make its power contemptible, and which will make it impossible for it to assist *the Regent* effectually, if the event above mentioned should happen. And I must tell you that in the opinion of all mankind here, even of *the Whigs* who are out of humour, a simple declaration of friendship from *the Regent* would do the business, and therefore, if this matter was laid before him in its true light, it must make impression upon him, from that dear principle of his own interest, if he is a man of such understanding as he is reputed to be; at least it seems worth while to make a trial.

"Since the accidents which have happened of late, I have had an hour's discourse with the youngest of the two gentlemen mentioned in your last and in one of my former letters. I put him in mind that I had last year taken the liberty to speak freely to him upon a certain subject. That I now thought it proper to let him know that I had done it by commission, and that such a commission was now repeated; from which at least this fruit was expected by those who gave it, that whatever might happen, both he and his friend must be sensible that they had been treated with the regard which was due to their characters. To which he answered, that he was determined to be quiet and to act within the laws of his country. That, if his inclinations had led him to do otherwise, he found himself unable to do any service in another way; but that there was nothing in *the Parliament's* way that he would not do. That his friend was entirely in these sentiments, and that no consideration upon earth should prevail upon him either to serve *the Elector of Hanover* or his old master, from whom he is now happily disengaged, but that he was too much aware of the designs of his enemies to give them any handle to execute them. He expressed a great concern for his country and seemed amazed that *the Regent* did not enter into a thing which was so palpably for his interest, especially since he could do it by holding up his finger, to use his own expression. He told me he had never been much deceived in his expectations of young *Elector of Hanover* (i.e. the Prince of Wales) but that now he believed every body was satisfied as to that particular. From what is above you may perceive these gentlemen's way of thinking and how much more forward it is than it was last year.

"Next as to the affair of *the King's* marriage, though I have no direct call to touch upon that subject, and, though I believe few people would be fond to meddle in a thing of so delicate a nature, unless they were sure to write what would be agreeable,

yet, as I am resolved to recommend myself in no other way than by doing my duty, and believing that, as it is the honestest, to be the surest way, to deserve *the King's* favour, I am determined to lay before him and you what I perceive to be the opinion of his friends in that matter.

"If a proper person of the name of *Protestant* could be found, it would be a matter of great joy to them to hear of his being married to-morrow, for many strong reasons, particularly that it would in all human probability reconcile the discontented *Whigs* to his interest, who are at present without any settled scheme, since they are come the length to despise the young spark (*i.e.* the Prince of Wales); and would therefore give new life to his designs and by consequence might be very proper to be done previously to anything else. Let me add to this that, if he were just now with *England*, this particular is the surest pledge he has for his future peace and tranquillity. If we might suppose that no such person could be found and that the question was stated, whether ought he to marry otherwise or not at all? the answer is plain, that, if there be hopes of what we expect, it will be for his service rather to delay his marriage, till that matter be over, than to do a thing which would certainly create new jealousies and make him less acceptable to one part of the people he has to do with. If that affair was once determined, why then this would admit of a new consideration. These I take to be the thoughts of those who sincerely value *the King* here, and I hope both you and he will be persuaded that I have communicated them from no other principle than a readiness to do everything in my power, which I can any ways judge to be for his service.

"I had some time ago a letter from our friend in Leith of 19 October in which is contained the following paragraph which I communicate to you at his desire and is *verbatim* as follows, 'I am told there is one lately arrived here of the *Roman Catholics*' family who pretends to have a commission chiefly to three or four women of the same family, is not this a fine way of managing a secret? In short this person tells every material thing that was contained in the Memorial and *James Murray's* letter and something more, if I remember right. This story I had exactly as I relate it upon honour from *the Bishop of Edinburgh*, and I believe you will not judge him capable of telling a lie. He requested the woman, who was his author, to say nothing of it. But whatever may be at the bottom of this matter, I wish you may write an account of the whole story to *Mar.*' So far goes my letter, and I must add to it that, should I mention this particular here, it would be enough to frighten everybody from the Trade, and therefore you may believe I will industriously conceal it; but, if those things cannot be prevented, we are in a most terrible condition.

"As to the *money*, *the Bishop of Rochester* has promised me to explain himself fully by the bearer, and to let *Dillon* know what length he can go in that matter. I have already pushed it

as far as in decency I could, and find that the vast backwardness *Lord Oxford* has shown from meddling in that affair has made others more afraid of the danger which attends it. If there are difficulties in undertaking it, you may easily imagine that there are like to be greater in the execution, and in the meanwhile we are getting very fast into the spring. But why do I mention this? We have as yet heard nothing satisfactory from *Ormonde*.

"The Court, as I am informed, do not now intend to bring any demand into Parliament for a provision to be made for the Mediterranean and Baltic squadrons, because they are aware of the opposition which a proposition of that sort would certainly have met with; but they intend without the authority of Parliament to pursue these measures, and to bring in the expense as a debt next year, which without doubt is an encroachment upon the constitution of this kingdom. This, however, will show you that the memoir I formerly transmitted can be of little use.

Sir W. Wyndham (from whom there is enclosed a letter for *the King*) has access to a person in a considerable employment, who sometimes drops to him pretty strong hints, and whatever may happen, it is thought proper to keep a door of this sort open.

"*Mr. Shippen* intended to have written to *the King* by this occasion, but it will be impossible for me to get at him before this gentleman goes, and the other gentleman is gone out of town. You know how cautious I have been and how unwilling to meddle in *Menzies'* affair; it is a thing you are much better able to judge of than I. However I suppose he is angry with me, because I have not seen him in almost a month past, but that I mind very little.

"I hear the little woman is gone, but I knew nothing of her motions, else I would certainly have written by her. I suppose she acts by directions, and, provided she don't carry such a packet of wise stories with her as she did last time, I believe everybody will be easy in that respect.

"I have been importuned by L[or]d C[arnwa]th to recommend his uncle to you for some small subsistence, you may believe I know the state of your affairs too well to press a thing of that kind, but I cannot but say upon this occasion that the man is an honest man, and has been an old servant.

"*The King's* friends have for some weeks past talked to me of making him a visit, as soon as *the Parliament's* most considerable affairs are over, alleging that the notions one conveys by writing are imperfect, in comparison with what might be received from one who knows somewhat of the detail of all these matters. But I am sensible it would be more difficult for me than most people to perform a thing of that kind unobserved, and therefore have given no encouragement to the proposal, but thought myself obliged to mention it to you.

"As the time of the Christmas holy days here is always free from business, I must ask your pardon to pass them in the

country in order by country air and exercise to get rid of a cold which has hung about me ever since I have been in town, so that you cannot expect to hear above once from me through *Dillon* till I return.

“By a message I have just now received from *the Bishop of Rochester* I imagine his to you is likely to come to you in my handwriting, which I suppose will make no difference.”

Postscript. 16 Dec.—I have since seen *the Bishop of Rochester*. He has written to two of the gentlemen contained in your list about the *money*, and, as nobody is more zealous, he certainly will do everything he can with safety. He has used another trusty hand in copying his. *Lord Oxford* is not yet come to town. 8 pages.

CHARLES CÆSAR to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 14[–25].—Nothing having happened here till now worth acquainting you with since I received your last letter, I forebore troubling you, but I can now with infinite satisfaction mention some things which will be attended with consequences that will be of great service to the King's affairs. “I will not write you the history of the quarrel between the father and son, because I know it is done by another hand ; and the copy of the letter to the foreign ministers, which you will receive by the same packet, will give you a very true account of it ; but I cannot omit telling you that the tyranny of the father, and the behaviour of the son in this affair, has opened the eyes of many, that everybody thought would blindly support the interest of that family, they do not now scruple to own that this family cannot be suffered to continue here. This through disgust will appear every day more and more, and, as I do not doubt but that the son will submit to be sent to Hanover, the family will be given up even by those that would fain have attached themselves to the Prince, if he would have endeavoured to have supported himself. The establishing the forces for the next year in the manner that has been done is another thing that I think for the King's service, but, as I differ in politics upon that head from some that I know wish as well to the service as I do, I must beg leave to give you my reasons for saying so. The numbers voted are 16,347 men, officers included, of which 2,071 are horse, the four troops of Guards included, 2,898 Dragoons, 11,370 foot, the three regiments of Guards included. It is to be considered how these forces must be distributed. Scotland is to have 4,000, the several garrisons from Plymouth to Berwick will take up 3,000 more, the Guards are 4,800, which will be at London, then there remains but 4,497 for the west, and all other parts of England ; so that wherever a body of 8,000 men could be landed, there would not be a sufficient number of men to make head against them, and, if they that land, have arms enough to put into men's hands, they will

soon be too strong to be attacked, if all the forces here could be drawn into one body, which is a thing impossible. But, if this Parliament had in opposition to the schemes of the present Ministry reduced the forces to a small number, it would have thrown a veil over that dismal prospect the people now have of slavery, it would have forced the man here to have changed his Ministry for a set of men who would have endeavoured by all artifices to have calmed the minds of the people, and many, I fear, who now really wish a Restoration, but seeing no prospect of it, would for a little present ease have been drawn to join with them, and when once thoroughly dipped would be as zealous against a Restoration as them, will now be zealous for it, and in such a posture of affairs hardly any number would be sufficient to land with. As to the lessening the number of the corps, after the number of men was determined I think it would not have signified much, because the Government could upon any occasion have given new commissions, and have drafted disciplined men out of their full regiments, and with them have made up in a day's time the number of corps to what they are now, besides the distributing the 16,000 men into more corps than was necessary costs the public a 100,000*l.* more than otherways it would have done, and that increases the discontent of the people. I would not be understood to find fault with the opposition that was given to the Ministry in this affair, for that was absolutely necessary to blow up the flame, which it has done to that degree, that it will not easily be quenched. The affair of the army being now over, I believe the Parliament will be up by the beginning of February, unless anything unforeseen happens. Brunswick is very impatient to get to Hanover, God forbid he should be detained longer here than needs must, especially if he carries his son with him, as I believe he will. The number of seamen are to be the same as last year, 10,000 men, but how they will be employed is not certainly known, whether in the Baltic or Mediterranean or in both. I received a letter from Gyllenborg dated in October, wherein he tells me he is in great favour, which he assures me he will make use of for the King's service as far as he is able, but could not then give me any certainty of what was to be expected. I have lately sent him an account of the posture of affairs here, which I hope will come safe to his hands. As the engaging different nations to give the King assistance would make the success the more certain, I would beg leave to offer it to his Majesty's consideration whether Spain might not be prevailed upon to assist him as soon as their affairs are settled in Italy, which, I believe, will not take up a very long time to do, for, unless the Turk clap up a peace with the Emperor, it does not seem probable that the Germans can make much resistance there, and by the accounts I have seen from Sutton and others, there does not appear to be any likelihood of a Peace. If the giving up Port Mahon and

Gibraltar would induce the Spaniard to send over six or eight thousand men from the Bay of Biscay with a sufficient quantity of arms, every man that has any duty for the King, or love for his country, must think those ports advantageously disposed of, were they of much greater benefit to our trade than they really are. In time of peace they are of no service, all ports are then open to us, and in time of war we should always have some allies' ports open to us, unless we should be at war with all the world, and in that case I believe we should not long keep them. It would be the most solid and lasting security to Spain for the possession of their Italian dominions to have a King on the English throne who would be united to them by the strongest bonds, those of interest. This nation will then be always ready to exert itself in assisting an ally to whom they owe the inestimable blessing of his Majesty's restoration. On the other hand the family here will be always firmly united to their enemies, and even at this time only wait for a fit opportunity to declare openly against them. If the King should think fit to attempt any treaty of this sort, it ought to be kept with the utmost secrecy, that the Court here may not suspect anything from that quarter. I ought to tell you that in the present disposition of the people Roman Catholic troops would not give any manner of umbrage, the nation would entirely rely upon the assurances his Majesty has, and no doubt would give them upon that occasion for the security of their religion. In such a case the Irish would be the properest, if they could be got. As to your desire that further lights should be sent over in relation to Peterborough, I must only say that the information came from such hands, that I cannot doubt the truth of it, and it can be no wonder that they who revealed the secret of the cabinet should desire to have their names concealed. Although he has been set at liberty for want of plain proofs against him, yet I hope there will be a watchful eye kept over him whilst he continues in those parts, and that the King will not suffer him near him whatever professions he may make; he has formerly on several occasions made professions of zeal for the late King James' service, but it has always been to get an opportunity to betray his service; and there are many instances of villainies of that kind that he has committed. Lord Oxford as well as myself was much concerned to find by your letter that the Lady you gave an account of, did not answer the character we had formerly heard of her, the objections are so strong, that, if she should be at liberty, nobody could wish for the match. He has been so much out of order, that he has not been able to get to town since the Parliament sat, but is now pretty well again, and will be here in a few days. The distance he has been at from London is so small, that it has not hindered him from concerting such measures with his friends as will tend most to the King's service."

3½ pages, entirely in cipher, with a decipher attached.

MADAME DE MEZIÈRES to JAMES III.

1717, Dec. 26. Amiens.—Pressing him to confer a title on her eldest brother, with numerous arguments in support of her demand. *French. 5 pages.*

FATHER ARCHANGEL GRÆME to [the DUKE OF MAR].

1717, Dec. 26. Calais.—Here is a copy *verbatim* of the English news to-day. The affair of the Prince of Wales makes a prodigious noise here, the ladies of honour to the Princess and the servants of the Prince being taken from them. The last is still under the Black Rod. Some of the lords, as the Duke of Roxburgh, Lord Lumley, &c., have thrown up their commissions, as has also the Duke of Argyle, and other Scotch peers, who have left the town, are said to be gone to their own homes.

(Concerning Mr. Shippen's speech and his being sent to the Tower as in previous letters.) Since his imprisonment 259 members of the Lower House have thought fit to absent themselves, and of that number 116 are ordered to be taken into the custody of the Serjeant at Arms. One of our sea captains, who passed by Canterbury last Thursday, says they had made bonfires there for this good news and pressed everybody that passed to drink King James' health. McNamara arrived here this morning from Paris, but must stay till the wind falls before he can continue his progress.

KATE BRUCE (LADY NAIRNE) to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 15[-26]. London.—Having come to town but a few days ago is the reason I had not sooner yours of 20 Sept. The friends you desire to be remembered to make no doubt of your good wishes and hope you will believe the friendship reciprocal on their side.

I have not seen the lady you present your duty to for a long time. Yesterday I was told she would be soon in town. Whenever she comes, I shall make you her compliments. I fancy she is to take this in her way to see a friend with you, for, when we parted, she seemed very impatient to have that satisfaction.

My friend has suffered all the afflictions the terrible shipwreck could bring on him, but bore all like himself, but, though the greatest storms could not shake his mind, yet the long continuance has his body, so that his constitution is much broke. He has lost his stomach and become very lean. Dr. Mead takes particular care of him, and I hope God will bless his endeavours with success, and then, whatever becomes of wealth, I shall be as easy as the misfortunes of my many dear friends will allow me to be.

Endorsed, "Lady Nairne to Lord Mar."

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

[1717,] Dec. 27, 5. p.m.—'Twas not possible for me to speak to the *Regent* this morning, but I will to-morrow without fail. I have been twice at Maréchal d'Uxelles' house and he was abroad. A third time I found him at home. I thought it proper to show him *the King's* letter and *Queen Mary's* to me. After he read both, we reasoned some time about the matter. In conclusion he told me the Courts of Rome and France were not of a good understanding yet. He made no doubt the Regent would do all in his power to serve the Pope in this occasion, and the more willingly on *the King* and *Queen Mary's* account, the former being the principal person concerned. He added that the Regent's good offices with the Court of England would be effectual. It appears to me that this good Maréchal thinks the occasion favourable to make a merit of services that the Pope stands in no need of, and I could not help saying I believed there was more panic fear than real danger in all this, no fleet being fitted for the Mediterranean or any preparations towards it. The Maréchal could not disagree in this, and I easily perceived how satisfactory it was to him that the Pope should have recourse to the Regent's good offices. On the whole I take it for granted that H.R.H. will readily comply with the request that is to be made.

The Maréchal said several things of the broils in England, but for fear of delaying the messenger I refer the information to more leisure, as also the new falling out 'twixt the Pope and Emperor. This last is not displeasing to our Court here.

There is no news of the express sent to *the King* since his letter from Plaisance which *Inese* informed you of. 3 pages.

J. MENZIES to L. INESE.

1717, Monday, Dec. 16[-27].—Though you had not forbid sending you our public prints, there is nothing in them at present. The *Scourge* is quite knocked down and silenced, and the people concerned in the *Weekly Journal* are going to be prosecuted.

We abound in speculations on foreign affairs. We have some glimmering of dark practices in the North, but we shall have a fleet there very soon, and have no use for one in the Mediterranean, having obliged the King of Spain already to stop in his career. It will be very long before Sardinia can refund the expense of the taking or surprising of it.

At home, too, our Court is in every respect victorious. They carry whatever they will in both Houses by a majority now so full and tight they could bring in anything but Popery, and even that too, if they had a mind to it. The blunders of the Tories and their guides are the jest of all men of sense. They may go foxhunting when they please. They have lost this session, as they did the last.

As to the Prince, though he is not yet returned to St. James', yet it is soon expected, and it is believed by the best his submission is entire, and so the Court has conquered everything here that could breed them any trouble. Whether Argyle and his brother must go abroad or go home to Scotland is not yet certain. If I were to enter deeper into those matters, I could not do it by the common post, nor, as to our own private concerns, can I yet mention some particulars I have had of late from *the Duke of Shrewsbury*, who is a prodigy of clean sound sense, worth a thousand friends, and has done more real service. He will write himself too in the Christmas holidays. It is long since I told you his former letter was burnt in the conflagration, as was also that of *C. Kinnaird's* friend Will. [Wyndham] and others. 2 pages.

JAMES HAMILTON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 16[-27]. London.—I've written frequently of late. I've reason to doubt of their coming to hand, for, though the breach between the father and son is the talk of every porter, yet the post-house without distinction has for some time burnt all that hinted that matter. A reconciliation is frequently asserted and as often denied. The Prince and Princess are yet at Lord Grantham's house to the unspeakable mortification of her Highness. We are told, and I'm apt to believe it true, the preliminary articles to a *carte blanche* is the sacrificing all his servants and the 100,000*l.* a year to the pleasure of King George. 'Tis said the son has meanly condescended so far as to be censured by his adherents, who own him to be what everybody else saw he was. How this will terminate few can tell. 'Tis given out King George goes in the spring to Hanover, nor is the Prince to have any share in the Regency, if he stays on this side.

After all the amusements about Marl[borough] his friends say he's as capable of business as he has been these many years, which seems not improbable by the measures lately taken. None else in these kingdoms could attempt such successful bold strokes in policy especially being Whig against Whig.

At the beginning of this sessions 'twas much expected that some entire corps would have been broke with other things disagreeable to the ministry, but, by the old management of the Tories or their directors, many of them were in the country when the Army was debated, so that now the ministry bear all before them, and money being granted, the Church is the most important point expected. I'm in great hopes her undutiful sons will meet with corrections.

The ministry carries it so high that not the least regard is had to the discontents and hardships the nation is under, only by giving daily fresh cause for the one and laying one burden on top of another.

Argyle is much out of humour with the whole set and some say not without reason. Most think him in danger, for *the Prince* has blabbed all that has been said to him by his friends since he came on this side.

On 'Change we are told of a trade by *the King of Sweden* or *the King of Spain*. I'm for either, both or any that will turn to account, though in these dead times I want something besides faith to wean me into this way of thinking with our merchants.

Hamilton himself has been above these two months hiding from his creditors under no small difficulties. He expected to have had the matter compounded by means of *Lady Mar*, but *she* cannot be prevailed on to meddle, though *Hamilton* has thrice of late run goods for *her* advantage.

ANNE OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 16[-27].—Before I answer yours of 9 Oct. I shall give you an account of what commissions I have to you. First, *Lord Orrery's*. I delivered your letter and enclose his answer. He desired me to let you know from him that he had a discourse with *Argyle* and his brother about their present situation. He believes bringing them into your methods very feasible, they being entirely disgusted with *the Prince of Wales'* proceedings of late, whom they have not seen since his late misfortunes, and they are both resolved to go for the future thoroughly into the trustise's (*i.e.* Tories) method, but seem not as yet to give into the thorough scheme, though he takes that to be a consequence of this first step, if well managed, but bids me tell you people ought not to be frightened away with proposals from several hands. *Lord Ilay* told him *Mr. James Murray* had been with him last year from himself, as he told him, but this came by authority, being now in full powers to make proposals to him. *Lord Ilay* answered him, as he told *Lord Orrery*, that he intended not to meddle, that he had ventured life and all for *King George*, and he saw the return he met with, and should he venture for another, he and his brother might meet with the same usage. This answer, if sent to you, he desired you will not mind, for he looks on their present circumstances to look *the King's* way, and well managed will prove much for the interest of *the King*. He desires you will write him a letter of *the King's* opinion of his and your religion and designs about it, as full as you well can, that he make use of it in proper time and seasons. This is the explanation of that part of his letter relating to religion which I made an objection against, and he engaged me to explain it. He bids me tell you he has great hopes of gaining the *Archbishop of York* and several others, if he had but something from you of authority, that he might make use of when he thought fit opportunity; that he should receive with great respect anything from *the King's* own hand of commands to

him and should obey it punctually, but this of religion and Church he thought better it should come from you, being very sensible how nice a point it was to touch upon, and will not fail through me to let you know his progress.

“He bids me assure you that this last breach is the breaking the neck of the whole family, the father being so stupidly stubborn, and the son so arrogant in prosperity and mean in adversity, the wife a very ———, that those he least dreamt of that would look *the King's* way, now say openly there is no happiness or safety whilst any of the race is here, and the consequence of those reflections drives them to *the King's* interest and our happiness.

“He bids me tell you, you may depend on it *the Prince of Wales* will in February go to [Hanover].

“So far for *Lord Orrery* ; now *Lord Oxford* not being in town when Mrs. *Ogilvie* came, that was by misfortune of want of health long detained ; I sent down to him, [by] a man that he leaves here with me a purpose to send either to him or for him when he is wanted, your packets and *Queen Mary's*. By his answer to me he seems much surprised that you should so mistake a recommendation he sent you of *Capt. Ogilvie*, thinking then you were going in earnest about the business, and that it was serving him to recommend him to you. I shall say no more on that head, having sent *Capt. Ogilvie* a copy of that part of the letter relating to himself, which I suppose he has sent you, nor shall I trouble you with what he says on what you write to him, since he intends soon to answer himself. He has been mighty ill, which has detained him in the country, but has taken as much care to manage everything as if he had been here. I have received a letter from him of the 10 Dec. that says : I have not been out of the house since I wrote to you until yesterday, when I attempted to walk in the garden to prepare myself for my journey. I hope what I wrote to you about Mrs. *Ogilvie* and *Capt. Ogilvie* was plain enough, it is strange a man could mistake or take amiss what was so well intended for his future advancement, and indeed necessary in that juncture. I will not say anything to you of your friend *the King's* affairs until I see you, having omitted nothing in my or my friends' power.

“*Mr. Cæsar* writes to you, I send you enclosed his letter. He saw *Lord Oxford* the day before he came to town, and gives you much the same account. *James Murray* seems in all his discourses and behaviour to lean very hard on *Menzies* thinking he has got the better of him, especially brags of your countenance. Grave thinking people, who all esteem *Menzies*, are surprised, and indeed it is hard after 15 years service effectually and honestly performed to be nosed by a young Phaeton, at least he might keep a decency.

“I am surprised at that part of your letter where you mention the taking ill of *Dillon's* messenger, you sure mistook, I writ

you a matter of fact but the taking ill was not so considerable as to deserve your taking it ill, for you may be sure your friends here are too sincerely so ever to have the least thought of your being neglectful towards them.

"I am mighty glad *Ormonde* and you are so good friends. God continue it. As for *Peterborough*, I should not wonder of having proofs demanded from any but you that must know the nature of those informations. I am sure I never could have forgiven myself, if I had not procured a messenger when I was desired to get one on such an occasion, and should have a very ill opinion of any [that] had refused it. If the information had not been so strong and so much to be depended upon, and the character of the man in all his past life showing him guilty of many ugly things, I should have chosed and ventured to be called fool, woman's news and all the denominations this last affair being bruited has drawn on me rather than venture one minute our all in so precious a life, there was no end nor design in the sending the account but the safety of *the King*, but since this rout about it I have asked the opinions of *Lord Orrery*, *the Duke of Shrewsbury* and several persons of distinguished sense, and all agree there ought to have been a message sent, and *the King* acted right, for he was capable of anything, and I can assure you the report that is now spread here that he has offered his services which were received, and that he would be very useful, I wish may not prove of very ill consequence, at least I have the satisfaction I have done my duty and glory in it.

"As for the man I sent, I am very sorry if he did not explain himself, as I could have wished, but it is rare to find here eloquence and honesty, the last I chose for my safety, but shall take care to send no more.

"*Queen Mary* has sent to *Lord Oxford* about the aforesaid message to know his opinion. It has been sent to her fully, I suppose you will see it. If you trust to his smooth tongue and promises, I fear you will repent it, nothing makes me insist on the article but the zeal I have for *the King's* interest and safety.

"I hear *James Murray* has sent you a long paper called a memorial on this affair, but can assure you he can give you no light in it, but his own imagination, for he is no way trusted by those I deal with.

"Though I direct these letters to *Capt. Ogilvie*, yet I do not send them from hence by his ship but by a sure opportunity I have met with. I send him word how to send me the answers if directed for me under a cover to him. I think all your last letters were wrote in anger and mistakes. I have received one from *Capt. Ogilvie* very angry. I am sorry for it but hope he will think better of it.

"I send you besides some papers enclosed, perhaps you may like to read them.

"I wrote to *the King* by the post the very night the accident arrived to *the Prince of Wales* a full account of it all

to that day and by the next post continued the story to Mr. *Macmahon*. I hope they arrived safe, if so I do not doubt you saw them. I had troubled you with the news of it, had I known how to direct to you."

I am very glad it is in the power of any of mine to be serviceable to you. I wish it was as much in my power as will.

Lady Westmorland desires me to assure you of her respects and kind service. *Over 7 pages.*

W. GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 28. Paris.—Concerning the receipt and dispatch of letters.—With that to Robert Wright I wrote how much he was to blame in troubling you with his alarm at his subsistence being stopped the rather as I had ordered the payment of his, when there was a want of money to pay others. I thank you for recommending my affair to my Lady Duchess. I sent your account on the 1st and hope you will find it right.

The Duke of Gordon parted for Calais and so to London the 24th. I enclose a copy of his and the Marquess of Seaforth's cessation of arms and a copy of a declaration by Gen. Echlin in favour of the Duke. *Enclosed is the declaration calendared ante, p. 174.*

W. GORDON to JOHN PATERSON.

1717, Dec. 28. Paris.—Acknowledging his letter and informing him he had lately written him a long letter.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Tuesday, Dec. 28.—This is only to cover the two enclosed, being the last I received from *Ormonde* and *J. Murray*. The former is very impatient to hear from *the King*, and has been so these two months.

I am very sorry for *the Pope's* panic fear, but for the evil he apprehends there is more than one remedy. As *Queen Mary* gives *the King* an account of what *d'Uxelles* said to *Dillon* about this, I won't trouble you with unnecessary repetition.

D'Uxelles told me that *the Pope* and *the Emperor* were quite fallen out, and that the Nuncio was sent away from Naples. This quarrel appears to me more dangerous than that he seems to fear so much on *Peterborough's* account.

COLIN CAMPBELL OF GLENDARULE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 28. Near Bordeaux.—This is only a cover to the enclosed. I cannot help differing from *Brigadier Campbell* and think him more necessary where he is than he can be with *the King of Sweden* or *the Czar*, and I impute his writing so to his doubting that nothing is like to be done in the affair he has in hand. There may be good grounds for

any delays that have happened ; therefore he or any mar^e concerned need not imagine it will be laid aside, so it is our^r part to wait with patience. I had a long letter also from him^t wherein is nothing material save he says that *swords* and *targes* cannot be secured to purpose without permission from *the King of Spain*, at least connivance, with orders to his deputy^f in those parts not to hinder *the King's* agents from buying^v them up. No doubt this has been foreseen and care taken^l of it, as it was impossible to think such a quantity of goods could be bought without the knowledge of *the King of Spain's* servants in that part.

We never hear from *Mr. Dillon*. It were to be wished there were somebody at *Paris* or *St. Germain's* we might apply to, so long as *Mar* is at so great a distance. Poor *Brigadier Campbell* is rendered very uneasy in a trifle and what was given out to advantage and most necessarily ; yet we can do him no service as we know not how to apply. *R. Gordon* has gone a greater length to serve all here than could be expected from one in his circumstances.

The distance *Brigadier Campbell* is from us makes him not know what *R. Gordon* does.

As I have not mentioned anything of *Argyle* or *Stuart of Appin's* story to any mortal, if you write me anything of them it may be in a note sealed apart.

GEORGE MACKENZIE to JOHN PATERSON.

1717, Dec. 28. Sens.—Requesting him to drop him a few lines and desiring to know how the Duke and Will. Erskine do after their journey. I failed not as you desired to give your service to my poor Peg, who is grown two inches taller as I saw her last, but I doubt if she find at meeting I have grown in proportion. I hear from her once a fortnight. She writes my father is using his interest, in case of another Act of Grace, as they call it, to get me included. I'll not make a step in that without the Duke's advice and command. My father has been very ill of a fever lately, and so I have had no letters from himself as yet. Mr. Walkingshaw of Scotstoun, who is my fellow traveller, offers you and Will. Erskine his service, as does Col. Elphinstoun. 2 pages.

The DUKE OF MAR to the DUKE OF ORMONDE.

1717, Dec. 28.—The enclosed is so full that it leaves me little or nothing to add of business. I wish with all my heart that affair of *the Czar's daughter* may do. If she answer what we wish as to herself, it is by much the best that has been yet in view, and, since it is in *Ormonde's* hands, I doubt not the best will be made of it. I have wrote a line to *Dr. Erskine*, which I enclose for your perusal, that you may forward it or not as you think fit,

t I came here 22 Nov., after making a tour through a very fine country to Venice, with which I was much delighted. s We had three operas there, in two of which were most of our acquaintances we used to see on the theatre at London, they having all left it for good and all. Cavaliere Nicolini, hearing s here were English in one of the boxes, sent a compliment and asked leave to come up and wait on us, which I had avoided before at my lodgings, not going by my own name nor being known there, but being then in mask, I would not refuse his civility, so up he came and the first word I spoke he knew me. However, I did not own myself and still pretended he was in a mistake. We had a good deal of discourse, and at last he said, since I would not own myself, he would not name particular names, but he hoped his old patron was well, of whom he spoke with all the veneration possible. He promised to send me the music of that opera, which is a very fine one, and, after some more civilities his time came to go again and perform his part. I left the next day, which prevented my having a visit, but, since I came here, I wrote and invited him hither, as he goes to Naples, where he told me he was to go after the Carnival. Music is our only amusement here, and some pretty good voices and excellent instruments we have, who perform sometimes in my rooms, where our Master looks in and is come to be a convert to the Italian music, which, I suppose, you will not be sorry for. All this amusement though does not make this place and idle life by any means agreeable. For God's sake let us out of it soon and something to do. You are not idle, I suppose, in your endeavours for that end. On coming here I had yours of 21 Sept. and 2 Oct.

Postscript. December 30.—Waiting for letters from France made us detain the bearer till now. *The King* gives you an account of what came from *Dillon*, so I need not repeat. *Bolingbroke* is like to prove as great a scoundrel and monster as could be expected of him. It is *James Murray* gives the accounts, so less to be doubted.

He was with *Lord Lansdown* and *Sir W. Wyndham* in the country when *Bolingbroke's* squire came to them, who, he says, gave him a very indifferent reception, were by no means satisfied with what he said in his knight's behalf, and told him their mind plainly and roundly. I hope it is not much hurt he can do. *The King's* letter to *Dr. Leslie*, which will be ere now in *England*, will be a good antidote against the poison he endeavours to compose of *the declaration*, as you'll see by it. (About the delays in the conveyance of letters to *England* and proposals for a new mode of conveyance and about *Lord Oxford* and the *Bishop of Rochester* corresponding directly with *Dillon*, as in the letters to them calendared *ante*, p. 324 and p. 321, and also about the nomination of a Cardinal as in the same letters.)

I believe I told you in my last I had wrote to *the Bishop of Rochester* he might write to *Ormonde* by *Holland* and *Sir*

H. Paterson. I hope you may have heard from him by that canal, but I am glad to see by *Ormonde's* to *Dillon* of 7 Nov. he had heard from the *Bishop of Rochester* another way, and now *Ormonde* may hear from him as soon as we can, so it's almost needless to tell you anything from thence.

Görtz's conversation with *Bagnal* is an odd one, and I do not think it shows him the great man some believe him. I shall long to hear of your having heard from *Jerningham*. I fancy you sent *Sheridan* with him, and I wish you may send him to us on his return, or sooner, if you have occasion, if he did not go with *Jerningham*. He may be of use to us with the languages he is master of, one who has them being much wanted here to help *Mar* in several things of business, and I am told he is one of good sense and to be trusted. The bearer, *O'Brien*, I judge will not be unuseful about you, and your cook we thought you would be in want of, so he is sent with him.

Now I am so near the fine town, I have a great mind to see it, but I have been too long absent to think of leaving our master again as yet, so must suspend my curiosity till spring, and, if you send for us sooner or give us occasion for going elsewhere, I shall not regret being balked of seeing it. I hope it shall not be here we meet, where there is no comfort of any kind, and at this time not so much as tolerable wine to drive away care.

The *King of Sicily* said lately to one that has been with us since, that he looked on things now in the eve of a war, and, should it so happen, some folks will not be so sorry as the people of this country seem to be for it, of which they are in mighty dread. They write from Paris that *Abbé Dubois* is come unexpectedly back from England, and *Lord Stair*, who had a great many people at work about his liveries and equipages for his entry, had discharged their proceeding, which gave occasion for speculations to the politicians. I hear from England that *Lord Carteret* on his return there from France had assured the Court that the Duke of *Ormonde* was privately in some of the villages about Paris. 6½ pages.
Copy.

T. BRUCE to the DUKE OF MAR.

[1717,] Dec. 30.—I had yours of 4 Dec. and am overjoyed at your account of our friend's good health. *De Wilda* being still out of town, I can expect no answer till his return, and I am afraid no great satisfaction can be expected from *the Emperor*, now he is endeavouring by all possible means to settle a bargain with *King George*. I had a letter to-day from *Falconbridge*, who is now in Holland, telling me that for certain the Dutch persist in their resolution not to send any ships against *King Philip*, but they are equipping 12 men-of-war for a northern expedition. *Falconbridge's* friend in Holland assures him the States are very uneasy on apprehensions of a peace betwixt the Czar and Sweden. He tells

him a minister is to be sent immediately from Holland to Sweden. It is given out in public his errand is only to settle commerce, but his friend assures him he is also to endeavour to excuse their arresting Baron Görtz, and to settle a good understanding, if possible, with Sweden in all points. One Fabrice is at Hamburg making offers to Sweden on the part of King George, but the Swedish Resident told *Falconbridge* that negotiation will not succeed.

I am sorry to see the differences betwixt our King and his son widen daily. The notification to the foreign ministers looks like an appeal to them, and this, with an expression mentioned in these notifications, which points at some practices of the son's, besides his behaviour to the Duke of Newcastle, looks like a prelude to some steps of greater consequence. A letter from England insinuates that the Prince and Princess had in their view some measures of open resentment against some of the King's favourite ladies, and that this is the chief cause of his disgrace, and they begin afresh to talk of what I wrote to you, namely, that he is to be sent to Hanover. Charles Wedderburn and James Carstairs are come to this country. Charles tells me he has written to you.

The DUKE OF MAR to CHARLES WOGAN.

1717, Dec. 30.—I wish Mr. O'Brien may find you with this at Vienna. If not, he is to leave it with the Rector of the Jesuits for you.

Since I wrote to you 25 Nov. a thing has happened which prevents part of the business you were then directed to go about. It is as to *the Princess of Saxony*, whom there is now no occasion for you to see, therefore you are to look upon it as if there never had been any orders about it, and in consequence you are not to inquire for *Father Salern*, nor to say anything to the Rector about him.

It was recommended to you in the above letter, though but somewhat curtly in a postscript, to see the *Princesses Sobieska*, if any of them chanced to fall in the way of your travels. That is now more necessary than it was thought then, especially as to one of them who is not the eldest, but whether the second or third I cannot be positive. The sure way therefore is to see all three, but especially the two youngest, there being, I believe, but three of them. We are not sure whether they be now with *Germany* or *Poland*, but we believe with the last, and, wherever they be, you must make it your business to see them as quickly as you conveniently can, that you may give such an account of them as you were instructed about as to the others. We have reason to believe *Prince James Sobieski* is a friend and well-wisher to *the King*, and would desire nothing better than a close friendship betwixt him and one of his friends, the *Princesses Sobieska*, so his knowing you are a friend of *the King* would do you no hurt with him but rather

otherways, though it be not proper you should own to him your being sent directly on that errand. I let you know this, that you may know how to behave with him, and, if you can any way come to his acquaintance, it may make your seeing the *Princesses Sobieska* and coming acquainted with them much easier. I cannot tell you either where *Prince James Sobieski* just now is, but you will easily get notice of that at Vienna. This is all the light I can give you, and not much it is, and you must endeavour to make it out the best you can by your own address, to which and your discretion it is in a great measure referred, and being so I shall not doubt of our having the account we desire. This new affair will likely make your coming to us longer than we hoped, but there's no help for that. You'll make all the dispatch you can, and lose no time in coming here, when you have done your business. In the meantime I'll expect to hear from you and have an account of what you see.

One *Chateaudoux* lives with *Prince James Sobieski*, and is a well-wisher to *the King*, and perhaps has had some thoughts of making up the friendship betwixt him and one of the *Princesses Sobieska*, the youngest, I believe, who is about 17, so, though it be not fit for you to own your errand, he is the fittest to inform you about this *Princess Sobieska* as well as the rest and, when he knows your attachment to *the King*, which you may easily contrive to let him know, as passing accidentally that way, he, 'tis to be presumed, will not be backward in making your acquaintance there. I believe *Prince James Sobieski* and this *Chateaudoux* are both now in *Poland*, and I was only informed of this since I wrote the rest of my letter.

Chancing to write by your friend O'Brien to *M. de Busi at Vienna*, whom I believe you have heard of, I recommended you to him as a friend of mine travelling in Germany, who might come his way, but, as I have told him nothing of your business, so neither are you to inform him of it, but I thought he might be of use to you in getting such information as you may have occasion for. 3 pages. *Original in Mar's hand and copy, the former endorsed: "Sent by Mr. O'Brien and left with De Busi at Vienna, and returned by him and received 3 May, 1718."*

THE DUKE OF MAR to the SWEDISH ENVOY AT VIENNA.

1717, December 30.—I was informed on coming here you had been particularly useful to Mr. Walkingshaw while he was at Vienna, and that, after his coming here, you continued to correspond with him. He was gone from this before my arrival, which prevented me from talking with him about you, and which is the reason you did not hear more regularly from him, but your letters fell into my secretary's hands, and he has given me an account of them, so I thought your zeal for my master's service and your readiness to contribute to

it deserved at least I should return you thanks both in his name and my own.

Though I am not personally acquainted with you, I was sorry your correspondence with us was interrupted, but I hope it is not too late to begin it again, and I shall be glad to hear from you, which I shall make no other use of than what you allow me, and, if you find a cipher necessary, you may write either by that De Busi has with my secretary or send me a new one. If I can be any use to your master or you, nothing shall be wanting on my part. *Draft.*

THE DUKE OF MAR TO CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI.

1717, December 30.—On my coming here, I was informed you had been useful to Mr. Walkingshaw at Vienna, and that, after he left, you wrote to Paterson from time to time and always expressed a great inclination to serve my master, so I was sorry your correspondence was discontinued, it seems, by some mistake.

I resolved to take the occasion of a gentleman's passing your way on his private affairs of returning you thanks for the trouble you have already taken and desire you would begin your correspondence with us anew. I will make no bad use of anything you may write, and, if you happen to have anything to say which requires more than ordinary secrecy, you may use the cipher by which you used to write to Paterson.

I was told the King had ordered you something for your trouble, but your friend, Mr. Walkingshaw, having left this country before I came to it, occasioned a delay in remitting it. It is now sent by this bearer, who is going towards Muscovy with a design of entering that service and will be obliged for information of the best way of travelling thither. (Recommending Mr. Germain, *i.e.* Wogan, who may perhaps come to Vienna.) *Draft.*

JOHN PATERSON TO CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI.

1717, December 30.—Enclosing him the last letter and asking him to pardon him for not having acknowledged his letters to him. *Draft.*

INSTRUCTIONS for MR. O'BRIEN.

1717, Dec. 30. Urbino.—You are forthwith to go with all convenient diligence to Vienna, where you are to endeavour to find Mr. Wogan, who goes there by the name of Germain, and to deliver the letter you have for him. You may inquire for him at the Rector of the Jesuits, who perhaps may know if he be arrived.

You are to deliver the letter you have to M. de Busi, who may be of use in getting you information of the road you are to travel and you may also endeavour to be informed of it by some of the Irish officers there, as if you were going to serve the Czar on an agreement you had made with him when in France last summer; but to own to none of them your being concerned in the King further than your good wishes to him.

When you have informed yourself as well as you can about the road, you are to proceed through Poland to Mittau with the packet you are entrusted with for the Duke of Ormonde, and, missing him there, you are to endeavour to find him out in some other place of that country, but you are to be careful not to discover by your inquiry or otherwise who he is, he not going by his own name, and I believe he and his company pass as belonging to the Czar's service. Should you get certain notice after coming into that country that he is gone anywhere else, you are to follow him with all convenient diligence in the most prudent and safest way to prevent any discovery of him, your concern in the King or being employed by him or any hindrance to your joining the Duke.

If you go by any place where Dr. Erskine, physician to the Czar, is or Mr O'Beirne, an officer in the Czar's troops, you are to own yourself to them, tell them to whom you are going and from whom and deliver the letters for them, but, if you meet with the Duke first, you are to deliver them to him.

(To give accounts to the Secretary of State.)

If on your coming to Vienna you find that Mr. Wogan is not arrived, you are to discourse the Rector of the Jesuits about him, to whom you may say that you know Mr. Wogan is recommended, and leave with him the letter for Mr. Wogan, but you must be careful to say nothing to the Rector by which he can discover anything of Mr. Wogan's or your being employed by the King, and so you may pass it upon the Rector that Mr. Wogan is a young gentleman and a friend of yours, who is travelling through these countries for his curiosity only, and be sure that you talk of him still by the name of Germain and that his own name be not known and you may likewise leave a letter from yourself for him, giving an account of what has passed betwixt the Rector and you on this subject, that so Wogan may conform himself to it and he and you agree in your story to the Rector.

After you have joined the Duke, you are to communicate to him these your instructions and what you have met with on your journey, and then you are to follow his orders as to the disposing of yourself thereafter.

You are likewise to deliver to M. de Busi the 50 *pistoles* which you are entrusted with for his use and take his receipt for it. 2 *pages*. *Draft*. *There is also a fair copy in Entry Book 5, p. 62.*

DR. CHARLES LESLIE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 31.—Last post brought me yours of the 3rd with the excellent enclosed, which all that have seen it admire and are exceedingly pleased with, thinking it full and satisfactory, and doubt not it will have a great effect in England, whither I have sent it without loss of time. The corrections you mention are perfectly right, and it is not the first experience I have had of the superiority of the King's

judgement. I hope you will pardon my presumption in sending my service in this to Mr. Barclay and Mr. Cooper, who supply my place there.

God send us a happy New Year. It begins well with his Majesty's letter, which I hope will prove the finishing stroke.

CAPT. JOHN OGILVIE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 31. Dunkirk.—I sent your packet some days ago and gave Mr. Gordon the necessary precautions to send it safely. I will never neglect the least thing that may be of service to you. *Mrs. Ogilvie* risks whatever the consequence may be, rather than fail in her friendship to you. You may believe whatever she writes or says, as if an angel from Heaven told you. If you were acquainted with the history of her life as well as *Lord Oxford* is, you would be convinced of it, as fully as he is, for I do not believe any terror on earth would affright her to do either an ill or a mean thing. You may credit what she advertises you of, for you may see in my former letter the reasons why I would have you know your friends from others. Her letter gives you a caution of *Anne Oglethorpe's* friend with you, Macmahon; therefore you must take care or we shall learn no more. *Lord Oxford* is now afraid that I should leave this. However, I have acquainted him that I shall be absent only for two months, and return as quickly as possible. This you must not hinder me from doing, for it is of consequence to you that I be but one day with you, and you will find it also for *the King's* service, but I will not go to *Dillon* to ask for money; therefore I pray you to write to Mr. Gordon to let me have what you think proper. I am informed I shall have a packet very soon to send you from the person that made the verses *Mrs. Ogilvie* gave you in imitation of Horace. I send you the last English news as they are sent to me.

JOSEPH CAGNONI to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Dec. 31. Leghorn.—Thanking him for having recommended his son to the King to receive the honour of knighthood, which he has conferred on him, with reflections about the debt of 50,000,000*l.* contracted by England in consequence of the Revolution. *French.*

BRIGADIER CAMPBELL to COLIN CAMPBELL OF GLENDARULE.

[1717, Oct. 30 ?]—You see by my last and Mr. *Barry's* what a considerable sum the proportion of goods we sent you amount to. You see also what goods were lately at *Bayonne* and what others are now near this. I have this morning more particular accounts, and find that the best part of those at *Bayonne* are extant and very cheap, being a *rencontre*.

Besides the others near this, there are at *Bayonne* 525 *fusils* good and new and of the newest fashion at 8 *livres* 10 *sols*,

each or very little more. It is your business as much as mine to press the gentlemen principally concerned for money to buy these and to set people at work for more. This cannot be well done under 10,000 *livres* to begin with. I know not if they will find it convenient to lay out so much now and engage in laying out the rest as will be requisite; they alone are judges of that, but I thought myself obliged to give earnest that these goods may not be disposed of to others in six weeks time. If these affairs go on, there will be considerable remittances, as you see by *Barry's* letter, and, as I do not incline they should be remitted to me, I wish *Tullibardine* were in *Bayonne*. If he do not come, I see no other so fit as *Clanranald*. I will do all in my power by *Tullibardine's* order or in conjunction with or by direction from *Clanranald*, but cannot do so either with *General Gordon*, *Major Frazer* or any other who occur to me and are in your parts, I mean in such matters, except always yourself. Let *Mar* know what of this is necessary. Send the other paper *per* first to *General Dillon*. (*See ante*, pp. 160, 185, 193.)

MEMORANDUM.

[1717?].—There are not, that I have seen, any patterns of swords used in France or Spain that fit the Highlanders, these being of a particular make. It is advisable that certain directions be given about them, so that, when necessary, they may not be to seek, or, if provided, such as will answer the end, without which no certain effect is to be expected from them.

W. CLEPHAN.

[1717].—Account of money disbursed for Will. Bavine from Avignon to Pesaro, amounting to 137 *livres* 2 *sols* French money.

Copies in Latin, French and English of the SECOND ARTICLE of the TRIPLE ALLIANCE.

[1717].—(Calendared in *Vol. III.*, p. 242.) *The first two are noted as received at Avignon, 4 and 28 January, 1717.*

———— to [JAMES III].

[1717?].—I have written several times to the Duke of Holstein and have had no answer since the last letters, of which I have spoken to you, and which I am keeping to show to your Majesty. I imagined that the Queen Mother had caused him to be told something, and that he had taken some other channel, with which I was content, provided that it succeeded.

I have received certain news of the conclusion of the Triple Alliance of the North.

The Regent is sending one Hook to Prussia to try to detach the King of Prussia from it. There is every appearance that he will not succeed.

Nothing is yet settled between Spain and the North. Spain has sent to Sweden and to Petersburg, but there has been no answer as yet. It is, however, certain there will be a Quadruple Alliance between Spain and the North. I have informed your Majesty that I will speak to you only by my actions and I will keep my word. I do not force myself into your affairs, but fortune has furnished me with opportunities of serving one of the greatest kings in the world. I have seized them, convinced that the result would accrue to your Majesty. I cannot trust anything to paper, else I should be wanting to my engagements, which your Majesty would blame me for doing. *French.*

JAMES III to the *EARL OF EGLINTON.*

1718, Jan. 1.—Among the few friends I have left in your parts, I believe you are not the least zealous for me as you are of the chief of them. I am persuaded you will neglect no occasion of serving me. You shall ever find me ready to do all in my power to convince you of my kindness. If a near relation of yours, who was lately in these parts, be with you, I desire you to make him my kindest compliments. I refer to *Capt. Straiton* for an account of the affairs of the Company, and desire you to be so kind as to assist him with your advice, and to let me know your opinion from time to time about them. *Copy.*

JAMES III to *LORD BALMERINO.*

1718, Jan. 1.—Amidst all our past and present misfortunes I retain a most grateful sense of your constant friendship, which you cannot now show me better than by helping me with your advice in my law suit. I hope it will yet succeed and therefore we must not despair, but do all we can to help towards it. I wish it were in my power to be kinder to your friend on this side the sea, but I hope better times will come. *Copy.*

JAMES III to *GRAHAM OF BALGOWAN.*

1718, Jan. 1.—I cannot but very much wish you would give me a mark of your good wishes to me in assisting your friend, who has so much suffered on my account. It is but what nature and your regard for me requires of you, and therefore I am persuaded you will comply with my desire and not be less friend to him for his being attached to me. *Copy.*

JAMES III to *MR. LOCKHART OF CARNWATH.*

1718, Jan. 1.—(Printed in *the Lockhart Papers, Vol. II., p. 9.*) *Copy.*

JAMES III to the *BISHOP OF EDINBURGH.*

1718, Jan. 1.—My distance from you does not make me forget my obligations to you. I had a few days ago the pleasure of hearing of you, and, fearing your circumstances may not be

so easy as I could wish, have given directions for your being supplied with what you may want by *Capt. Straiton*. I beg you to continue your advice in my law suit.

Our friend will acquaint you with my present situation. I wish your health be as good as mine, which is, thank God, perfect, though my mind cannot be easy till I am amongst you. *Copy.*

JAMES III to SIR JOHN ERSKINE.

1718, Jan. 1.—My friend John's good luck, since he left me, has made me some amends for being deprived of his good company. More than one here can bear me witness, that, whatever opinion others had of him at that time, mine was always the same and just to him. That none shall ever undermine you with me is a great truth, but a phrase that wants a bottle of Burgundy to make it pass. The want of that makes us very dull here, and, ever since we parted, I have had few merry hours, but now perfect health makes amends for all and I have still hopes it will not be long ere we meet where we wish. I am doing my best towards it, and it will not be my fault either, if I continue long a single man. I am very weary of the country I am in and am now writing in the middle of hills, frost and snow and not like to see the ground these two months. Let me hear sometimes from you and present my service to your good lady, whose good-will for me I can never forget. Were I vain enough, I should think myself now a perfect man, being cured of the only fault you found in me, but I hope we shall be enough together to show you you have too good an opinion of me, though in one point I think I deserve yours, and that is in being true to those who are it to me. I reckon you in that number and shall be so to you *que l'on gronde, que l'on crie, que l'on fronde* and so adieu with the same words we used to conclude many a bottle. *Copy.*

COL. J. PARKER to JAMES III.

1718, Jan. 1. Montargis.—No subject has undergone such variety of hardships as I have, being reduced to starving, naked, and often without bread, her Majesty not in capacity to remedy our sufferings, three years without pension, and only one and a half assisted with 50 *livres* a month for me and my family. No subject has served with more fidelity or given better proofs of duty than myself or passed so many harsh trials. I rejected life from the Prince of Orange on terms that would tarnish my principles, and had suffered death, had not Providence favoured my escape out the Tower, was afterwards outlawed and 5,000*l.* set on my head, yet twice returned to England by your father's order. Your Majesty well knows how unnaturally I suffered during your minority and since in France,

Your father left me several proofs under his own hand of his affection. The June before your departure for Scotland, be pleased to reflect what I laid before your Majesty by Sir T. Higgons from your loyal subjects at Leeds and Halifax, who had both horse, arms and money ever since '92 and the same loyal resolution. All they desired was, I should bring them officers. Had it been God's will, the Lancashire miscarriage had never happened. I most humbly recommend to your Majesty not to let me starve and I am persuaded, if your Majesty recommends me to Cardinal Gualterio, he will assist me.

THEOPHILUS OGLETHORPE to JAMES III.

1718, Jan. 1. Rome.—Wishing him a happy New Year, long life, and a race of children as amiable and as capable of governing a kingdom as he is, and thanking him for his repeated orders to Cardinal Gualterio, who tells him his Majesty has ordered a third brief to be demanded of the Pope in behalf of the Marquis de Mezières' son.

THEOPHILUS OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Jan. 1. Rome.—Wishing the King and his Grace a happy New Year, hoping and expecting their next New Year's Day will be at London, and hoping, now his Grace is with their master, he will permit him to renew their correspondence.

I designed to have kept the holidays at Naples, but, the Emperor's ambassador being absent, his secretary refused me a passport. Since his return he has sent to excuse it, and has been angry about it. His Spanish secretary flung the fault on one of the ambassador's gentlemen, who, to excuse himself, said I was a known Jacobite, therefore he had advised the secretary not to give me a pass. The ambassador answered that, though I was, I was only suspected and that I was not to be refused a passport. The secretary has sent to desire I wont complain against him. The whole affair is over, for I stay for my brother that was in Hungary, whom I expect soon from Leghorn.

I have related my private quarrel to let you judge of the opinions of the Germans here in relation to our master.

Postscript.—The people at Rome are Lord Southesk, Lord Edward Drummond, Col. Steward, Mr. Stanhope, Mr. Berkeley, Mr. Moore, Sir Richard Corbett, Mr. White, Mr. Ford, and a Mr. Charles—, that is with Lord Edward. Mr. Stanhope and Sir R. Corbett are Whigs.

MR. WEST to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Jan. 1.—By a letter received this week from Sir W. E[llis] I understand mine by this conveyance came safe to you. I did not write to you under his cover as he seems to suppose, but only desired him to acquaint you I had received the music

from George, and should forward it to you according to the new directions I was expecting he might favour me with. To-night that with the packet brought me by the said George from Signor Nicolini goes to him for you.

There are yet no new operas here except that of St. John Chrysostom, which probably Signor Nicolini has given you the justest account of, his being one of the principal parts in it. It has been acted three or four times, but by the general vogue of the town has not the applause expected from so choice a company. The book is dedicated to the Duke of Queensberry, and I take the liberty to lap up one of them with your music.

I have had no opportunity of discoursing alone with the gentlemen you desired your compliments to, and much doubt if I shall, but I acquainted Mr. B—— with them, and he assures me of a most honourable esteem of them on both parts and a hearty sorrow that some considerations will not permit a more regular and due return to them. I perceive they have been pretty nicely sifted, as well as some others that are quite given over and, I hope, to as little satisfaction.

I am much rejoiced that one of the doubted of letters was arrived and the probability for the other, and am not a little consoled that that more unhappy one, which I can get no further notice of, may not be of any considerable prejudice.

Mr. B[? row]n, I am satisfied, knows nothing of it, though all of them now seem to guess at the gentlemen that were here then, though without any displeasing remarks to my knowledge.

Our Carnival is yet very young, and has afforded nothing worth relating. I never remember so few of our countrymen at such a season, none of note, but the Duke of Queensberry and Lord Peterborough. The latter appears very little abroad, nor do I hear any discourses of him or from him, but that he had appointed to-day to set out for England, as the general report is. Of private gentlemen we have only a son of the rich Bateman and a son of Sir Cane James with a Mr. Wolf, nor have we advice of many others designed hither. No letters under the directions you mention have yet appeared.
2 pages.

JAMES III.

1718, Jan. 1. Urbino.—Patent appointing Sir Peter Redmond to be consul general in all the kingdoms, towns, islands and harbours belonging to the Crown of Portugal. *Copy. There is also a copy in Entry Book 5, p. 64.*

The DUKE OF LORRAINE to [JAMES III].

1718, Jan. 2. Lunéville.—Fearing he has forgotten him, and assuring him that no one in the world prays more sincerely

than he does for everything that concerns him, and asking him to order one of his people to send the writer news of him.
French.

CAPT. JOHN O'BRIEN to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, Jan. 2. Venice.—I arrived here at 12 to-day, and have since informed myself of the road to Vienna. I set out early to-morrow. Lord Peterborough went hence yesterday to Paris. His servants gave out that the Elector ordered him to repair to London forthwith. I was told at Rimini that Mr. Dillon's man was much better when he set out from thence. Dated "1717," but endorsed "1718."

L. INESE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Monday, Jan. 3.—I hope *Mar* will find in this packet one from *Lady Mar*, at least the address was in a hand not unlike hers, though a little disguised. There are also two from *Menzies* and one from Brussels. The long letter signed Coupar is from Mr. Guthrie and gives a more particular account than any of *Menzies'*. *Queen Mary* has had all the success that could be wished by her application to the *Regent* in favour of the *Pope* as *Mar* will see by what *Queen Mary* and *Dillon* write. By what *Dillon* tells me *Ormonde* seems out of humour and piqued on not hearing from the *King*, and, though at present there be more reason to expect to hear from *Ormonde* than to write to him, yet I hope the *King* will please him in that, which I conceive to be the more necessary that *Mar* now is with the *King*, for *Mar* will easily believe that, whilst he is there, any such omission will be laid at his door.

GENERAL GEORGE HAMILTON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Jan. 3. Paris.—I would have answered yours of 4 Dec. sooner, but some little business I had, of which I shall inform you in the sequel, hindered me.

As to the paragraph relating to Mr. H[oo]ke, I was in doubt whether to show it him or not, for it rather seemed a forbidding than encouraging him to act in that affair. To justify myself I thought it best to show him the part of your letter that regarded him. He answered:—That on what I told him from you he had been very easy about what you said he had mistook in your letter, but, to show he had some ground for his opinion, he produced your letter, and another, said he, written by your order, much stronger and more particular, and said he would let any man judge what other sense they could be taken in; however it was you dropped the correspondence after those letters, not he. He smiled, when he read that he may very easily believe you have little business with the persons you name, adding that he is not so ignorant as you think him, that there was no need of desiring him so late to reason with them, that his

duty and affection often lead him to it, but that there was a great difference between convincing men's judgements or inclining their wills and determining them, which is never to be done by general reasonings or offers, that you were too well acquainted with business to make the proposition seriously, and that he was not so blind as not to see its meaning. He warmed a little at the expression "If he will apply himself to the King's interest." He appeals to the King if he can doubt of his willingness, and thinks he has a right to know why it is doubted, though, said he, since his Grace did not answer my last letter in which I touched that point, I have but little reason to expect an answer to this question now, yet, if I could have waited on him at Liége, I would have endeavoured to have been at the bottom of it, but, you know, I could not. This is what passed, as near as I can remember. What touches him most sensibly is that he should be in the least suspected of his want of duty or inclination to serve our master ; one line would set all right. Our business should be to look forward and not backward, all which you are more capable to be judge of, than I shall pretend to advise, and assure yourself I shall give you no further trouble on this score.

I wrote to you after I came here, giving the reasons why I had some thoughts of staying here, and another very powerful one is that I have not touched one penny since that bill of 500 *livres* I drew on Mr. Gordon, to clear my lodgings at Aix. As I was pretty well informed of the difficulties the Queen was under for want of money, I never gave anybody the least trouble of what regarded me.

I believe you are no stranger to the old friendship betwixt Mr. L[aw]s and me, and can't but say it has fallen luckily out on this occasion, for it seems the Queen had sent to town to enquire for a proper person to apply that way, which was proposed to me by a second hand at large. As I could not take on me to meddle in that affair without having told Mr. *Dillon* of it, after I told him what passed, I desired he would go to St. Germain and to know the Queen's further pleasure whether I should undertake this affair. On his return he told me that she not only approved of it, but that it would be rendering her a singular service.

On this I went to Mr. L[a]w, and discoursed him fully on this affair, in which he frankly offered his service in the most obliging manner and told me, he would not solicit the several managers, but would take an opportunity to speak to the R[egent] himself, and, if he would give him but a verbal order, he would advance 100,000 *livres*, and would draw out a scheme, whereby he hoped in less than three months not only to clear all the arrears due, but [to have] that for the future paid monthly, preferable to any other, all which I informed Mr. *Dillon* of. This unexpected success alarmed the Queen's factors, and made them use double diligence, and they plied

Monsr. C[ou]t[rinie]r, the chief manager, so that on a former promise the R[egen]t made to the Queen, before she went to St. Germain he paid 45,000 *livres*, which was kept a great secret from me. I continued visiting Mr. L[aw]s. At last he asked me to dine with him. I told him [I would], provided he would keep to his promise. Then, says he, come to-morrow, which was Christmas Day. After dinner he told me, I must dine to-morrow for, in the hurry of business he was in about a meeting of the Bank, he could not have any opportunity of speaking with the R[egen]t. Next day I was put off again till Monday. Then he told me that the Queen had received several sums and was sorry I had not told him. As I was entirely ignorant, I said I knew nothing of the matter. However he told me, lest the Queen should be straitened and the holidays approaching, he would in the meantime advance 50,000 *livres* upon anybody's receipt she was pleased to send for it. I acquainted Mr. *Dillon* of it. He went to St. Germain, and only returned last Friday with Mr. D[ic]k[on]so[n]. He and I went to Mr. L[aw]s, who paid the money and confirmed what I have already mentioned.

I asked if he would give me leave to take notice of this affair to the King.

He begged of me by no means, till he had performed his promise to the last, and then I should be at liberty to do what I pleased. I think this is a good step once to have him engaged which, I hope, may be improved, when an opportunity offers, to good purpose.

If you have not sent my commission by Mr. *Dillon's* servant, pray send it by the next sure hand. 8 *pages*.

CAPT. JOHN OGILVIE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Jan. 3. Dunkirk.—This packet came to me by an express last night. I was ordered to send it straight to *Mar*, and to advertise him to send the answer to *Capt. Ogilvie* as quickly as can be. I also send another letter *Capt. Ogilvie* had from Mrs. *Ogilvie*. It will let you see *Capt. Ogilvie* is no good politician in sending *Mar* that letter, when he is so very desirous to see *Mar*, but *Capt. Ogilvie* has a reason for it, which is to let his friend *Mar* see he has not, nor ever will, have any reserve with him. Notwithstanding this letter, I must pray *Mar* to permit *Capt. Ogilvie* to come to him, for he has things to communicate to him of some importance for the *King's* service, and consequently for *Mar's* service, which cannot be done by writing. Therefore I pray you to write immediately to Mr. Gordon to give me enough money for my charges to where you are, for I had rather beg my way than ask any favour from *Dillon*, neither can I go to *Queen Mary*, especially to ask money. Pray do not delay, for the sooner I see you, the better, and it's what I neither can nor will communicate to any mortal,

As to our news, there is a league happily concluded betwixt Spain and Portugal. I had it from a person that knows it well. It was managed by the French ambassador there. This person signifies that he could have done a singular piece of service for *the King*, if he had had any commission to have meddled in his affairs. You will receive George's orders to his supposed son, young Hopeful. In the letter to the foreign ministers he says "for other practices." To explain this a little, it's publicly said there was a design concerted by Hopeful and his friends to turn out his pretended father, and take the government into his own hands, and that Argyle was at the bottom of this. How true all this is I cannot answer. As I was writing I received a note, which I send you. Just now I am told the brat that was lately born is dead of a gangrene, which is a sign there will be no more of the whelp's race. Several more of the members of the House of Commons are sent to custody of the serjeant at arms. Mr. Hungerford had a narrow escape from being sent to the Tower, for the votes were just equal, and the Speaker gave the casting vote in his favour, so he escaped this time, but a great many went out of the House swearing they should never set foot there again, while that Parliament continued.

I am ordered to acquaint you that *Lord Oxford* and others are mightily dissatisfied that some people will be sending over messages with men that are altogether strangers to them. It does much hurt and makes confusion. Besides it is not in the power of nature nor of the world to persuade the wise and solid people of *England* to have any opinion of the sense or the brains of a certain nation. I was ordered to say much more, but, lest you may think there is malice, I will say no more; only *Lord Oxford* said it was very hard to commit him with madmen and boys that were in themselves insignificant, and altogether incapable to do the least good, but on the contrary much hurt. He says he often begged a remedy might be put to those dangerous proceedings, but they must prove fatal some time or other.

Some Swedes privateers and some loaded ships are all seized here for reprisals, and all the men are put in prison.

Postscript.—If you will allow me to come up, I shall make such dispatch to be back here that I shall never be missed.
On a separate bit of paper,

There was a list of the standing army in Britain sent, 16,344 men, and a copy of verses upon Hopeful, but they would have made the packet too big for the post, but you shall have them next time. *Over 3 pages. Enclosed,*

———— to [CAPT. OGILVIE].

Since I saw you I received a letter from London of the 19th ult. It contains nothing more than that the difference between the King and Prince grows worse. The King sent for the plate the Prince took out of the palace. They

have an account there of the league betwixt Spain and Portugal. The fleet designed for the Mediterranean goes to the Baltic. My friend is very desirous to know, if we have turned out of our service the gentleman in the Temple. Probably enclosed,

Printed paper translated from the original French of which the substance is as follows:—The Vice-Chamberlain is commanded to tell my son from me that he and his domestics must leave my house, and to tell the Princess that, notwithstanding this order, she may remain at St. James' till her health will suffer her to follow her husband, and also that it is my pleasure that my grandson and granddaughters remain at St. James', where they are, and that she is permitted to come and see them, when she has a mind, and that they are permitted from time to time to go to see her and my son. He is further to tell the Princess that in the present situation of my family, I think that whilst she stays at St. James', she would do well to see no company.

Then follows the letter to the foreign ministers, of which a slightly different translation is printed in Tindal, History of England, Vol. IV., p. 550, note). There is also a French translation of the above enclosures.

THE DUKE OF MAR TO CAPT. H. STRAITON.

1718, Jan. 3.—I almost wish mine of 30 Oct. may not have come to you, for it was mostly on an affair, about which I see by yours of 28 Sept. and 3 Oct. there was no occasion for any such thing. How the young advocate came to write so to his friend on this side is more than I can imagine, if it was not before he saw you the second time, when you gave him that money, but even that does not justify it, nor your telling him that you had no orders about the particular sum, since you told him he should have some in the meantime. There has been some mistake, but I am glad you did as you write and *the King* is very well pleased with it, to whom I showed your letter. As to the particular sum I can give no orders till you let me know what the way *Sir H. Maclean* is now put in will cost yearly, which you must inform me about as soon as you can, and then I shall write *the King's* orders about it, only pray let not any mistake the young advocate may have fallen in about this make any difference or misunderstanding betwixt you.

The King is much pleased with your accounts of the trade, and did not expect so good from your parts as to that branch of the money. I must, though, caution you as to that as you must do so by others. It must be trusted in very few hands and far from being made universal any way, which could not fail of making a discovery of the way we think of carrying on our trade and that would have worse effects than anything which can be done that way can be of advantage,

so there cannot be too much caution and secrecy in it. A few of the ablest understanding merchants is enough to know anything of it, and it must be but to a few substantial people to whom they must apply. Some you name are very proper and both *the King* and I have wrote to them particularly to *Lord Eglinton, Lord Balmerino, Lockhart* and *the Bishop of Edinburgh*, but they were too bulky to be sent all in one packet, so I have referred it to *Inese* to send them to you differently and by several posts. You had best not deliver any till all come ; at least till you have time to receive them, for some may perhaps miscarry. They are left open for your perusal ; that you may know the better how to speak to them, either by themselves or together. Nothing is mentioned to any of them as to the *money*, but the affairs of the Company referred to the information you will give them, by the accounts sent you formerly and now, and there is no occasion for your being over particular in those accounts, in case of things coming out. There will be a necessity, though, for your telling them some things which I must refer to your discretion, and in general you may show them that the Company is now in a more prosperous way than for some time past ; that great pains have been taken to get substantial merchants to join in the trade, and, we have reason to hope, not without effect, but nothing is yet fixed, which can hardly be till we can show them we have some stock of goods to begin with, which is the reason that providing a quantity of *money* is absolutely necessary for a trade of that kind, though that had better not be done at all, than not with the greatest secrecy, on which the whole depends. *England* and *Ireland* are to do their parts, and 'tis hoped the other partners will do theirs. This, with what you will see in their letters is all I can say to you as yet, but ere long I hope to be able to tell you more, and the sooner the *money* be got the better, though a little got, and at leisure, is better than endeavouring to get more in too general a way.

This letter is only for yourself, so I may mention some other things unfit to go further. *The King* and I have also wrote to *Sir J. Erskine*, which are also to be sent you, and he is one of the merchants we have as much confidence in as any. I write of some of my private affairs to him, which made me close his letter, but it is necessary for you to know, that, as I have named him to none of the others I have wrote to, so I have not named any of them to him, but referred him to be informed of them by you, if he has a mind to meet them, not knowing if he will care to trust them or they him, but that you'll easily come to know after you speak with him, and adjust it right. I shall be glad how soon he can have my letter, which you will send by a sure hand, and you had best at the same time inform him of those whom I had occasion to name to him in his letter, who shall be wrote on a slip enclosed to you with the letter, and you will also inform the others of those mentioned to them.

You will see in *the Bishop of Edinburgh's* letter that *the King* tells him he has given you directions to supply him. I fear it is now very hard with him, so *the King* desires me to tell you to let him have 100*l.* sterling on his account. Two others are also in very hard circumstances, and, though *the King* be not very full of money at present, and has no small occasion for it, yet he cannot think of letting those want who have suffered in trade with him, so long as he has anything to himself. I know they would not care to have their names known, and for fear of accidents I'll put them in cipher. The one is *Col. Urqu[h]art*, who, though he did fail in some part of what might have been expected of him, yet heartily repents. The other is *Rob. Moray, bro[ther] to Aberc[ar]ny*.

To each you are to give 50*l.* sterling when they come to you, they being acquainted to call on you for that sum, but they know nothing of one another, and they are cautioned to keep their own secret, and indeed it must be kept a secret from everybody, for it is not in *the King's* power to do so by others who may be in their circumstances. I cannot say they asked it, but they proposed coming to *the King*, which would have a greater inconveniency. What money you have for answering these sums I know not, and I believe you have none, except what has arisen from the *money* you write of, and how you had any for that affair of *Sir H. Maclean* I am quite ignorant, but you should let us know. If you have money enough by the *collection*, you may pay the above sums out of it, and it shall be replaced on this side, so as nothing be misapplied of that fund, and, if not, you must draw on *the Duke of Gordon's* namesake at *Paris*, and he shall have orders to answer it.

I should mention something else to you of money matters, but will do so in another letter, being a thing not amiss those merchants you are to meet with should see.

Speaking of money reminds me of *Col. Mackintosh's*, though I almost despair of any of it being recovered. When last at *Paris*, I heard that those who do for him at his own house were purchasing new land or clearing old scores on what he had before &c., which they did not stick to say was with that money of *the King's*, of which he had the charge, and that you and I have so often wrote about. As his friend, I thought I was obliged to let him know what was said, and that it was fit he should justify himself, it reflecting very much upon him, which I did, and have got an odd enough answer, denying all, and saying that these stories are only raised by his enemies to blacken his reputation, and seeming angry any notice should be taken of it. He says he has written again and again about it, but has no answer, so, unless you can fall on some way there to recover it or put us on it here, I'm afraid it will be entirely lost. What makes it the harder is that he has a pretty good allowance from *the King*, which is not reasonable, if things be with him at home as ever they were, as they say they are,

and he have that money of *the King's* to boot, but this to yourself only. Another thing is a shame too, which is *Lord Seaforth's* not refunding a considerable sum of *the King's* he got from one employed in the trade, who came to a port where *Lord Seaforth* was, after *the King* himself had left that country. This *Lord Seaforth* has been often told of, though to no purpose. He has still as good wages from *the King*, notwithstanding, as any mariner of his rank, and we are told he is as well elsewhere as ever in spite of his bankruptcy, and that the creditors, who got him declared so, will never be able to touch any of his effects. If things be so with him, is it not wonderful he can have the conscience to use *the King* so? but what can he do to help it in his situation? However, I wish you would inform us how things stand with him, but by no means must you let it be known, that I wrote anything of it. He was a little out of humour with *Mar* about a year ago, but for what reason I know not, nor do I believe he did himself, but for a considerable time now they are the best friends that can be, and I am the more concerned that he should do anything that can reflect on him. There's a terrible war betwixt him and *Huntly*, in so much that both pretended to print an account of each other, but that they were dissuaded from as being unfit at this time on the account of others as well as their own, so that all was to be referred to *the King*, to whom they have lately sent what they intended to have printed, but *Huntly* did not send his paper himself, and a strange paper it is indeed, and it is needless to give you any more trouble about it. You would hear of *the Duchess of Gordon's* nearest relation (*i.e.*, *Huntly*) being lately not far from where *Queen Mary's* son is. He would go into that country against the advice of all his friends, and I indeed thought it had been with a design to justify himself to *the King* by seeing or sending to him at least, and I was very glad of it, but, it seems, that was the least of his intentions, and, not only so, but he came still nearer to where *Queen Mary's* son is, to see a relation of his, and neither came nor sent to see him, nay, even kept one with him from doing it, who told *Mar* when he was at *Paris* that he would positively do it. All this, when *Huntly* was endeavouring to justify himself to *the King*, is somewhat extraordinary, and of a piece with what happened on another occasion, which I thought was fit for you to know that you may inform people aright, if they hear other accounts. Were it not pity that this conduct of *the Duchess of Gordon's* son should not be added to *Huntly's* paper I mention above?

The King has not by much so many people with him as he had where he wintered last, but there is nothing but good agreement amongst them, as there is now everywhere amongst all his people that I know of.

I wonder I do not hear from *Rait*, but I suppose *Lady Mar* does. I am sorry for what you say of his health. I heard

some time ago, that he was perfectly recovered. Pray let me know if a letter I sent you last year for *Lady* Balmerino* was safely delivered. You will seal my letters after reading them with any fancy they do not know, but you need not seal those from *the King* enclosed in mine. There is another letter of mine for you calculated to be shown to the merchants written to.

I must desire you to make my compliments to an honest old acquaintance, who married *Lord Sinclair's* eldest daughter. Nobody takes more pleasure than I at the escape he had in his last sea voyage, and I wish him joy of his saving not only himself but his cargo. Mentioning him reminds me of a malicious story some wicked body in your parts had raised on his namesake, who assists me in keeping the books of the company as the Doctor, your friend (*Menzies*) wrote me. It was mere calumny and not the least shadow of ground for it; on the contrary, when I was absent last summer from *the King*, I left him with him, and he is very well pleased with his service. $9\frac{1}{2}$ pages. Draft in *Mar's* hand.

JAMES III to CARDINAL GUALTERIO, the EARL OF DUNDEE and the BISHOP OF TODI.

1718, Jan. 3.—Thanking each for his expression of good wishes for Christmas and the New Year. *French. Entry Book 1, pp. 215, 216.*

WILLIAM GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Jan. 4. Paris.—Wishing him a happy New Year, and that in it he may have the pleasure of seeing the King restored to his own throne, which would make it a remarkable year to all his good subjects.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Tuesday, Jan. 4.—I received last Friday yours of 10 and 11 Dec. You guessed right about *Wogan*. *Queen Mary* thought fit to delay his journey for the reasons I wrote 21 Dec., but presume he'll be dispatched immediately on your last letter, which *Dillon* has communicated to *Queen Mary*.

I was in pain for *Basque*, and am glad he arrived timely with you. I hope we'll have him here soon, but will say no more of his errand, till I know *the King's* and *Mar's* sentiments about that matter.

I find by *Sir R. Everard's* and *George Kelly's* letters that *the Bishop of Rochester* and partners want much to know *the King of Sweden's* answer, in order to proceed with the collection of money, but God alone knows when we shall be able to satisfy

* *Sic.* Probably mistake for "Lord."

them on that score. I expect *George Kelly* here about the 10th, and a further account by him.

I enclose a letter and memoir *James Murray* sent me by a private hand and a packet from him to *Mar*. The messenger has been near a month on the road, so what he brought is pretty old. The disturbance in *the Elector's* family is not yet appeased, though the person injured has made unbecoming and mean submissions. It is believed the matter will be patched up one way or other. Be that as it will, the son's character is fixed to contempt, and all that is odious.

I had no news from *Ormonde* since his of 4 Dec., which I sent you.

I enclose the dates of the letters he wrote *the King*. He is in pain about them, and desires to know if they came safe. I wish you a happy New Year with all prosperity. 3 pages.

JAMES OGILVIE OF BOYNE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Jan. 4. Rouen.—I have always been so indisposed since my son's death, that I would not give you the trouble of a letter, but now think it my duty to wish you a most happy New Year. I think it very long since I had your commands, yet am persuaded you will easily judge by my past endeavours and present inclinations of my constant zeal and fidelity for his Majesty's service and my sincere attachment to your interest. I am told a most false and malicious story has been reported about Bordeaux of Mr. Arbuthnot's being engaged with Lord Stair in all his affairs, and this only occasioned by the mistake of two names, there being a Robert Arbuthnot actually in Lord Stair's family, who had occasion for some things from Bordeaux, and one was mistaken for the other by some people there, but I am sure Mr. Arbuthnot here has his character so well established with his Majesty, your Grace and all honest subjects that it is above any impression that can be made by such injurious and idle calumnies. Sir William Keith and Mr. Home of Whitefield and Mr. Arbuthnot beg you will accept their most humble duty. 3 pages.

MR. BRISBANE to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, Jan. 4. Bordeaux.—Wishing him a New and happy year, which may bear for era the restoration of one of the best and most deserving of princes and one of the best and most glorious of Kings. Glen[lyon], Walkingshaw and all your friends send you their best wishes.

T. BRUCE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Jan. 4. Br[ussels].—Last night *de Wilda* came to town. His friend's answer to him was here 28 Dec. This friend tells him he had occasion to talk with *the Emperor* touching his demands at present from *England* and gave *the*

Emperor his opinion that they would not be complied with, and upon that took opportunity to talk of these other matters, and *the Emperor* answered that he cannot determine himself at present in that affair. *De Wilda* told me that his friend mentions the same reasons for this answer as he gave me formerly, and that he would write to his friend to watch any proper opportunity of renewing the proposal, in case either *the Emperor's* affair with *King George* miscarry or any other favourable juncture falls out. *De Wilda* is of opinion that *the Emperor* will be inclined, if not diverted by other accidents, to be well with *the King of Sweden*, but believes he is not well with *the King of Prussia*, and that *Holland* presses very hard on *the Emperor* touching the *Barrier treaty*.

Last night *Falconbridge* came here suddenly on some affair of his own. Besides what I wrote you last, *Cadogan* had prevailed in his late demands from *Holland*, but *Falconbridge's* friend got it obstructed in both points, both as to *the fleet* against *the King of Spain* and war with *Sweden*. He told *Falconbridge* he did that both for the sake of *Holland*, and likewise for that of *the King*, and bade him be assured he would do everything in his power to serve *the King*, and desired *Falconbridge* to let him know how he could have the occasion. He told him further that he had been reproached for having opposed *the Triple Alliance*, but that he found his friends owned their mistake from the *vast fears* arising from that and from *Sweden*. He had just come from a meeting of the *States*, where they had been on means to *agree* with *the King of Sweden* and was appointed with some others to adjust the means, where he would not fail to govern that affair as far as lay in his power in hopes that *the King of Sweden* would give credit to *the King*. He says that *Cadogan* asked 32 ships for both the mentioned purposes, and, to disappoint him, and draw off his friends from their engagements which they had given to *Cadogan*, he proposed they should make a resolution of having 32 ships, but without engaging where to dispose of that stock. Now in place of 32, they have resolved on 12 and of that no more as 6 at present to be sent with an ambassador whose journey is pretended for settling commerce, but is really to *agree*, if possible, with *the King of Sweden*. He told him further that *King George* offered money to *the Emperor* on condition that he would refuse *azile* to *the King*. *Falconbridge* showed me a letter to the same purpose, which he had from his other friend who had the compliment lately from last.

I am afraid money may have influence there, and, if the ply is taken in that point by *the Emperor* as it is by his ambassador with *King George*, it will not soon be got helped. However *T. Bruce* is to speak to *De Wilda*, that he may advertise his friend about it.

I saw a gentleman lately come from *Holland*, who says he drank a bottle with a messenger going from London to Vienna,

who told him he had letters to the Emperor, offering money, but swore that he believed the King would find difficulty to get the money. The unlucky divisions betwixt the King and the Prince stand as they did. They begin in this country to husband their favours, in resolving that no man shall have above one office. Amongst others Col. Falconbridge, who had a company in Hartopp's regiment and for an eminent service at the siege of Brussels was made Governor of the citadel of Ghent by means of Baron de Reinswood, for life States deputy for Utrecht, who is a great friend of his, is now obliged to quit his company and to take himself to the government of the citadel. The late storms have done damage in Holland to the value of 3 millions, as the Dutch Resident here gives out.

The DUKE OF MAR to CAPT. H. STRAITON.

1718, Jan. 4.—I have sent under cover to you letters from *the King* to several of the merchants with you in whom he has confidence, desiring their opinions and advice. He has referred them to you for accounts of those on this side the sea and desired me to write more fully both to them and you.

I gave you full accounts of all relating to them last summer, at least desired two friends in *London* to do it, which you tell me they did.

I cannot as yet tell you much more, only in general those measures are still going on, and we have reason to hope with success, but we have not yet any positive account of any agreement being actually concluded betwixt those employed by *the King* and the merchants he has been endeavouring to bring to join in the trade.

(About the collection of money and the importance of caution and secrecy therein, as in his letter of the day before.)

You know how necessary it is to have *the Highlanders* provided with what is necessary for *them*, and effectual care is taken for that on this side, but it requires a good deal of money, which is not just now very easy to be got. Since I mention money, I cannot but tell you that those from whom *the King* was to expect it have delayed his payments so long that he scarce has wherewithal to maintain the crew of his own ship, and was like to be obliged to dismiss most of them, but that he was very unwilling to do, both on his account and theirs, and so makes a shift to go on as formerly by credit and the little he can scrape together. You may easily believe the charge is not small, and 'tis a wonder how he has been able to hold out so long. Would those people pay him what is due, I believe he could hold on till the trade begin again, and, since they have paid none these 10 months past, I hope they'll be ashamed to delay it any longer. You see how little *the King* is in a condition to maintain any more seamen, should they come to him, as he heard some were intending, till the trade begin.

As to what you mention of *Stuart of Appin's* going home, I cannot satisfy you on what account it is, but it was without communicating anything of it to *the King* or any of his people, and Ashton's (i.e., Duke of Athole probably a mistake for Ashdale=Stuart of Appin) behaviour all the time he was in *France* was a little odd. However, should he have any bad design, care is taken to prevent his doing any hurt where he is gone.

The King is in perfect good health, and I believe is not now to be much longer a bachelor, which, I suppose, will not be disagreeable to you and the rest of his friends. There is no need of speaking much of it, till you hear further.

Postscript.—Lord Peterborough's affair is so long over that I say nothing of it. Since nothing further appeared in it, the gentleman principally concerned would not allow any more trouble to be given him, and I am hopeful he was innocent, though there was no avoiding doing what he did in that after the informations he had from all hands. 3½ pages. Copy. Enclosed,

The list of cant names mentioned in the letter of the day before.

THE DUKE OF MAR TO LORD EGLINTON.

1718, Jan. 4.—Unless you be very much changed, you do not forget old acquaintance, nor does long absence nor cross fortune make you alter your friendships or principles. I hope the day will come when you will see your old friends and those you wish well to in the way you have long been desiring, and, though their attempt to establish the trade failed at one time, it may succeed at another, and I have reason to think my hopes are not vain. It was not either neglect or thinking you altered that has made me silent to you for some time, but for a while there was not much I could say of our trade till I saw what effects our endeavours had, and, when I was on the point of writing to you and other friends and had come to a more convenient place for correspondence, an unlucky accident disappointed what I was to have wrote about, and I thought it better not to trouble you with a letter without its containing something worth your while. I have lately rejoined *the King* and have often had occasion of talking with him of you, and, having had opportunities of being better acquainted with you than he, I gave him the best information about you I could, and he has entire confidence in you and will trust a great deal to your advice in relation to the trade of the company. I enclose one from him and *Straiton* will inform you of the progress we have made towards establishing the trade and putting it on a good foot. I hope ere long to give you accounts of further advances in it, and I hope in future what I write to *Straiton* or order our friends with *London* to inform him, will serve as if I wrote to you directly. He shall have orders to let you know when he receives any accounts worth

your while, and, when anything occurs fit to be communicated only to yourself, you shall have it in a letter from me. He knows how to forward any letter you may have to send us.

It may be of use if you will meet sometimes and discourse with a few of the merchants, our friends, who are most conversant in the trade, and *Straiton* will let you know which we are best acquainted with, and will be fittest. *Balmerino*, *Lockhart* and *the Bishop of Edinburgh* are three we have confidence in, and so, I believe, have you. I have written to them and one or two more, but have named you to none but *Lockhart* and *Straiton*. An old acquaintance of yours and mine I once thought would not have failed being in copartnership with us, and I doubt not he still wishes the prosperity of our company, but his backwardness some time ago to enter into it, makes me not venture to write to him, but, if you find him willing still to join, you may assure him from *the King* that his former refractoriness shall not make him have the less confidence in him now. I fancy you'll guess this to be young *Lord Aberdeen*, (*i.e.* Lord Haddo) and, if you think fit, pray make him my compliments.

I missed seeing a young relation of yours some time ago before he left the country whereabouts I then was, and, though I did not think fit to write to him myself, I got an acquaintance of his to do it. By several who have seen him of late I understand he is a very pretty young gentleman and will prove a resolute bold trader.

There's but one thing further I'll trouble you with. As secrecy is the life of most business, so is it in particular in what concerns trade. Let us not cry Roast meat too soon, as I have seen formerly done in the affairs of the company, and so give an opportunity to those who trade in the same commodity to disappoint our projects.

I wish my old friend, your neighbour in the country, were in such a way that I could desire you to make compliments to him, and he might be so for the way he is used by those he trades with as I hear. I still wish him well, and would fain hope he may be yet of our company, but our trade must have a better aspect, before it be fit to try him upon it. 4 pages.
Copy.

THE DUKE OF MAR TO GEORGE LOCKHART OF CARNWATH.

1718, Jan. 4.—Explaining that he waited to write till he had rejoined the King, whom he found better in health than he had ever seen him. He is determined at the desire of his relations and friends to live no more single, and, finding some relevant objections to a young gentlewoman they had recommended, he has turned his view on several others, all very suitable to his rank, and whose relations, there is reasonable hope, will not be against the match. He is now taking the necessary measures for fixing his choice and it will be none of his fault if he have not one of them ere long.

Since I came here your friend gave me an account of what you wrote to him concerning your cousin young *Lockhart*, of which I spoke to *the King*, and, though your friend was employed by him in a little affair just now, he would not let that hinder his being all the use he can to your relation, on which I wrote to him accordingly.

(Then follows a long passage about the importance of secrecy as in the last letter and about attempting to gain the Duke of Argyle, which sufficiently appears from the abstract in the *Lockhart Papers*, Vol. II, p. 10, except that Mar recommends that the Earl of Ilay, the Duke's brother, should also be approached.)

As to what you wrote to be communicated to me of some unlucky accidents which happened some time ago in the attempt the company made, I communicated it to *the King*, who believes that most of the merchants concerned, and you in particular, did what they thought best for the interest of the company, but that it is now long past, and the best use to be made of it is to make people think how to prevent such mistakes on another occasion. 6 pages. Copy.

The DUKE OF MAR to LORD BALMERINO.

1718, Jan. 4.—On the same subjects as the last two. 2 pages. Copy.

The DUKE OF MAR to the BISHOP OF EDINBURGH.

1718, Jan. 4.—On the same subjects as the last three.—I reckon you will have seen a late letter of *the King's* to your brother, *Dr. Leslie*, that, I am confident, will have given you and others a great deal of satisfaction on the account of *the Church of England*. Copy.

The DUKE OF MAR to SIR JOHN ERSKINE.

1718, Jan. 4.—It is above a month since I came here, after travelling through a fine country, where I saw a great many fine things and heard abundance of excellent music, especially in *Venice* with which I was charmed. Many a time did my fellow traveller, your namesake, and I wish you had been of the company.

But a few days ago I had accounts from *Straiton*, though of an old date, of your being well and of mine, I think of July last, coming safe. I was in hopes of one enclosed from *Sir J. Erskine*, but it was not then come to him, though he does him and *Charles Erskine* justice as to a point I recommended to him to speak to them of, concerning the advancement of the trade of our company.

(Then follows a passage about some of the traders meeting to consult, and about the importance of secrecy as in the previous letters.)

“As to the partners we are like to get elsewhere, I cannot yet give you a certain account, but we have still more and more reason to hope well of *the Czar* and *the King of Sweden*, and I hope *Ormonde* shall not lose his labour, but bring things to a good conclusion there ere long. *Dr. Erskine* goes on in his good endeavours and has lately given a new proof of it and of the good disposition of *the Czar* towards *the King*, of which I hope you shall hear more in a little time. I write in the ordinary style, but the distance betwixt us all is now such that that little time may seem a long one, though there should be no delay or interruption. I have not heard from *Sir H. Stirling* since he left *Holland*, but long ere now I reckon him with *Dr. Erskine* and I hope to hear from him soon. I am told he is lately free of a certain incumbrance, which I believe is hard upon one I wish well to, but it has been a heavy one a considerable time to poor *Sir H. Stirling*, and it is not lost that a friend gets. I wrote to *Dr. Erskine* the other day by an express we sent that way, but when the length of the way and the winter will allow me to have an answer, God knows. Our distance here is cruel and the place of the country we are in is a damned one. We have more snow just now than is, I am sure, in *Lochaber* or *Badenoch*, and nothing but hills, not so much as the least valley near us, so that our promenade before the snow was on roads cut out on the sides of one hill to the top of another, where there is nothing to be seen but hills on three sides and hills too on the fourth quite to the sea. We have a fine house indeed, where you would be surprised to see so much music, and so little drink that can make one merry, the old stock of that is out and the new not come. *Cra*——in would never have occasion to put out the bl—flag at night, unless he would take up with the drink of the country which he would not much like, though I think it better than tippenny still. I have music in my rooms thrice a week, a voice tolerably good, an excellent violin, one that plays well on the harpsichord and sometimes *Painter* (? *Lord Panmure*) plays on the bass fiddle and *Mitchell's* (? *Earl Marischal's*) *Jack* on the flute. *The King* looks in often when they are at it, and is really come to like it, which, as it is a pleasure to me, I know it will be no small one to you. Perhaps you will think it dear of the postage, but here I send you an air which is a mighty favourite of his. I fancy that together with the enclosed will make you pass several nights agreeably with *Cr*——in, *C. Erskine*, and who else you will admit over a bottle, and, could I be with you for a wish and away next day, I would surely be with you, and perhaps so would some beside who you would make as welcome. Do you ever visit your neighbour and have a tune with him in the coal pit, I fancy he would be glad of a copy of the one I now send you, and if you think fit to rejoice him in that way, pray make him my compliments.

“We have much less company here than at *Avignon*, but full as good agreement, which is some amends, and, had once

that happened to *the King* which he mentions in the enclosed, we may perhaps pass our time more agreeably, but short may our stay be in this place, and soon may the trade oblige us to another port, and should it be even to one of *the Muscovites*, it cannot be worse. Should I be disappointed of seeing the fine town, now when I am so near it, it would be a balk to one of my taste, but there are ways to make it an agreeable one. In the meantime, for want of wine, &c., I should die of the spleen were it not for building castles in the air of several kinds, for which I have more time than formerly, the post being but once a week."

Your projects of that kind go on, I hope, nor must poor W——ie C——re be forsaken; we may yet be merry in it. I must write to you seriously in relation to my friend Mrs. Morris, Johnny Morris' wife (*i.e.* Lady Mar, Mar's wife) who, I hear, gets not a farthing of what she should. I am sure that affair was meant honestly by Johnny, and I believe it was by those he trusted with his affairs in that country, and he had no doubt of its answering what he intended when that time should come. How it comes not to do so, when the time is equivalent to that I mention, is more than I comprehend. Had not some disappointments obliged him to dispose of the ready money he then got otherwise than he intended, the fund out of which she was to be paid would have been clearer, but even so, there is fund enough for her, and all who have anything to claim out of it. My concern for her is great, and likewise for Johnny's reputation and those he employed. It would grieve him to the heart that any of her friends should think there was the least trick in all that affair, and that any thing could give the least appearance of it. I wrote of this some time ago to *Rait* and so did she to James *Erskine* [Lord Grange] but I have had no answer, and she writes nothing of any she may have had. I beg you to speak to those two, and to David Couly (? David Erskine, Lord Dun), James *Erskine's* co-partner, which two last were principally employed and trusted by Johnny, and they attested all under their hands. I hope amongst you ways will be fallen on to set all this right both as to by-gones and in time coming, so that she may be as easy as her unlucky fortune will permit. I have sent her word of my having wrote to you about it, and pray let her know if it come to your hand. 7 pages. Copy.

ANGELA PEYTON CAFFIS to —

1718, Jan. 6. Pesaro.—Expressing the thanks of herself and her house for the favours received from his Majesty, with sincere wishes for his prosperity. *Italian*.

JOHN PATERSON to LORD TULLIBARDINE.

1718, Jan. 6.—My last to you was of 4 Dec., and I have nothing now to add, so should not have troubled you now, had

I not received a letter from W. M[urra]y, telling me that on his road to you he lost the packet I gave him for you, in which there was a letter for you from *the King* of 9 Oct., enclosed in one from *John Paterson* of the 10th. It happens very luckily there was nothing of moment in either, but, to set your mind at ease, I send you copies of both, by which you will see it is no great matter whose hands they fall into. . . . *Copy.*

JOHN PATERSON to WILLIAM MURRAY.

1718, Jan. 6. Urbino.—The 2nd I had of yours of 2 Dec., giving me an account of your having lost the packet I gave you for *Lord Tullibardine*. The Duke of Mar made your excuse to the King, and you need not be under any further uneasiness on that account. *Copy.*

L. WESCOMBE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Jan. 7. Brussels.—When I wrote last on 9 Nov. I had thoughts of going to Paris soon, but, receiving no commands from you, I resolved to stay yet a little while here. I shall always be ready to observe what directions you honour me with.

We have nothing worth your notice here. What little I hear, I communicate to Mr. Bruce. We are full of speculations, the confusion seeming to increase everywhere. A little time must show us what turn the affairs of Europe will take.

JOSEPH CAGNONI to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Jan. 7. Leghorn.—Thanking him for the honours he had done his son, who yesterday morning arrived there in perfect health from Bologna and Florence. In the last place the Grand Duke asked him how his Majesty did, to which he answered he left him in perfect health. He has acquainted me with what you told him about the city of Lucca, for which purpose I shall write next week to a friend there, who is a Senator, and propose the thing as if out of my own head, and desire him to acquaint me with his opinion.

(Account received in a letter from a correspondent in London of the quarrel between the King and the Prince of Wales and about Mr. Shippen's speech.) The above is in plain terms, to which my correspondent adds in obscure terms understood by nobody but us two, that the King's party increases every day, and that there was a marriage on foot between his Majesty and a Princess of the North and that next summer we should hear of great armies of Muscovites on foot. 3 pages.

JAMES III to the BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

1718, Jan. 7.—On *Mar's* arrival, "he showed me his letters from *England*, and among the rest a long one from *the Bishop of Rochester*, which was not a little pleasing to me, plainly seeing by it the union and cordiality between them. It is,

you know, *Dillon's* duty to transmit to me, whatever comes to him from your parts ; now within this short time he has sent me some letters,* not from yourself, but from one you trust, by which it is impossible not to conclude, that your diffidence of *Mar* is very great, if your true sense be transmitted, of which I own I doubt.* I think my service requires I should myself clear that point with you. *It is with shame and regret I now find myself obliged to inform you that there were but too many at *Avignon* about *the King*, who, though they professed friendship for him as it was their interest to do, yet were imbrued with very bad principles, not unlike those of *the Whigs*, and who acted as if they designed to breed discord amongst all of us,* and particularly between *Ormonde* and *Mar*, whose good sense and zeal for my interest made all their attempts ineffectual, but I fear they may have made some impressions on some who cannot conceive, as indeed I cannot myself, what end any friend of mine could have in blasting *Mar*, who has so signalized himself in our trade, but, whatever the motive may have been, his character was blackened to the last degree, and, though I easily convinced *Ormonde* of the malice and emptiness of such slanders, I am not still without apprehensions, that they may by long continuance take place with some. I beg you therefore to speak freely on that head, and to tell me sincerely, if you have anything to say against *Mar's* honesty and if you really desire not to have anything to do with him. If the first, I believe I can clear it ; if the second, 'tis but just that every one should have their own canals of business, it being as unreasonable to constrain friendship and confidence, as it impossible to force them.

“ It is a cruel thing for a man of honour, if he finds it out, to see himself so blasted, and that so undeservedly and groundlessly, and but a base encouragement for my true servants if those who do most, must fare the worst, and in plain language no honest man can stay with me at this rate, our enemies will triumph over our divisions and make but too good use of them, and no friend will care to meddle or stir, when such is the recompense of the most signal services. For my part I can have no view nor partiality but for my own service, but I think that is very much concerned in my supporting those who have done their duty and that it is my interest as well as well as duty so to do. If a man be found guilty, in God's name let him be punished and laid aside, but, if he be innocent, let it not be in the power of every little railer to destroy his reputation. This not for myself, for I am sure you are of my sentiments, but to show you mine, and that, as I act by principle, it is so I desire to deal with and think of every honest man. I beg of you therefore to explain yourself on this head, and to be on your guard on these topics, and not to mistake my meaning, for whatever good opinion I may have of *Mar*, or you may have yourself, I shall never

disapprove of your preferring another channel of correspondence, that is free to every man, and, provided it doth not appear to *Mar* or others with you, I mean friends in general, that you distrust him, which would I think be very much against my service, that's all I desire.

"*Dillon* is a true honest man, but except with those immediately employed by *Queen Mary* or *the King*, you cannot be too cautious, for, though I believe all on this side the sea mean well, yet I have all along smarted for their private views and jealousies, which were but too constantly preferred to my service. This, though in itself but a private affair, seems to me to have so many consequences relative to my service that I could not but speak fully on the subject. I hope you will take all I say, as kindly as I mean it, and as a new mark of a confidence which, you see, is without bounds towards you.

"I cannot but add here that, if *Mar* be not thought proper to be bookkeeper, who have you to propose in his place, or will accept of it, when it's found so hard to please in it? Will another be found freer from objection, or be more agreeable to the generality of friends with you? For after all men are men, and no one man can be universally liked, though no man can fill that place as things now stand, without being generally trusted in all things, with few exceptions.

"After this I must do *Mar* the justice to say that among many good qualities he is very disinterested, and I know would not stand in anybody's way, were *the King* where he should be, nay even now it is only the view of his service that makes him go on with his present drudgery, which, I believe, few would so cheerfully go through in his circumstances, but which he will never be prevailed with to continue, should he find himself suspected, and the consequence of such a person's quitting *the King* at this time, I leave you to judge of. I mean quitting either his business or his person, for his heart is certainly proof against all provocation." 4 pages. Copy. The passages between asterisks are printed in the Stuart Papers, p. 23, note.

JAMES III to the DUKE OF ORMONDE.

1718, Jan. 7.—I did not think to have writ to you so soon after the long letter O'Brien carried. This is to enclose a copy of my letter to the *Bishop of Rochester* which I thought necessary to write on the account you'll see. I am sure it can do no hurt, and may do good. It is, I know, your opinion that with honest men one should go to the bottom of matters, and no doubt there is no other way of preventing mistakes or clearing of them, and, when friends in *England* see you are satisfied with *Mar*, and that I am, it will certainly put all right again.

You may notice that in my letter I mention not *Lord Oxford*, that being not the drift of the letter, but merely that in using what caution, and trusting what people he pleases, he may not downright shock *Mar*. These little people on all sides

spoil all, and yet there's no doing quite without them, though the less they are spoke to on some matters certainly the better, for I cannot but fancy there must be some mistake in *George Kelly's* letter. *Copy.*

JAMES III to *LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.*

1718, Jan. 7.—Dillon's of the 14th with the enclosed came safe. "I wish he would send me either the originals or copies of such letters, abstracts being often defective, though I see enough in them to oblige me to write the two enclosed here to *the Bishop of Rochester* and to *Ormonde*, which you will forward by the first safe occasion. If you mind how I have worded *the Bishop of Rochester's*, you will plainly see there is nothing but what is kind to him, and what was absolutely necessary for my service. There was no letting that matter run on further without an explication, which I am in great hopes will set all right, and the want of which would certainly have been fatal. God forgive our Whigs on this side the sea who have been the first movers of this work, and deliver me from such as without principles themselves can never bear to see any honest people about me that they cannot govern; I thank God Urbino is pretty well purged now, may it long continue so, and may I have firmness enough never to spare such, as it is my duty at least to browbeat and discountenance them, but enough on a subject which puts me out of all patience. I shall, if it please God, do my duty, and support all honest men, and, if I suffer by so doing, I shall not complain; but one thing I am sure of, which is, that I will never have anything to do with those who persecute them merely because they deserve and possess my kindness. I desire you will show *Queen Mary* those letters with this, but for the first time I must say I neither ask *her* nor your advice about them, for go they must, and written they are, you will see, with more calmness than this.

"After a little scolding I must tell you that I am truly pleased with what *George Kelly* says of *marriage*, for that shows how reasonable they are, and how free I may be in that respect. Would to God *the Duke of Modena's* affair had succeeded, but alas there is no more thoughts to be had of that. Your remarks on the reports about *the marriage* are very judicious, and I do only wonder *the Duke of Modena's* affair was never sooner spoke of, for *the Pope* had trusted with it a rattle of a nephew he has, and in August last *the King*, to try *Lord Clermont's* secret, trusted him for an experiment with it, and an experiment it was, for a whole club of them had it in ten days, but they having more regard for one another, than the author had for me, kept their own counsel very religiously for fear of *tracasseries* among themselves, but that is all stuff and out of doors now, and I do not see the report you mention can do me hurt from wherever it comes. But I am still positive in my opinion not to mention *the Czar's daughter* to *England*; a particular of that kind being kept from them can neither

prejudice my service by depriving them of any necessary light, nor can they take a mystery in such a thing ill, should they find out there was one afterwards, whereas the consequences of the secret are immense. Their approbation cannot be doubted, and their knowing in general *the Czar's* good dispositions ought to be encouragement enough, whereas to give them a view of that *marriage*, before we know whether it will do, may prove a raising of their expectations, only to make a disappointment a greater damp; so that, all considered, I am for keeping silence on that head, till I know more of *the Czar's* mind, and of the person of the girl.

"Sure *Dubois'* journeys, and the secret made about them, must denote some rubs in his negotiations. I am heartily glad *the Bishop of Rochester* relishes *Dillon's* proposal in relation to *the Regent*, and shall be impatient to know what use they make of it, and what further accounts you have from *England*. I can say nothing as to what *George Kelly* asks about *the King of Spain's* factor, but that in my own particular I would more rely on his honesty than *Dubois'* words, the first had always a fair character, whether the last has it is more than I can tell, but his officiousness is to be remarked, and was not, to be sure, undesigned.

"This is all I have to say now, and so adieu.

"How can *George Kelly* say that *Mar* gave no reason for not sending my old letter of February last, when you and I have both seen *Mar's* answer where the true reason is given, viz., it being on a subject that was out of doors, *the King of Sweden's* project, which you know broke out just after I had written that letter. You will see now though that *Mar* has sent that very letter to him, I mean a copy of it. This is the likeliest thing to a *querelle d'allemand* that ever I saw, but I hope the answer to my letter will at least show me what I had to reckon upon." 4 pages. Copy.

JAMES III to CARDINAL ALBERONI.

1718, Jan. 7.—I believe I am not acting contrary to the advice of silence which you have given me by thanking you for your Christmas and New Year's letter, and congratulating you myself on the new dignity with which the Pope and the Catholic King have rewarded your merit. I shall not enter on politics here. May God dispose affairs in such a manner that the Catholic King may venture and be able to appear as much my friend as I believe him in reality to be. It appears that that time is approaching, let it not slip, I conjure you, but secure the repose and happiness of your master on the solid foundation of justice, which alone can give Europe an assured peace.

The assurances of a strong and sincere friendship for their Catholic Majesties will gratify them, I believe, more by your channel than by my own. You cannot exaggerate my feelings towards them, and the pain my silence with regard to them causes me. My joy at the King's good health equals the anxiety his

indisposition caused me. I pray that God may long preserve him and make him as happy as he deserves. I beg you to pay attention to what Cardinal Aquaviva shall write you from time to time on my account and to continue your good offices. I never had more need of them, and never has a conjuncture presented itself where they could be of more solid and certain advantage to me. *French. Copy.*

JAMES III to CARDINAL ALBANI.

1718, Jan. 7.—I have received in very good part your letter of the 1st and am much obliged for the frankness with which you have written to me, with which this answer shall correspond. You know that at the very opening of the affair in question I never declared myself determined to enter on it, reserving my decision till I should be fully informed of everything relating to it. You know that I have since had other views for my establishment, but these have been always undecided and much depending on the report I am waiting for about the persons concerned. You are not ignorant that “*les éclairissemens convenables par un homme à moy me sont otés par la deffence de l’ami à Vienne, à laquelle j’ay crû devoir me conformer, et que j’ay pris pour un signe peu favorable des dispositions de la partie interessée, puisque ce seroit renoncer au bon sens que de m’engager aveuglement dans une telle affaire.*”

“*Que l’Empereur en soit informé ou qu’il l’approuve, il ne paroît pas qu’il s’intéresse, ou qu’il puisse étre choqué de la conduite raisonnable, qu’ou vous ou moy avons tenu dans toute la suite de la negociation.*” What your zeal for me has made you undertake commits you to nothing. I naturally tell you what I think, and, if I do not speak more positively, it is because I cannot do so without violating good faith and sincerity. Breaking off that negotiation before I am sure of another cannot be done without risking too much, in case the others fail me, and to enter therein without the necessary information about the person and without waiting for the answers I am waiting for from elsewhere would be equally contrary to policy and to my personal advantage. So all I can do at present is to make you this simple statement, which makes you see sufficiently the rightness and the reason of my proceedings, and which is more than enough to clear you of all suspicion of chicanery or bad faith.

If on this the party concerned gets impatient and wishes to break off on their side, and should be shocked to see me insist so much on the necessary explanations, I shall at least have nothing to reproach myself with on my side, but I hope they will not be so unreasonable and that you will risk nothing by keeping that negotiation on foot till I inform you positively of my decision, which a few months will bring you, but which cannot be favourable to that side, if they choose to deprive me always of proper lights.

However it may be, I am too sensible of the marks of friendship you have given me on this occasion to propose anything that may be of ill consequence to you. I shall always count on you as a good friend, and I leave the conduct of that affair to your prudence.

I do not venture to trouble his Holiness myself with assurances of my profound respect and of my prayers for his health and happiness, but I beg you to lay me at his feet and to supply this for me. *French. 3 pages. Copy.*

JAMES III to CARDINAL DE POLIGNAC.

1718, Jan. 7.—Thanking him for his letter of the 5th of last month and counting on his readiness to be useful to him on all occasions. *French. Copy.*

LORD TULLIBARDINE to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, Jan. 8.—I received yours of 4 Dec., but the other mentioned therein with the King's never came. The young man suffers extremely without being reproached with it. He wrote to you as soon as he came here, and again sends you a double of what he said. Your accounts of the King's health are no small comfort to me and all your other friends here. The mightiest says, without knowing what yours mentions, he was sufficiently prepared for any attack that's to be made of that kind and even thinks himself in a condition to entangle, if not overcome, others with no less address than they design for catching him. The field bed and what else is with it are entirely at your disposal.

WILLIAM MURRAY to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, Jan. 8.—The 3rd of last month I wrote you an account of my misfortune, but in case of accident send you the double of it. I arrived here 29 Nov. where I found *Lord Tullibardine* and all here well. But you may suppose what satisfaction I could have, not having the letters for him. I wrote 16 Oct. giving an account of my misfortune, the substance whereof is as follows. About 8 miles from Florence a most severe storm of wind and rain came on, which occasioned me to remove my letter case from one pocket to another, being afraid the letters might be damaged by rain; but, in place of putting it securer, they have slipped by. Neither pains nor expense have been spared for their recovery but all in vain. I am hopeful that, if found, they'll come to court or Florence. If Florence, I have managed it so that they'll come to this place, viz., Leghorn. But I really think they'll never be, there being such a severe storm and the road so crowded with mules. I hope you'll endeavour to extricate me from such an oversight which I'll be ashamed of, as long as I live.

JAMES III to CARDINAL GUALTERIO.

1718, Jan. 9.—Nothing is more singular than your conversation with *Cardinal Albani*. One could not help making reflections thereon useless to repeat to a person of your penetration and dangerous to disclose elsewhere. Yours on this business are just and solid, and I have tried to adapt my reply to them, which you will find here with *Cardinal Albani's* letter. "*Je suis d'avis qu'après cela on se contente de voir venir et qu'on soit aussi réservé sur ce chapitre qu'il soit possible, crainte de tomber dans quelque piège. On nous en tend surement, mais tant que nous nous tiendrons sur les généraux et libres d'engagement, ils ne scauroient nous nuire et il n'est possible pas que l'Empereur puisse prendre mauvais ce que j'écris au Cardinal. A tout prendre, tout cecy me degoute bien de cette affaire. Dieu veuille m'en faire trouver une meilleur, je ne neglige rien a cet effet et a la terminer promptement,*" which besides is the more necessary, because I am displeased but not surprised to see how certain secrets always come out.

I approve extremely of your whole conduct in this principal affair as well as in that of my rumoured journey to Rome. You can say, if you judge it suitable, that I had never positively determined on it, but, since the Pope disapproves of it, it is more than enough to dissuade me from it. "*Mon Dieu, qu'est ce que le monde, et comment peut on l'aimer? j'ay tout le loisir dans ces montagnes de le considerer, et de le mepriser.*" *French. Copy.*

JAMES III to CARDINAL ALBANI.

1718, Jan. 9.—After carefully considering your letter of the 1st and Cardinal Gualterio's on the same subject, it appears to me that you ought not to feel the least uneasiness for yourself on the affair in question, as it does not on my side cause me the least embarrassment. My conduct in all that business has been regulated by reason, and yours by the zeal you kindly have for me, and we have only to continue it, to have nothing to reproach ourselves with.

Yielding to the reasonable entreaties of my loyal subjects as regards my speedy establishment, I should have believed myself wanting in what I owe to myself, if I should not satisfy myself in my choice. Policy usually influences other princes, but in my present situation it will be the person and her qualities that will decide me. In accordance with that view, I have desired to be informed by a channel of my own about the princess in question, and, if I try to be also informed of others who have been suggested to me, it is only the better to secure the domestic happiness of my life and to decide with full knowledge. The desire I have shown to begin these informations with the princess in question shows sufficiently my just regard for her and I have taken the obstacle I have met with therein as

an unfavourable mark, but to which I ought to conform myself. The consent which the Emperor appears to give at present is a proof of his good will to me, which I receive with pleasure and gratitude, but I do not see that he desires it, or that it is a thing in which politics can have any part. I accept it then as a mark of pure friendship, which could not compel me but only places me in a position to finish the affair, if I consider it proper to do so. So it is impossible for me to decide positively as yet; when I shall receive from elsewhere the informations I expect, I shall be in a position to decide, and, when I shall have sufficient about the princess of Saxony, I shall be able also to judge about her. In this state of indecision I can only make you a plain statement; it is for you to make what use of it you think proper and for me to hold to the rules I have justly laid down on this occasion, and which could not reasonably shock anybody; you have, I am sure, too much friendship for me to disapprove of them, and too much discernment to apprehend that this conduct could ever commit you with any body whatever. I have believed I cannot better show my gratitude for the frankness with which you have written to me, than by answering you in the same manner, and, whatever may be the issue, I shall always feel an equal obligation for the zeal you have showed towards me, and earnestly request the continuance of it on all other occasions.
French. 3 pages. Copy.

[JAMES GIBBS] to [the DUKE OF MAR].

1718, Jan. 9. [*Received.*].—I am just come to town, after a very tedious journey from a very barbarous place. As soon as I came to town, I sent to the instrument maker, about your case of instruments which I send you. If you want anything else that may be of use to you, pray acquaint me and you shall have it. I have wished to be with you to see the progress you have made in your studies. I thought to have stolen a month to have come and seen you, but have been dissuaded from it on several accounts. I saw Ben (? Lord Bingley) yesterday, to whom I paid your compliments. He smiled and gave his service to you. He goes to the country very soon. I had time when in the country to see your brother[-in-law] in Yorkshire, he is very well and all his family. I have not heard from Alexander M. this long time, which makes me believe he is gone to the country about some gimcrack or other. I suppose he does as I do, rubs on in the old manner, till God sends warmer weather. I saw about an hour ago the worthy major, who has been in town this month. I have had no conversation with him yet, but believe I shall to-morrow. He is a very worthy gentleman as he used to be. I have no news. What news we wish for is expected from your quarter. I hope your landlady (? the King) is in good health. I saw young Con[vener] (*i.e.* Mar's son) yesterday; he is

very well recovered, and will do very well. The contusion in his head is closing up. A friend of his would willingly have him to the country for a fortnight, but I believe it will not be proper till he is quite well. *Endorsed* : "Signor Gibie to Lord Mar."

L. INESE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Jan. 10. St. Germain.—I had *Mar's* of 29 Dec. by Bask who arrived last night and brought such a load of letters and papers that *Queen Mary* has not yet been able to go through them all. *She* is well, but far from being able to drudge as much as *she* used, so *Inese* has been with *her* till now that it is late to ease *her* a little in reading some of them, and so cannot say much to-night. I made *Mar's* compliments to *her* to which *she* ordered me to return *hers* very kindly. I should be sorry *Mar* remained long enough where he is to be infected with the lazy temper of that people, but he must be wonderfully changed if there be any danger of that, even in the hottest season.

I have no letters for *Mar* except this from our Brussels friend, to whom though M. de Louvois' saying is not to be applied, it may be said with truth he has the greatest itching for writing in cipher even things of no consequence of any man I ever knew. I had no letter from *Menzies* last post, nor did he even mention that *James Hamilton* was taken up, so I hope there is nothing of it. As to *the Bishop of Rochester's money* *Menzies* has never yet given any account of it, only he wrote me a letter I sent *Mar* long ago, that he had given a full account of it to *the Bishop of Rochester*, who, he said, was entirely satisfied and assured him he had never made any complaint of him as to that. On this I wrote to *Menzies* that, whatever *the Bishop of Rochester* had said to him, he had never yet, that I could learn, writ to any body on this side that he was satisfied with him in that. I added that, as care had been taken on that side to inform *the King* of the quantity of money *Menzies* had received, it imported him for his own justification to inform *the King* how every piece of it was laid out. To this I have had no answer yet, though I pressed it very home to him. *Menzies* is certainly, as far as ever I could discover, an honest man, but no ways fit to have the management of *the money* trade, nor could I ever yet discover who advised *the Bishop of Rochester* to put the money into his hands, and I believe nobody did, and that *Menzies* was of his own choosing, and, if so, *the Bishop of Rochester* has the less to say. Some time ago *Menzies* promised to give a full account of all the money he received by a friend that was coming over, but this friend has not yet appeared, nor any word of him. I have pressed the matter as far as I could to little purpose hitherto, and yet I cannot believe but that *Menzies* will be able to give some kind of account of the matter. When I have long known a man to have dealt uprightly, I cannot without good ground suspect

him. Besides no man has been so long nor so universally trusted on that side as *Menzies*, without anybody's suspecting his not being true to his trust that ever I heard of. It is true he was believed to be more friend to *Lord Oxford* and his side than to *the Bishop of Rochester* and his, and he has suffered on that account, but I believe 'tis next to impossible for a man to please both these gentlemen and all their dependers. God reward *the King* for recommending poor Dr. Abercromby's desolate widow. *Nearly 3 pages.*

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Monday, Jan. 10. St. Germain.—This is only to tell you that Basque arrived here yesterday as also *George Kelly* from *England*. Enclosed are a packet for *Mar* from *the Bishop of Rochester*, two letters for *the King* from Lord Bathurst and Sir W. Wyndham—this last is called Mr. Wicherly in their cant,—and another for Mr. Car (Col. Hay). All the above came sealed. The enclosed memorial and *James Murray's* letter were sent open for *Dillon's* perusal. *Dillon* refers to next post to answer fully *the King's* and *Mar's* letters that came by Basque, and to give further information from *England*.

CHARLES FORBES to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Jan. 10. Paris.—I applied to Mr. Dicconson to be put on the establishment as a colonel of one of your regiments of the same date with Inverrey, and, though I made no application while I had any prospect of getting home, now, since I was in a strait, I thought it pardonable to apply. I was told they could do nothing without an order from you by the King's command, so, when you think fit to honour me with one, it will add to my many obligations to you.

I have sent an information to Will Erskine of the present state of our North country, and of what they are really able to do on any present attempt, and of what are the best methods to bring them soonest to their duty. When you have time, you may see if you find anything in it worth your notice. I have inserted nothing in it, but what I am sure the persons mentioned are capable to bring to the field of good men without dispeopling their country or bringing out old men or boys.

There is no appearance of agreement betwixt Prince Prettyman and his father, and all who daily come from England agree there never was such a ferment in that nation as at present, and wish the King could only be able to make a stand till his friends could meet, which a very few could do in our country at least, there being only about 2,400 troops in it, one regiment at Inverlochy, one at Inverness, one at Perth, and one at Aberdeen, the rest in the south.

I mention 6,000 foot and 800 horse, but I wish we had the half of them. I would have no fear of success, for, though some people are for great numbers and think no prince will

give a few but will give as many as are asked, yet many thinking people have a different view of many foreigners coming into their country, besides from what they think of a few troops assisting the subjects to meet to do their King and country justice, and do think, if you had as many troops as you could wish, 10,000 were sufficient, and in that case 6,000 to land at Hartlepool with the Duke of Ormonde, 3,000 with your Grace in the Firth of Forth and 1,000 at Inverness, for that must be the first place taken, or it will be impossible to raise the Highlands as soon as you could wish. Strangers may think what they please of this, but I am sure none who knows the country will be of a different opinion.

Appin lives peaceably at home under the protection of the Justice Clerk and makes a merit of his former villainy. *Over 2 pages.*

J. MENZIES to L. INESE.

1717, Monday, Dec. 30[–1718, Jan. 10.]—I wrote a long letter last post, but am very diffident of its fate. I shall long to hear if it came, as you believe, safe. The uncertainty is extreme and the seal no proof at all.

In the enclosed Courant is Sir Isaac Newton's representation as to the state of our coin, which you'll see is a curiosity in the science of money. Our guineas on this are brought down to 21s. By the cheapness of our silver coin all that species almost is carried out of the nation, and the malcontents believe and say that now all the gold is to follow it.

Our most unfortunate divisions go on dismally, and to all appearance will drag themselves into a parliamentary consideration. The Prince's levées and court increase much. You know we are very fond in this country of forbidden fruit. The greatest part of the Tories are like to fall in there, which will doubtless heighten the Court's aversion.

There has actually been a meeting between some of the Bangorian bishops and some of the chief of the Dissenting ministers, to agree on the draft of an Act of Comprehension &c., but they could not hit it, the Dissenters being so very high in their demands that even Bangor, as comprehensive as he is, could not agree, that is, could not think the demands possible to pass in the two Houses. 21 Bishops seem to stand for the Church.

Please alter the late directions and try the old ones again.

James Hamilton's affairs are still in great disorder and he dares not show his head.

The Abbé du Bois looks on the Pretender to be in a very dangerous state of health. Whether he says this to flatter the Court, God knows. He ridicules the Tories to the last degree as a set of disjointed visionary drones, that no wise state would have anything to do with. We shall have some strange doings when the Parliament meets again.

WILLIAM GORDON to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, Jan. 11.—Mr. Macmahon delivered me two letters from Mr. Menzies and George Gordon, of which I enclose copies; which he desires you to show to the Duke of Mar, that he may know the matters of fact and thereby he may be entitled to his patronage and protection. *Enclosed,*

The said letters dated 25 Nov.[–6 Dec.], 1717, London, recommending Macmahon, who through continuing firm in his principles had lost a considerable employment.

THE DUKE OF MAR to COL. STEWART OF INVERNITY.

1718, Jan. 11. Urbino.—Thanking him for his letters and sending him some drawings he has made of a little house or villa and requesting him to get drafts of the elevations of the four sides of it made by some good architect where he is, and to return the drawings by some hand like that by whom they are sent, Sir Peter Redmond of Lisbon.—He is a friend of our master's and to see him was what principally brought him to Italy; and he is gone to see Rome for curiosity. Lord Perth, I believe, goes along with him.

I envy you for the buildings you see and the music you hear, where you are. I have been so long away that I am ashamed to ask leave yet to go to Rome, but, if we are likely to stay long here and some lucky thing do not soon happen to draw us northward, I will endeavour to see it, though, if I came, I have a mind to be as little known as possible, at least till just leaving, when I would wait on the Pope, but before that I would desire to be known to nobody but Cardinal Gualterio, yourself and Lord Southesk, by which I should see all I see with much more peace and quiet and freer of ceremony.

I shall be glad to hear sometimes from you and Lord Southesk. Pray give us some account of your amusements and what fine doings you have at the Carnival. If you meet with any very pretty song, pray send me a copy of it, for music is our only diversion here, but our best singer, the golden as your acquaintance, my Will, calls him, is gone to Fano for some time. You will have heard of the noble quarrel in England for treading on toes. I enclose a copy of verses sent me thence last post, which will divert you and the Earl, and I am to send one to the Elector of Rannoch.

We have been busy these two or three days about shuttlecocks or cleckings to give us some exercise, but, now they are made, we have nothing but tennis rackets and battledoors to play with. Could you not send us some shuttlecocks and light rackets, which would be a great present. Clephan wrote to you or the Earl for some drawing materials, which I hope you'll send. *5½ pages. Copy.*

JOHN PATERSON to SIR PETER REDMOND.

1718, Jan. 11.—I hope you will not take it amiss that I have ordered the piece of stuff you designed as a present for

me to be left at your lodging. I told you I had never made it my practice to receive anything from any body, and I cannot think of doing otherwise now. *Copy.*

THEOPHILUS OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Jan. 12. Rome. I received yours of the 6th. I did design for Malta, but my voyage was prevented by my being refused a passport. I now design to stay here for my brother, who is at Leghorn.

Cardinal Gualterio having lost his brother, I have not seen him this week and therefore do not know what progress has been made about the third brief demanded of the Pope. I wrote to the King to thank him, and am very much obliged to your Grace. I hope you saw the King of Sicily and am heartily sorry I was not there when you passed by.

The Vice-King of Naples has ordered that no more money be sent out of Naples for the use of the colleges and monasteries at Rome founded by the Neapolitans, but only for the payment of such as are really born subjects of Naples, and that all priests and nuns that are Italians and not born in the kingdom of Naples are to retire, on which a secret Consistory was held by the Pope last Sunday and lasted till midnight, and yesterday morning another was held. 'Tis said here Count Gallas has orders not to go to the Pope till all things are finished. The Pope has sent to me to ask an audience of him next Saturday. I cant guess what it is about, but shall acquaint you, as soon as I have had it. Lord Southesk and Lord Edward Drummond are here ; I often see them.

ABSTRACTS.

1718, Jan. 12.—Of William Gordon's letters of 9 and 16 Nov., and 1, 7 and 14 Dec., of which the first two have been calendared and the others contain nothing of interest.

CAPT. JOHN O'BRIEN to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Jan. 13. Vienna.—I arrived here the 10th but find *Wogan* is not yet arrived. I told *the Rector of the Jesuits* that he was a young gentleman who travelled for his curiosity, and that I was sure he was recommended to him and would wait on him as soon as he came, and asked if I might leave a letter to be delivered to him on his arrival. He asked me who I thought recommended him. I told him I was informed so by a banker, who desired me to deliver that letter to him for *Wogan*, if I did not meet him before I left. *The Rector of the Jesuits* is a cross old man and speaks only his country language or Latin, and therefore I thought it more proper to desire him to tell *Wogan* when he came, there was a letter for him at *de Busi's* and so left it with him. I enclosed it with an account of what passed betwixt *the Rector of the Jesuits* and me.

I delivered my message to *de Busi*, who was overjoyed to have the honour to correspond with you. He wondered he had no account of the letters he wrote, but now is satisfied with the reason *John Paterson* gives him. He is very obliging and got me a list of the places on the road I go, and letters of recommendation to his friends in several towns I pass through. He also got me a p[ass] from *the Czar's agent to Muscovy*, where I told him I was going. He asked who had recommended me there. I told him *Dr. Erskine* sent me word to repair thither with all expedition, and I received his letter *in France* but three weeks since. He told me he was also his friend and gave me a letter for him. I saw *the King of Sweden's* clerk at *de Busi's*; he was very well pleased with the honour you did him and expressed a great deal of zeal and good wishes for *the King*. He asked me, if he had a correspondent *in Sweden*. I told him I was a perfect stranger to his affairs, except my good wishes for him. He hoped by the time I got to *Muscovy* I should have a certain account of *the peace* interfering between *the King of Sweden* and *the Czar* and hoped we should be good friends, though I was of *the Czar's* faction. He told me that *the Regent* told *the Emperor's* friend *in France* that if *the Emperor* sent men to *Italy* he should be obliged to send such another messenger to *Germany*. There is no likelihood of a *peace* reconciling *the Emperor* or his adversaries but quite the contrary, and what has been talked on that subject hitherto was only an amusement. He asked me for the gentleman that was here the beginning of last summer and said he had written to him lately but had no answer. *De Busi* desired me to correspond with him from P[etersbur]g and in order thereto has given me such a token as I had from you. In case *Ormonde* should have occasion to write, I thought proper to accept it. I hope I shall meet him in some of the places you mentioned, for they are in the road, otherwise I shall have a difficult task.

I have not met nor asked for any of our townspeople here. I know them to be very inquisitive. I set out early to-morrow morning. 2 pages.

[The SAME to the SAME.]

1718, Jan. 13.—Giving the same sort of news as the last with some omissions.

WARRANT.

1718, Jan. 13. Urbino.—Warrant for swearing James Hay as one of his Majesty's chirurgeons. Minute. *Entry Book* 5, p. 66.

SIR PETER REDMOND to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, Jan. 14. Loretto.—Approving of his having rejected the trifle in question, and requesting him to write to him at

Rome and to make his most humble respects to his Grace.—I left Urbino at 12 and got to Fano before 6, where I went to the opera, that lasted till 12. 'Twas, I think, the finest I have seen anywhere, a noble theatre, spacious, regular and well lighted, with a great variety of very regular and noble scenes, and several of the best voices, I believe, in the world. Paulin, that sang for the Duke of Mar, was among them, but can hardly pretend to be a sixth rate in comparison of others there. They are magnificently clad that acted. I left Fano about 9 and got here, 50 miles, with ease by 6. As you can expect nothing hence, but a mention of holy things, and that I like them (I believe, much better than you do), I keep all for myself.

EXTRACT.

1718, Jan. 14. The Hague.—The reconciliation of the Prince of Wales goes backwards instead of forwards. It is confidently asserted, that the Prince having sent a message to Bernsdorf that it would please him if he took this reconciliation more to heart, since there was no one more proper for that purpose than himself, that minister replied, that whoever believed he would succeed in it would be mistaken and that it was only his Royal Highness who could do it himself best. People judge from this, that the King is confident that the Prince must submit absolutely to every thing the King prescribes and tells frankly everything his ministry desires to know from him, but they believe that the Prince, not having submitted at first, will do it still less now, that he has time to reflect and know what his friends advise. The Duchess of Marlborough, having been without the King's permission to see the Princess with some other ladies, his Majesty has taken it so ill, that he has ordered the Lord Chamberlain to make it known to all the nobility, that if they wish to be admitted to Court, they must absolutely abstain from seeing the Princess, as long as the disgrace of her husband lasts. *French.*

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Jan. 14. Vienna.—Thanking him for his letter and the satisfaction he has expressed for his trifling services and also for the recompense for his past correspondence which he has received from the officer who delivered the letter, and promising to recommence the correspondence and to try to advise him from time to time of all news with all the exactness possible.

M. de Stiernök, Minister Resident at this Court of the King of Sweden, being devoted to King James' interests, is much rejoiced at your Grace's letter, and begs your Grace to lay him at the feet of his Majesty. (Concerning the address to which he is to send letters and how they are to be addressed to him).

The officer who delivered me your letter left this morning for Petersburg. I assisted him with advice and with recommendations, having several friends at that Court. We looked for Mr. Germain (*i.e.* Wogan), but even the Rector of the Jesuits had no news of him. If he arrives, I shall try to unearth him, and shall deliver him the letter the officer left with me for him and shall assist him in every way.

There is a devil of a row at the Court of London between the Usurper and his son. It is even said the last is under arrest by his father's order.

This Court is not too fond of the said Usurper because of his slowness in sending a fleet to the Mediterranean to hinder King Philip's new conquests. To soften this he has contrived that the London merchants have lent the Emperor 200,000*l.* sterling and sold him four large men-of-war. There is a strong rumour of a treaty of peace begun between his Czarish and his Swedish Majesties. If this is done, these two powers could contribute much to his Majesty's interests, for as concerns the Court of Vienna, the most powerful there seem to have no inclination for his Majesty, but, as the Spanish party, which is powerful here, "*tien ferme à l'Empereur la vanité de sa monarchie d'Espagne,*" consequently he tries to keep on terms with the Hanoverians, however the German ministry and party is persuading him to renounce Spain. Things here are in this equilibrium. I shall tell you more by my following letters and shall use the cipher Mr. Walkingshaw left with me. 8 pages. *French. Enclosed,*

COPY of a LETTER from BERLIN.

In answer to yours I will tell you that Count Fleming is too enlightened to let himself be duped by Baron Görtz. In their private interviews he made a master stroke. You will remember that the King of Sweden declared to the powers concerned in the peace of the North, that he will never enter into any negotiation, unless either King Augustus renounces the crown of Poland for ever or that Count Fleming, whom he regards as the author of the troubles of the North, is put into his hands.

Thereupon that Minister has seriously considered his position and has given a plan to Baron Görtz for the restoration of his lost provinces to the King of Sweden.

- 1. By a separate peace with the Czar.*
- 2. By a secret transaction with the King of Prussia.*
- 3. By the satisfaction King Augustus will give the King of Sweden by renouncing Poland, according to the peace of Alt Ranstadt.*

1. His Czarish Majesty will give up without difficulty all his conquests from Sweden regarding them rather as burdensome, since he has often declared his readiness to surrender Livonia to Poland, except Petersburg, Narva and Ingria, which he wishes to keep in order to maintain

the communication between his empire and the Baltic. It is supposed, nevertheless, necessary to keep the conclusion of this treaty secret, till the King of Sweden be in a position to transport an army corps to Livonia both to replace the Russian garrisons, and to make himself master of it.

2. It has been already secretly agreed through Baron Manteuffel with the King of Prussia to make an exchange of Polish Prussia against the provinces Sweden has lost in Germany, and that the King of Prussia will cause them to be restored. This exchange will be very agreeable to Polish Prussia because its people are very angry with the decree made by the Poles to oblige the Protestants to restore the churches which they pretend were usurped from the Catholics, and they speak already of separating from Poland, by the same right as they gave themselves to Poland and of seeking a surer protection under the King of Prussia.

3. They will not fail to restore in its entirety the treaty of Alt Ranstadt, in order to procure for the King of Sweden satisfaction from the King Augustus, and that prince will have no repugnance formally to renounce Poland, because he is extremely disgusted with the Polish nation, because his army is greatly weakened, and because his ministry will use its influence to induce him to do so, on condition that the King of Sweden by his friends and the power of his army will make the crown of Poland fall on the head of the Electoral Prince of Saxony. Thereby the King of Sweden will return in his lustre, notwithstanding the forces of Denmark and Hanover, who will then make the best accommodation they can.

This is the substance of the Comte de Fleming's plan whereby you will have understood that he is not capable of being duped by Baron Görtz, but it will be very glorious for him to have known how to reconcile himself with the King of Sweden by the most ingenious policy, to have aggrandised the King of Prussia, whose vassal he is, and to have procured for the prince, his master's son, the succession to the crown of Poland.

There is a widespread report that the King of Sweden likes the plan, as far as it concerns the Czar and the cession to him of Petersburg and Narva, but not as yet that part which regards procuring the crown of Poland for the Electoral Prince, and Polish Prussia for the King of Prussia. 7 Dec., 1717. Berlin. French. 5 pages. Copy.

NEWS from VIENNA.

Although the Imperial Court, fearing the consequences of a separate peace between the King of Sweden and the Czar to the exclusion of King Augustus, viz., the return of his Swedish Majesty into Poland and Saxony, and

the possible results to the Emperor's prejudice, was glad to be apprised of the declaration recently made by the Czar's order, that, notwithstanding the civilities to Baron Görtz, that Prince would never make peace without his allies, it appears that this Court does not put entire faith in that declaration.

The Duke of Mecklenburg's envoy, who has read the Czar's letter to his Resident here containing that order, said it ordered him to make that declaration only if he was questioned about the civilities to M. de Görtz and about a peace negotiation entered on by that minister. Col. Samnitz, the Danish Chargé d'Affaires here till the Envoy's return, in notifying the declaration made by the Russian Ambassador at Copenhagen on that subject, has added that M. Westfal, the Danish Envoy who was on the way to Petersburg, brought a plan to the Czar, which the Court of Denmark hoped he would find suitable to his interests and would accept. The Court of Vienna tries to thwart the said peace, excluding King Augustus, by friendly demonstrations towards the Czar, whereof the refusal of the guaranty of the Hanoverian expedition projected against the Duke of Mecklenburg forms part. For the same reasons this Court also tries to thwart a peace between the Kings of Sweden and Prussia, excluding King Augustus. People hope that notwithstanding these and other obstacles this great work of a peace between his Swedish and Czarish Majesties will be brought to a successful termination in some manner or other. On the advices received that, notwithstanding the Spanish fleet was returned from Sardinia to Barcelona, it was ready to put to sea again, much stronger both in ships and in troops than on the expedition to Sardinia, to go to Italy and disembark at Spezzia with the intention of either passing through Tuscany and the Papal States into the kingdom of Naples or else to join the Duke of Savoy's army, we are informed, that the 8,000 men, who had orders some time ago to hold themselves ready to march to Fiume to cross from thence to Naples, have received orders to march the 20th instant, and that they will soon be followed by 12,000 who are going by land into Italy. The first at this season will have two months' march before they can arrive at the said port, and, if the others, who are to go by land, start before the roads get better than they are in winter, whether from Hungary or the Empire, they will have three months march. If the Emperor takes troops of Münster, they say, he will not employ them in Italy, but will employ them to replace those he will draw from Freiburg, Brisach or Flanders, whence they will have four months' march. General Major Nesselrot, sent here by the Viceroy of Naples some months ago to solicit a prompt reinforcement of the German troops in that kingdom, returned there a

few days ago. He told one of his friends before he left, that he lamented the long delay and prophesied misfortune to the Emperor, if the Spanish troops should enter the kingdom, before the reinforcements arrived. If King Philip carries out the said disembarkation, it is not doubted here, not only that he is sure the Duke of Savoy will join him, but also, as far as one can see, that France has an understanding with both of them, notwithstanding the personal quarrel between the King of Spain and the Regent touching the succession to the French crown, and that his Royal Highness will postpone this quarrel in order that the Emperor may be obliged to accept the peace of Utrecht, having the same interest therein as the said king. If France has no share in this enterprise against the Emperor, and he has nothing to fear on the side of the North, it seems he will be able either to hold out against that expedition, notwithstanding the continuance of the war with Turkey, or to dislodge those who, before his reinforcements arrive, may be able to get possession of the Italian States, which he now possesses, but, if France has a share in it, and above all if the Emperor has not his rear covered on the side of the North, one does not see what resource he can depend on in his present weak condition.

People wish to hope that the Emperor personally, as part of his ministry seem to do already, will understand his true interest and consequently will give King George the slip (plantera). I say, wish to hope, as it is not certain. If he does not do so, there is reason to fear the consequences of it to him may be bad.

There is a prevalent report that, without the intervention of the English minister, the Court of Vienna is to be informed that the Ottoman Court has designed to send a minister to Belgrade to try to conclude with Councillor Dalman an armistice, during which they can treat about a peace. The ground of the report is unknown, but it appears certain the Turks are attentive to the development of the affairs of Italy and the North and that there will be yet a campaign between the Roman and Ottoman Emperors.

The appearances of the Empress' pregnancy continue and there is hardly any doubt of it. If these appearances continue another fortnight, people will be quite certain of it.

The Elector of Treves arrived here the day before yesterday. It is said that he is come, as a near relation of the Emperor, to pay him his respects since he is become Elector, and the more so because he became Elector partly by the Emperor's assistance. That Elector leaving the Government of Silesia, people keep saying that the Prince de Lowenstein will succeed him and that Field Marshal

Count Guy Staremborg will have the Government of Milan with the command in chief of the army of Italy.

Count Wackarbart leaves this evening or to-morrow morning for Saxony, where the King, his master, has impatiently expected him. that he may give him by word of mouth an account of the situation of the interests of that King and of the Prince, his son, at the Imperial Court. 14 Jan., 1718. Vienna. French. 7 pages.

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, Jan. 14. Vienna.—Thanking him for his letter and admitting he had been pained by his long silence after having done what he could to fulfil what he had been charged with by the commission in writing by Mr. Walkingshaw at his departure. *French.*

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to [CAPT. OGILVIE].

1718, Jan. 15. Paris.—As they have now pressing letters to be sent to England, not to be trusted to the common post, praying him to let him know without delay if his boat is ready to make the voyage, and, if not, whether Mr. Gough can find any sure conveniency. He is not be surprised at his making no answer about the incident or *procés* concerning the boat, it being not a fit affair for him to meddle with. *Noted*, as enclosed in Ogilvie's letter of 2 May.

JOHN MOIR and four others of CAPT. GEORGE'S Crew to
the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Jan. 15. Bordeaux.—Apologizing for having conceived some jealousy of Mr. Inese in their letter about the end of October last, concerning a difference betwixt Capt. George and themselves, caused by the Captain's having kept up Mr. Inese's letter by which he was desired to do them justice.

SIR H. PATERSON to L. INESE.

1718, Jan. 15. [Received at Urbino.]—Requesting him to forward the enclosed to *Mar*, which he has sent open that he may peruse it that *Queen Mary* may know the contents. —I wrote lately to *Dillon* under your cover and had his answer yesterday. I had a letter the 10th of last month from *Ormonde* but there was nothing particular in it. *The King of Sweden's* factor, mentioned in the enclosed, is the person that manages *the King of Sweden's* affairs at *Brussels*.

I wrote to-day to *Ormonde*.

JAMES MAGHEE to CAPT. OGILVIE.

1718, Jan. 16. Dunkirk.—Mr. Ivery (? Avery) delivered me the reverend father's letter with the box. I can only assure you of my hearty concern for your sickness and your lady's delay. I received a letter from Mr. Hooke. He longs extremely to see you, and will instruct you of abundance of affairs. Though he be not employed, he will open your eyes very much. You must never let his name be known to any body. *Noted*, as from Le Brun's letter to Lord Mar of 3 Aug., 1718.

L. INESE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Monday, Jan. 17.—I shall send the desired receipt of the bag with the papers, whenever I go to Paris to copy what is writ on the label sealed to the bag, but must add that it is not usual here to give a receipt for any *depositum*.

As to *the Duke of Gordon's* paper, *Mar* is right to think I had no hand in it, nor had anybody but Glen[bucket], who drew it, and perhaps *the Duke of Gordon* himself, who, I suppose, supervised it. Before *the Duke of Gordon* left Paris, he promised both his aunt and *Inese* that he would write a dutiful letter to *the King*, and we agreed even on the heads of it. *The Duke of Gordon* said he would send it by an Italian he would get from the great friend he was going to visit. When he returned here, and was challenged on this promise, he said for excuse that this great friend had given him such reasons against either writing or sending to *the King* that he complied with them, the same great friend, he said, taking it on himself to satisfy *the King* that it was for his service that *the Duke of Gordon* should neither write nor send to him. As to Glen[bucket] he certainly intended to go to *the King* and told me at his return that he was on the point of quite breaking with *the Duke of Gordon* rather than not go, but at last *the Duke* told him that his going would certainly be his, *the Duke's*, ruin, on which Glen[bucket] gave it up, but was heartily mortified. I easily believe these reasons will not satisfy *Mar*, no more than they did *Inese*. The plain truth is, *the Duke of Gordon* has a very singular way of thinking, as his father had before him, very much out of the common way of others I have conversed with. Yet I am satisfied he has been very much wronged in some things, and, as to what relates to Inver[ness], I think it plain that *Seaforth* was much more in fault than *the Duke of Gordon*. Here are three letters from *Menzies*. I had challenged him for complaining so much as he did of late that all letters were opened, whereas no other body suspected that, and that none of his seemed to have been opened. On this he writes the long preface of his first letter. In his next he gives the account so long desired of the *money*. He is very positive he received no more than he mentions. He is certainly in the right as to the quantity sent hither, and as to the remainder he appeals to *the Duke of*

Shrewsbury who is still alive and may be asked the question, whether he, *the Duke of Shrewsbury*, did not give it to *Gyllenborg*. There is no question but orders were sent hence to him to send no more of the *money* hither, but to deliver what could be had to *Gyllenborg*, who had then got orders and powers to receive it, and sent it to his friend in *Holland*. But this order was sent to *Menzies* before *Gyllenborg* was taken up, and it seems that 1,000*l.* was given him after that. One thing seems certain, that *Menzies* is quite broke with *the Bishop of Rochester* and that party, and, by what I understand, there seem to be no hopes of a reconciliation. The question therefore is what ought to be done, that *the King's* affairs may not suffer and on this *Mar* will be pleased to let us know his thoughts.

J. MENZIES to L. INESE.

1718, Monday, Jan. 6[–17].—Here's again some of our most current prints. The *Journal* yet holds up his head, but knows not how long. Mr. Ridpeath is still the oracle of Church and State.

“Our misfortunes continue and increase. Both the contending sides are fortifying themselves as strongly as they can, and we are like to see doings, that I cannot describe by post, at the meeting of the Parliament again. Both sides are persuaded of their own strength, *et nous verrons*.

“The town is but thin, very many being gone to the country in this vacation time, several to Cornwall and Wales, but both Whig and Tory talk of having all their friends in town by the day appointed. Of the first kind there is no doubt. There was never more brigueing, and no man of sense can form a judgement, only that they who have the money and the power and the troops &c. are always here likeliest to carry all things. Some of the weakest of the Jacobites flatter themselves mightily, from the divisions, but the wiser expect nothing from thence, as long as they have no other strength or foundation. Nobody here will stir, without a strong force and support.

“Our reports of the Pretender's illness revive again, as you will see in the enclosed *St. James's Post*, which is one of the echoes of the courtiers. The Jacobites denied and ran it down for a fortnight, and it was almost out of doors, but it begins again, and from Holland, though perhaps that is only a rebound of our own news we sent thither.

“We have repeated stories every day, both from the Jacobites and the courtiers, of his marriage with the Duchess of Courland, which is not very consistent with his illness ; but inconsistencies are no rarity here.

“We were very near catching the D[uke] of O[rmonde] at Danzig. Our fleet for the Baltic will be soon ready, and a very strong squadron it will be. . . .

"I long to hear if mine of 26 December came safe to your hands, if it did, I shall go on with that affair of the *money* of which I gave you then the substance, but there are episodes and incidents in it which want to be explained, by which I hope you will see, if I had words to express them particularly, that your friend *Menzies* was not only solidly just and faithful but he was so, even to superstition and romance, both because of the important nature of the thing and of the time, and secondly because he knew the critics he had to do with. A chief point was, that when a misfortune and a loss happened in his hands, by an alarm and a seeming immediate danger, the very night that the storm came on *Gyllenborg* and the *Duke of Shrewsbury*, and was such a *fortune de la guerre* as Solomon could not have foreseen, nor would not have done otherwise than *Menzies* did, nor ought not, either in wisdom or fidelity, as he will demonstrate. When this misfortune, I say, happened, and when no just friend upon earth and far less the *King*, was capable to think him any way obliged to repair it, no more than the master of a ship is obliged to make good the goods he is forced to throw overboard in bundles together, yet notwithstanding he never rested till he did actually repair it. He prevailed with a particular friend to advance the value, which he gave by the *Duke of Shrewsbury* to Monsieur *Gyllenborg*, before his first going out of town, and the worthy *Duke* did also assist *Mr. Gyllenborg*, either of his own, or his own procuring. But these are not subjects to be particular upon, at this distance and at this time. Some other parts of the detail you shall have afterwards, with the same truth and the same plainness, though it is pulling the hair out of my head to make me write on these subjects in our circumstances, and I was hopeful I would have been believed when I gave assurances in general that I would satisfy you of your friend's fidelity, in time and place convenient. And I thought also you would plainly conclude that, since the *Bishop of Rochester*, after such a clutter, made no more complaints which was from no kindness, it was because he was ashamed, and had no more to make.

"But I shall enter no further into this matter at present, only tell you in one word now that *Menzies* swears by all that's sacred, that all the time that the *Bishop of Rochester* was making such a clutter on your side, he did never directly nor indirectly, by himself or any other, ask or desire an account of that matter, not by the least insinuation. *Menzies*, not to speak of religion or morality, has more pride than to tell you a lie.

"This has been a mighty sickly season here, till the frost came. The Duke and Duchess of Buckingham were dangerously ill, but are much recovered. The worthy Lord Ferrars died at Bath. The Duke of Shrewsbury is at present in the utmost danger, an inflammation of his lungs and a fever &c. If he dies, as there is great danger, the best head and the politest gentleman in England falls." 3 pages.

WILLIAM GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

[1718, Jan. 17?].—Your letter of the 29th was delivered me only the 15th at night. I caused the letters to Earl Marischal, Barrowfield, the Countess of Carrington and Mr. Tydesley to be delivered immediately with the large packet to her own hands. The letter for England shall be forwarded to-morrow.

Mr. Hamilton wrote he was obliged to hide, but I never heard of his being seized. However if her Grace writes it, the authority is too good to be doubted, but last post he wrote me thus:—I received yours and my friend Green's. Monsr. Duprie (? Lady Mar) has spoke about your money but his father and he are not on speaking terms at present, so no answer is given. Both of us must have patience, though I have but a very bad prospect. Pray let Green know my situation which is the cause of my not writing that I have wrote to his friends.—I have forwarded Fanny Ogleshorpe's letter. I shall write Mrs. Abercromby what you say about her. Enclosed is a copy of a paragraph of R. Arbuthnot's letter to me, which I advised him I had sent you, for his Irish neighbours at Rouen are very ready to misrepresent him, chiefly because his private business and theirs interfere. *Undated, but noted as received at Urbino, 10 Feb., the same date that Inese's of this day was received. Enclosed,*

R. ARBUTHNOT to W. GORDON.

On Mr. Beauvoir's writing to Smith at Bordeaux that Mr. Arbuthnot was in great favour with the Earl of Stair and employed by him, Smith wrote me a letter in answer and put it through all Bordeaux that I am mightily with Lord Stair. This has alarmed all our sound Jacobites there that I have been betraying them all along to Lord Stair. You may be sure this will go to Italy. However I presume the Duke of Mar knows me better than to believe any such idle clatter. Copy.

WILLIAM GORDON to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, Jan. 18. Paris.—Concerning the receipt and dispatch of letters and inquiring if Mr. Creagh is yet come to Urbino.

Postscript.—Powrie, Barrow[field] and all friends salute you. George Mackenzie, Col. Harry Bruce, Scotstoun and Col. Elphinstone stay at Sens, though the last is here at present.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to JAMES III.

1718, Tuesday, Jan. 18.—Acknowledging his three letters of 6, 9 and 27 Dec. I am not able to express my great acknowledgement for all your bounty and goodness towards me. I am much obliged to *Sheldon* for his kind proposal to you in my favour. The strong reasons you mention for not complying are so well grounded, and your gracious manner of expressing a concern on that account leaves me neither words nor means

to show my deep sense of gratitude. I will religiously observe what you recommend in my dealings with friends in *England* as also towards *Mar*.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Tuesday, Jan. 18.—I have so great a cold and headache that I am not able to write with my own hand. By my note of the 10th I informed you of Basque's and *George Kelly's* arrival, and have sent you the letters and memorial the latter brought from *England* and, *to avoid all mistakes, I enclose in *Kelly's* handwriting the private message sent by him. *The Bishop of Rochester* presses earnestly for *Queen Mary's* writing to *Lord Oxford* about the collection of money, and thinks the most proper time for compassing that will be during the next sessions of *Parliament* whilst friends are together in town,* and indeed it appears more feasible in that conjuncture. You know it's much easier and safer to speak to friends than to write or send messages to them. *Queen Mary* is very unwilling to write to *Lord Oxford* about this, but, if *she* does not, the opportunity of the sessions will be over and a considerable time lost, for the letters that part hence to-day will not reach you till 9 Feb. and we cannot expect an answer before 2 March. I thought it necessary to lay all this before *Queen Mary* that *she* may consider it and let me know *her* resolution in order to inform *the Bishop of Rochester* of what is determined. *It's very plain the latter would have *Lord Oxford* as deeply engaged in the money affair as himself, and I apprehend very much that the want of a good understanding 'twixt those gentlemen may be a great detriment to *the King's* interest.*

Basque brought me two letters from you of 24 and 29 Dec. with two packets for *Menzies* and *James Murray*, in which are letters for *the Bishop of Rochester* and *Lord Oxford*. You also sent me your cipher with the latter in order to correspond with him. Your packets for *England* shall part as soon as I find a sure conveniency. I wrote lately to *Capt. Ogilvie* and Mr. Gough about the boat formerly employed. There is no trusting the common post, *Menzies* assuring *Inese* that they begin anew to open all letters going or coming from *England*.

Since *the King* and *Mar* do not think fit to communicate the proposal about *the Czar's daughter* to friends on the other side, you may be very sure *Dillon* will say nothing of it, and he wishes with all his heart *she* may answer expectations and that the match may be soon concluded. I have said enough in my former letters to persuade you how much I think it for *the King's* interest to be united to that young lady.

My last from *Ormonde* was of 14 Dec. There is nothing material in it, but he still complains of not having any news from *the King*. I had no account from *Sparre*, which is no small trouble to me. *The parts between asterisks are printed in the Stuart Papers, p. 19. note. 4 pages. Written in Sir John O'Brien's hand.*

CHARLES WOGAN to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Jan. 18. Paris.—Mr. Dillon has communicated to me your instructions, which I received with the respect due to so great a distinction. I shall never forget the kind expressions you use to recommend a commission to me which I and all good subjects have extremely at heart. I thought it unnecessary to trouble you with an answer, till I had his Majesty's last orders for my departure, which were communicated to me last Thursday, apprehending that your instructions might receive some alteration by subsequent letters. The time has since been employed with all the diligence I could in fitting myself in a readiness for so great a journey, which I could not in ordinary circumstances be prepared for, and I reckon to depart this afternoon. The commission is of a very nice nature, and, however improper I may be in other respects for it, I shall not be wanting in zeal. I have received orders to have nothing to do with the *Princess of Saxony* which I think it convenient you should be informed of.

JAMES III to CARDINAL GUALTERIO.

1718, Jan. 18.—Condoling with him on the death of his brother, the Abbé, as he knows by a sad experience what people feel on such occasions, and asking him to convey his condolences to the Earl of Dundee and all the Cardinal's family.

I agree with you that what *Cardinal Albani's* brother has told you is neither probable nor credible. What is certain is, that it is incompatible with what the latter has said to you and communicated to you on the subject of the *Princess of Saxony*.

However it may be, precautions for everything that may happen could do no harm, and I have already with too good reason got so weary of this country as to try every thing to get out of it. So I have only to follow my original ideas, of which you shall be informed, till I know something positive. Inviolable secrecy, even on the little I am saying here, is however necessary. My health continues good. The frost has not been hitherto very severe, but snow is beginning to fall again. I should have said before, that even though what we are threatened with should come to pass, I should not be at all embarrassed, for it is impossible to come to such an extremity on that side, without others finding themselves more disposed to favour me; and therefore an apparent harshness on the part of the *Emperor* would end in a solid advantage for my interests. But all this is reasoning in the air, the news I expect from the North and my decision on an alliance will enable you better to judge of my affairs. I hope a few weeks will enlighten us as to all this.

Postscript dated the 20th.—I have received yours and Nairne is sending you *Cardinal Albani's* answer. It is plain there has been some *finesse* and curiosity. I ought however to be satisfied with my letter, for it appears that *Cardinal Albani* has understood

the sense of it, and wishes to make his own use of it ; at least it can do no harm, and, as long as my liberty remains entire, it is always to be wished that this negotiation should not be entirely broken off, and in the meantime I shall hasten my decision and the conclusion of *marriage* as much as possible. I see no inconvenience in leaving them in doubt at Rome about my journey thither, but I should tell you that the other day our President said to me that he had been consulted as to the most proper channel for dissuading me from that journey, and that he had answered they had only to seek yours or that of the nephews. I replied that they had troubled themselves unnecessarily, since I had never absolutely decided on the journey, and that I should not have carried it out, even if I had not been informed that the Pope was alarmed at it. That does not pledge me not to go there in some months time, for the only question is about the carnival, and that does not oblige you to say more than that you do not consider it convenient, for perhaps our good President, who believes everything is a mystery, would not have believed it. Be it as it may, it is necessary you should know this little detail.

I beg you will never spare me in communicating disagreeable things. I am very glad you approve of my letter to Cardinal Alberoni, and that it came at such a suitable time. I always count much on Cardinal Aquaviva's friendship, who certainly speaks only in accordance with truth and for his master's interests in making him jealous with regard to *the Elector of Hanover*.

The Queen tells me she has informed you of the happy beginning of the good offices his Holiness had desired from us. I never doubted of their success. However I am sure you will not let us lose the merit of them with the Pope, who will now be at ease about an affair which has so much agitated him.

Cardinal Albani's letter requiring no answer, I ask you to let him know I received it, and that I am very glad my letter has pleased him.

I cannot yet judge what effect the domestic troubles in England may have with regard to my interests. It is certain they cannot suffer by them. *French. 4 pages. Copy.*

WINEFRED, COUNTESS OF NITHSDAILL to JAMES III.

1718, Jan. 19. La Fleche.—Expressing her joy at the news of his being about to give them a queen and hoping he will forgive and not wonder at her humble request, when he reflects that her mother had the honour of being his governess, and herself that of passing her younger days with him, that she should aspire to that also of waiting on the young Queen.—Your Majesty may reckon on my zeal and faithfulness towards your sacred person, the respect I owe my sovereign forbidding me to use more endearing terms. If my father's losing all he had

in following his late Majesty and dying in his service and my mother in yours be not sufficient motives to induce me to hope for it, I am married into a family whose ancestors can produce constant losses from father to son for their loyalty, and, my present lord, after having lost the remainder on the same account, and being within a few hours of losing his head also on a scaffold for having endeavoured to serve your present Majesty, I can never persuade myself you will refuse me the favour I so earnestly beg.

PIETRO FRANCESCO BELLONI to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Jan. 19. Bologna.—Acknowledging his letter of the 14th, and informing him he had put the letter enclosed therein into the post there. *Italian.*

MONSIEUR STIERNHOCK, Swedish Resident at Vienna, to
the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Jan. 19. Vienna.—I have just received your letter of 1 Jan. I feel a very sensible pleasure in hearing that King James and your Excellency are satisfied with the manner in which I have answered to the confidence Mr. Walkingshaw placed in me during his stay here and after his return to his Majesty. The origin of my conduct therein is not only the uniformity of the interests of his Britannic Majesty with those of my master and my country, but also my private inclination to the justice of his cause and to the person of his Majesty, whom I had the honour of seeing in 1700 at St. Germain's with the King and Queen. I gave an account to his Swedish Majesty of Mr. Walkingshaw's confidence towards me, enlarging on it in such a manner as to cultivate the friendship between their Britannic and Swedish Majesties. I shall do the same with regard to that with which your Excellency is pleased to honour me with. My original relation on that subject having with several other dispatches been thrown into the sea by a Lübeck boatman pursued by a Danish caper, which I learned only lately, the duplicate can have arrived in Sweden only the beginning of November by an express of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, who took the route of Danzig. Since then I have had no letters from Sweden, packets for some weeks from there having had the same fate as those above mentioned in the route from Lübeck to Sweden. Therefore I have not heard, if and how the King expressed himself upon that narrative. It is also possible that I may hear nothing of it, for the matter concerning the uniformity of the interests of their Britannic and Swedish Majesties does not directly belong to my office and requires great secrecy. As however I have been long concerned in public affairs and in my relations to the King and his Ministers of State are contained on suitable occasions not only views and reflections on the affairs of Vienna and Germany but also on the affairs of Europe in

general which concern Sweden, it is possible that my insinuations on the said matter may make some little impression. However this may be, you will do me justice in assuring yourself that I have the best intentions with regard to his Majesty. You wish me to recommence the correspondence which Mr. Walkingshaw asked me to carry on with him, and which was broken off on his side after he had begun it. There has not been the least change in my feelings towards his Majesty nor towards that gentleman who is so closely connected with your Excellency. I shall have much pleasure in recommencing and continuing it, when I shall have matters worth your attention, particularly if circumstances take such a course as to favour the uniform interests of our masters. As for the regular correspondence M. Busi has willingly undertaken it anew. As it is a question of serving his Britannic Majesty and M. Busi is my old acquaintance, I shall assist him, as I did last year, with news to communicate to you. It is not to be doubted that he is full of good will for his Majesty. I strengthened it when he was surprised at the long silence towards him, and represented to him that all he had to do was to accommodate himself to that silence, and that at last the proofs given of his good intentions would be recognised, which was verified to his great satisfaction after you came to the King. Mr. Erskine can inform you that not only has M. Busi for many years had relations with the Russian Court but that he is very well thought of there and that he has hopes of being soon declared agent of his Czarish Majesty. I have to add that he is also in good odour from certain services formerly rendered to the Swedish Court and from his connection with me. I hope his attachment to these two Courts will soon be more compatible and that the negotiation begun some time ago between them will soon be brought to a happy termination to the exclusion of the Usurper, notwithstanding the difficulties that present themselves. I desire it at any rate from the bottom of my heart. It is his Britannic Majesty's interest to do his best to facilitate and hasten this great work, and I feel no doubt he will do so.

Mr. Connell (*i.e.* O'Brien) honoured me with a visit and left this morning. I regret his hasty departure deprived me of the satisfaction of showing him some civility. When I asked him how his Britannic Majesty stands with the Court of France and personally with the Regent, I was very glad to learn that, notwithstanding what has passed since the death of the late King of France and what is now going on upon the public stage, King James secretly and behind the scenes is on good terms with that Court and personally with the Regent. My satisfaction is grounded as much on the fact that my master is the sincere friend of France and personally that of his Royal Highness and on my having no reason to doubt that he will continue so, as according to my small penetration into the affairs of Europe the support of France joined with that of

Sweden is the surest that his Britannic Majesty can find to restore him to his throne and to maintain him thereon. His Czarish Majesty, when reconciled to his Swedish Majesty and united with him in friendship, could also contribute much thereto, but I doubt greatly if without such reconciliation and friendship the Czar would be in a position to co-operate efficaciously, whatever his good will may be. As regards the Court of Vienna, there appears to be in one party a leaning to King James, but there is also in others, especially in the Spaniards and by their suggestions in the Emperor personally, a sufficiently great remnant of the Hanoverian leaven. This leaven may however be dissipated by degrees in proportion as the Emperor shall be persuaded by results of the vanity of the hopes from Hanover, with which he flatters himself and seems inclined to flatter himself with regard to the future. It is to be wished that a great blow struck in favour of his Britannic Majesty should soon overthrow those hopes for ever, and make his Imperial Majesty enter forthwith on the path most conformable to his true interests, as is desired, according to what I can learn, by a good part of his ministry and his subjects. Should circumstances take such a turn as to make the concurrence of the Emperor towards his Majesty's restoration practicable, it would not be useless, but for the present I see but little appearance of this concurrence being practicable, though it may become so hereafter, but in my humble opinion it will never be the Emperor who will strike the great blow, His Britannic Majesty, while considering the Crowns of France and Sweden as his principal sure friends and attaching himself to these two crowns and to his Czarish Majesty, reconciled as he will be with his Swedish Majesty and being a friend of France, will not, as it seems to me, do ill, in case circumstances take such a turn as to make the Emperor's friendship useful to him, by cultivating that Prince and causing it to be insinuated to him that his Britannic Majesty continues in the confidence declared by Mr. Walkingshaw in the equity, greatness of soul and prudence, of his Imperial Majesty. I learned with pleasure from Mr. Connell that your Excellency is a good friend of Baron Sparre, both because he can support his Britannic Majesty's interests in Sweden and because I am very well with him and connected with him, a brother of mine in Sweden having married the daughter of a brother of his. By him I have been strengthened in the feelings, which without that I would have had, towards his Britannic Majesty, at whose feet I beg you to lay me, and to assure Mr. Walkingshaw of my particular consideration for him, and the friendship I have conceived for him, while I was in daily intercourse with him here. *French. 20 pages.*

J. MENZIES to L. INESE.

1718, Jan. 9[-20].—Nothing here but intrigues and preparations for the meeting of Parliament, where everybody

expects great matters. When they come, you'll hear enough of them, for they will not be of a trifling or private nature, so every cobbler will be able to tell you the plain truth, as well as a bishop, and you may rely on it, that refiners and memorial men cheat you.

The Duke of Shrewsbury is very much better since last Tuesday. Here's some more of our current talk in the enclosed prints.

JAMES III to CARDINALS ALBANI, IMPERIALI, BUONCOMPAGNO, ORSINI, PIAZZA, CONTI, PAULUCCI, and OTTOBONI, DON CARLO ALBANI, DON ALESSANDRO ALBANI, DONNA TERESA ALBANI, CARDINALS ORIGO, D'ADDA, SACRIPANTI, DE ROHAN, PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA, AQUAVIVA, and OLIVIERI, PRINCE DE CASTIGLIONE, PRINCE FORESTO D'ESTE, and the CONSTABLE COLONNA.

1718, Jan. 20.—Thanking each for his or her good wishes for Christmas and the New Year. *French. Entry Book 1, pp. 216-221.*

JOHN STEUART OF INVERNITIE to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, Jan. 22. Rome.—Please tell the Duke I have his by Sir Peter Redmond, and two days ago received from him what his Grace recommends to me. He will not doubt my diligence. I have given you this trouble, because I can as yet say nothing to the purpose, but next week I'll write to him.

You sent me some verses. I return others. You may compare them with Mr. Clephan's. I am to give to-morrow for the Duke's use to be brought to Urbino by the Swiss (I know not whether he be lieutenant or sergeant), but it's the man that makes the many bows and is commonly clothed in black, the following as wrote for:—Some large paper, 10 sheets, 6 lead pens, which are from London and much interest used to make an Italian take three times their value, some of the best Italian lead, though not good, and a pen for drawing lines. This was all he named except a silver pen which was not to be had. He put a large &c., but I circumscribed it to 6 little pencils some red, some green, some blue. They embellish drafts, and come up only to the tune of 3 or 4 julios.

Enclosed,

The SAID VERSES.

Eighteen lines, headed "Nostradamus," and beginning:—

*"When cashiered colonels poets turn
And clients' claims their lawyers burn."*

THEOPHILUS OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Jan. 22. Rome.—You wrote me you had seen my brother and were pleased with him. He arrived here last Thursday. I am very well satisfied with him and love him the more, because I see he is entirely affectionate to the King and that the Germans have not in the least prevailed on him.

I had a letter from Capt.-lieutenant James Paterson, who is in the King of Sicily's service. He seems in mighty pain about his brother Sir Hugh, and begs to know where he is. He has been very ill of a fever, ague and bloody flux, which is past. If you think proper to let me know if Sir Hugh is still at Paris, or if you will write to Mr. Paterson, I will forward the letter. We are here in mighty expectations of the event of the quarrel between the Elector and his son; I am afraid he will be fool enough to accept of an accommodation. Marshal Villeroy's grandson is returned here from Naples. His governor told me the Germans are afraid of a descent from Spain and that the Neapolitan nobility wish for it.

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Jan. 22. Vienna.—I wrote on the 14th by way of Bologna, and now do so to send the Swedish Resident's answer, who is in truth strongly inclined to the King's interests. As I have here Jesuits very much my friends and particularly the Emperor's Father Confessor, who has a great influence over the mind of that monarch, if you order me, I shall try by little and little to make him enter into the King's interests and also a very powerful Secretary of State here, but for this I shall wait for your distinct orders. I shall manage every thing with precaution without the King's enemies here perceiving it. I find already good dispositions in my conversations with these ministers about King James, nay I can assure you that Prince Eugene is for us and hates the House of Hanover terribly. The Elector of that name, not trusting one minister or two, has here no more than six besides many spies.

As I am not certain if you are informed of my business here, I have with the Bank the agency of a large part of the Austrian Netherlands to the sovereign council of the said Netherlands established here. I have also for several years had dealings with the Russian ministers, and hope soon to have the commission of Agent of his Czarish Majesty. I am of Bergamo by birth, my father having been colonel of a regiment in the other war of the Morea. Two uncles being here made me come here several years ago. I married three years ago the sister of M. Dirling, secretary to the Imperial Embassy to the Court of France, who was the first secretary of Count Königsegg, while he had the vice-royalty of Flanders and the commission for the Barrier treaty. *French. 4 pages. Partly in cipher deciphered.*

ACCOUNT.

[1718, Jan. 22.]—Of somebody from 22 Nov., 1717, to 22 Jan., 1718.

L. INESE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Monday, Jan. 23.—Having written two days ago by Dr. Maghie, I have only to enclose these two letters from

Menzies, which give hopes of great doings at the next meeting of Parliament,' but he says not about what, though it is supposed about the falling out of the father and son.

If, as most people here think, a war breaks out in Italy, and France sends, as obliged by the treaty of Utrecht, 16,000 men to the King of Sicily, in all appearance *Dillon* will be named for one. It will be no easy matter to replace him, or rather impossible to find one person to correspond with *Ormonde* and *the Bishop of Rochester* and have *the Regent's* confidence and access to him as *Dillon* has. If it be left to these three persons to choose whom they will trust, some of them may name a person whom *the King* may not have reason to trust. It is fit that *the King* and *Mar* be thinking before hand what is best or least inconvenient to be done, in case *Dillon* should be sent away.

JAMES III to CARDINALS CASONI, MARESCOTTI, ZONDADARI, PRIULI, RUFFO, ALTIERI, COLONNA, TANARA, ACCIAIOLI, and PATRIZI, COUNT SPINOLA S. CESAREO, CARDINALS CORRADINI, SCOTTI, CASINI, SPINOLA, BARBERINI, PAMFILI, PANCIATICH, ASTALLI, CUSANI, CORSINI, PARRACIANI, GOZZADINI, COMARO, VALEMANI, MARINI, BUSSI, and FABRONI, PRINCE OF PALESTRINA, PRINCE AND PRINCESS GIUSTINIANI, PRINCE VAINI, the DUKES OF MONTARANO, FIANO, POLI, ZAGAROLA and MAFFEI, the MARQUIS BUFALINI, the ARCHBISHOP OF AVIGNON, the ABBÉ MARLIANI, Governor of Fano, the ABBÉ BIANCHINI and the BARON DE BOCCACIO.

1718, Jan. 23.—Thanking each for his or her good wishes for Christmas and the New Year. *French. Entry Book 1, pp. 221-231.*

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Jan. 24. *St. Germain's*.—I came here last Saturday, and not having the same conveniency as at Paris occasions this letter being brief.

Queen Mary refers to *the King* and *Mar* either to comply with what is required by *George Kelly's* private message or not, not being willing to take that matter on *herself*. *Dillon* hopes their decision will be satisfactory to friends in *England* and come without loss of time.

Your packets for *England* will part in four days. We had much difficulty in finding a safe way to forward them.

I am informed by a good hand that *King George* sent a late message to *the King of Sweden* to engage him to an accommodation. *The King of Sweden* after due reflection answered in general terms as follows:—That after what passed he did not think it consistent with his dignity to receive any such proposals until, by way of preliminary, Bremen should be remitted to him as also a sufficient *dedommagement* for the demolition of Wismar, that, if it were thought fit to give him

this satisfaction, he would then hearken to proposals by *the Regent's* mediation and in no other manner. Chief persons reputed good judges in those parts presume that *King George* will not acquiesce to *the King of Sweden's* high pretensions and that the latter's answer proceeds from his aversion to *King George* and his hopes of adjusting affairs with *the Czar*.

I hope what *Queen Mary* writes about Mr. Laws may deserve thanks from *the King* or at least from *Mar* in *the King's* name. My views on this account extend further than what present service *Queen Mary* expects from him.

My last from *Ormonde* is of 21 Dec. It contains nothing material, but complains still of not hearing from *the King*.

We have various and many reports here of late, as also in *England* about *the King's* being in the last extremity, given over by the ablest physicians in your parts. I have cleared this matter where requisite, both this and the other side of the water, but have not yet found out the reason for spreading the false report. $3\frac{1}{2}$ pages.

CARDINAL DE NOAILLES TO JAMES III.

1718, Jan. 24. Conflans.—I received with all possible gratitude your letter of 13 Dec. I cannot have a better surety for my feelings towards your Majesty than Cardinal Gualterio. I beg you therefore always to believe whatever testimony he may give in my favour.

I am delighted your Majesty is thinking of marrying and pray that God may make you find a consort worthy of yourself, who will give you children to maintain your rights and protect your loyal subjects. You owe them that assistance, it befits your justice to grant it them and I doubt not that Our Lord will give you His blessing to a resolution you have taken only from religion and in a spirit of obedience. I am afflicted at your always finding new vexations even in the places where you ought to have only relief and consolation. I am consoled with the great grace God granted you for sustaining with so much faith, equanimity and constancy all the bitternesses Providence sends you, doubtless in order to purify you and to prepare you for the crowns reserved for you in eternity.

I should be glad you received more regularly the assistance you expect from this country. I know your need of it for yourself and for the maintenance of those generous subjects who have left all to render your their duty. I shall be their solicitor with all the zeal they deserve and it will not be my fault if you do not promptly receive the means of relieving them. The disorder of the finances of this kingdom puts obstacles to the diligence I should desire, but I hope there will be fewer in future. The Master's intentions are very good and my nephew, who can only execute his orders, has great zeal for your service, so he will do his best to satisfy you.

I shall gladly do all that depends on me in favour of Thomas Inese. *French.* 6 pages.

CAPT. JOHN O'BRIEN to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Jan. 25. Con-b-g (? Königsberg).—I arrived here this morning with difficulty, the weather being very severe and the examinations on the road very strict, especially in *the King of Prussia's* quarters, but the certificate I procured at *Vienna* has made my *journey* easier, for anything of that kind from *the Czar's* advocate is sufficient to any of *the King of Prussia's* domestics. I found in some of the public houses that *Ormonde* and *Mar* were at the place the first named to me, and that they had daily conferences with *the Czar's* advocates. I never heard a word of them by anybody else but those of the public, so I hope to hear of him or meet him at the place appointed, which is five days journey from hence.

GEORGE MACKENZIE to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, Jan. 26. Sens.—Expressing the assurances of his esteem for him and adding that he never writes news to him, knowing he has weekly all he can write him.

SIR PETER REDMOND to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Jan. 26. Rome.—The Portuguese Ambassador, with whom I had acquaintance, parting hence four days before my arrival, deprives me of the news he might have had. His successor seems to have but little. (Giving an account of his journey to Loretto as in his letter of the 14th.) I remained there two days, for, besides the jewels and riches, there are several things there deserving one's attention. It took me three days to come hither, most of the roads being over mountains, which were not less terrible than those of Savoy.

On my arrival here, the 29th, I delivered your letter and papers to Mr. Steuart. He is a very honest gentleman, so are the two Scotch lords and Mr. Fleming. We drink agreeable healths, and after his Majesty's and his mother's, your Grace is not forgot. The operas and plays here run mostly on dethroning usurpers and restoring lawful kings. God give us soon a scene of that kind to the life.

I have letters from Madrid and Lisbon. Their fleets are arrived from America; that of Spain prodigious rich, and Sir Francis Arthur says their army and navy are greater and better than any there have been in Spain during this King's reign, by which Cardinal Alberoni proposes great matters. He governs absolutely, and orders the military men of all kinds to be paid once a month, and, though the Austrians and their friends here give out the vast succours they expect from Germany to protect this country, we see no detachments of Germans yet, but the Portuguese Ambassador tells me many come daily in pilgrims' weed into these parts, of which whole bodies are composed at Naples already, who are doubtless fitter for stealing or begging than fighting, but perhaps this

is a new fashion to recruit. However at the Consistory I have seen yesterday, the Pope resolved to send immediately a legate to Germany and another to Spain to endeavour to reconcile them and avert the impending mischiefs a war must bring on Italy. I wish them success, as far as is consistent with my King's interest and restoration.

The Spaniards have prohibited the importation of Portuguese sugars, cocoa, &c., into Spain to despite themselves of an old prohibition in Portugal of foreign wines and brandies, which may kindle a misunderstanding, where there is such an irreconcilable and invincible hatred as is between the Spaniards and Portuguese, whose king is gone lately to lay the foundation of a new Convent of Capuchins and a palace annexed to it, but by what I'm told they are a little jealous at Alberoni's military preparations.

The common voice here is that our King is shortly to go to Spain, and that there is a treaty of marriage transacting for him in the North. If 'tis for his good, God give it success. The little reason I have concurs entirely with what you mentioned to me of your desire to see him married, for nothing can better rivet him to his kingdoms or his kingdoms to him than his having issue, and, after the dangers he has exposed himself to, and the steps he has taken to do himself and his subjects justice, he owes nothing to posterity or to them, except putting himself in a way of leaving legitimate heirs to his and their pretensions, and, besides the many solid examples of the necessity of heirs, all the fulsome addresses of the unhappy, misled people of England of late to their Usurper were stuffed with praises and congratulations on the multiplicity and extent of his spurious race and their imagined security in having so many cables and anchors or threads of life to support their iniquity. I remember, when the King of Portugal sent me to Madrid in Jan., 1713, being recommended to the Spaniards best inclined then to the House of Austria, talking to them of their remissness in supporting the said interest; the excuse they gave in general was that King Philip had many children to preserve his succession to them in peace, and that, the present Emperor having none then, after his death they were to seek anew and entailed new wars and confusions on themselves and their children. No doubt several thinking men in the King's dominions make the same reflections. I humbly beg your pardon for my freedom in touching on these circumstances.

I shall stay here 8 or 10 days till the weather mends, for in that time I shall be cloyed with the curiosities of Rome, which are indeed many. I'd be glad to make Urbino my way out of Italy to have the honour and pleasure of seeing his Majesty once more, if I thought I could be of any service and no trouble to him. As I have given my word to see my accidental correspondent, the King of Sicily, before I left Italy, I am resolved to perform it. Can you think of no errand by me

to him that may be of service to my King? I have been employed in some affairs of moment, and God has blessed my endeavours hitherto. I don't understand the ceremonial betwixt Kings, but I can't imagine 'tis derogatory to the character and honour of a young King pursued by violent enemies and adverse fortune, to apply both for counsel and aid to the wisest and subtlest prince in Christendom, and one who has already made some gallant and friendly advances to him; the attempt can cost nothing, and there's a way of making people of slippery principles fast friends, by seeming to put oneself entirely into their hands. I think by what he told me, I shall have very easy access to him and I'll remind him I undertook the errand to him from the friendship he received me with, and really it is his interest to support our King, for, if he has any design on England, nothing can effect it better or terrify them more into a compliance than his having it in his power to support or drop our King's interest.

Moreover, if God restores his Majesty, he'll be always able to recompense any good the King of Sicily does him. If he is not restored, the King of Sicily's son can never appear as a just or good successor to him in the eyes of the world, but by his supporting our King's pretensions now, before the usurpation takes deeper root. The King can't have too many emissaries, and 'tis his business to try many ways and indeed all that can be imagined, for 'tis certain the true way of effecting his restoration has not been hit on yet, but that's not his fault. If I should not have success in any overture he would remit to me to make to the King of Sicily, order me where else you please, I shall obey. Happen what will, I shall not raise the fulsome cry, that the King's affairs ruined me. In going through Spain I may put Cardinal Alberoni on his mettle, to do something to gain eternal fame for himself in the King's affairs, and shall go hence as well recommended to him as possible. I may perhaps blow the coals; the Whigs often made me vain enough with imputations that I have done so to their prejudice where I had some little influence. I hope you will find some service in me for his Majesty.

You said on passing the patent of consul to me, that, if not drawn as others usually are, 'twas revocable. I know 'tis so when the King pleases, and know no extraordinary clauses in it, but that of putting a deputy in my stead, without which 'twould be of no use to me, should the times mend. Other consuls have much the same power to name vice-consuls, and whoever I depute shall be loyal to the King and fit for the post. Any other clause I find more than ordinary I shall acquaint you with from Lisbon, and, whenever you think the said patent of the least inconvenience to his Majesty's affairs, I shall surrender it with pleasure.

Lord Edward talks of going in a few days to Florence, Genoa, &c., Perhaps I may accompany him and take that road, but I had rather have an intimation to repair to you to

Urbino to put me on something that may be for the King's service. 8 pages.

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Jan. 26. Vienna.—I herewith forward the relation of current affairs, to which I can add that this Court is only waiting for an answer from England to declare themselves concerning the war. It seems that the Court of England and even the Dutch wish to hold themselves indifferent as far as concerns the said troubles of Italy, fearing confiscation of the effects of their merchants at Cadiz, which is the reason that this Court finds itself more embarrassed than it should be in continuing the war against the Turks. It seems that the Emperor begins to reconcile himself with the Court of Rome, the Nuncio beginning again to appear at Court. *French. Partly in cipher, but deciphered.*

JAMES III to CARDINAL GUALTERIO.

1718, Jan. 26.—“J'ay tant approuvé votre pensée sur un memoire pour l'Espagne, que j'en ay dressé un a ma façon, pour lequel le votre m'a été d'un grand secours. J'ay été obligé de m'entendre beaucoup sur l'Angleterre, mais je me suis tû sur la religion, par ce que c'est un chef si clair et si rebattû qu'il auroit été inutile dans ce lieu. Vous verrés aussi que j'ay evité de nommer l'Empereur, et toutes les frases trop claires et choquantes a cet egard, mais sans laisser de donner assés a entendre pour servir a mon sujet. La confiance que je fais des affaires du Nord est ce qu'il y avoit de plus delicat, et a quoy je ne me suis pas déterminé sans de serieuses reflections, mais quand j'ay songé que je ne dis que ce que tout le monde soupçonne, et que je ne parle pas d'une manière si positive et détaillée qui puisse être prise pour une revelation precise d'un secret imposé, quand j'ay songé a l'importance d'avoir de l'argent, et que ma demande seroit sans force en ommettant une particularité aussi puissante et sur laquelle roule tout mon systeme, j'ay crû n'en devoir plus faire un mystere, et qu'il valoit mieux courir le risque de la confidence que celui de me voir frustré de ma demande, faute de l'avoir assés appuyé. Du reste il ne me convient nullement de nommer Gibraltar, &c., il n'est pas en mon pouvoir de faire positivement un tel offre, et, s'il venoit a se scavoir, cela choqueroit les Anglois, mais, si l'Espagne veut entrer en traitté, la fin du Memoire parle assés clairement en general de mes dispositions a favoriser S. M. C. Pour donner plus de poids au Memoire, je l'ay accompagnée d'une lettre au Cardinal Aquaviva, que je vous envoie ouverte, afin que vous lisiéz l'une et l'autre, et soyes apres cela plus en état de raisonner sur le tout avec le dit Cardinal, qui pourroit, ce me semble, envoyer au Cardinal Alberoni ma lettre a lui meme avec le Memoire.

“ Mais après tout, comme il s’agit ici de risquer le tout pour le tout, que la confidence seroit inutile a moins qu’on n’en esperat un prompt secours, et qu’elle seroit pernicieuse si l’on en abusoit, et comme le Cardinal Aquaviva est le juge le plus competent de tout cecy et que j’ay une entiere confiance en luy, je consens qu’au cas qu’il trouve des difficultés dans cette demarche, on suspende l’envoye du Memoire jusqu’a ce que vous m’ayés informé des objections qu’il y trouve. L’unique, qui me revient a present, est en cas qu’on sache positivement que l’Empereur n’a pas encore fait de traité avec l’Angleterre, car cela renverseroit tous les motifs de la presente confidence, mais en cela notre Cardinal nous peut eclaircir seurement. Il sera bon que vous l’informiés aussi que l’Abbé du Bois a fait toutes sortes de diligence pour donner a mes amis en Angleterre de la jalousie envers le Marquis de Monteleon, comme s’il estoit gagné par le Gouvernement. Connoissant personnellement le Marquis je ne scaurois y ajouter foy, sur tout ayant egard aux motives qui pourroient avoir induit l’Abbé de parler ainsi de luy. Cependant, comme dans la presente negociation il ne peut jamais servir qu’il y ait aucune part, seroit il mal a propos que le Cardinal Aquaviva pria le Cardinal Alberoni de n’en rien écrire ni en Angleterre ni ailleurs à qui que ce soit. C’est un egard pour le secret qu’il ne scauroit qu’approuver et qui ne fait tort a personne.

“ Notre present projet doit estre tenu dans un grand secret a l’égard de *le Pape*, de qui je n’espere plus guere, quoiqu’il n’en faille jamais desesperer non plus, ni detourner absolument la vuë de ce coté là.

“ Enfin les frayeurs du Pape a l’égard du Comte de Peterborough doivent cesser, j’en suis ravi, et il a été fort heureux que dans une affaire de rien nous ayons eu l’avantage de nous faire un mérite auprès de S.S. en faisant plaisir aussi au Regent en meme tems.

“ Votre zele pour tout ce qui me regarde m’etonne, quand je vois qu’étant infatiguable, il augmente encore tous les jours, je vous assure que j’en suis sensible au dernier point et que je me trouve heureux d’avoir un ami et un conseiller comme vous.

Jan. 27.—“ Je dois ajouter ici après la lecture de votre lettre du 22 a Nairne, que je crois qu’il n’est nullement necessaire de faire mention a *le Pape* des marchandises qui sont a present entre les mains de son facteur chez *le Roy d’Espagne*. De l’humeur dont *le Pape* est a present on n’en scauroit rien esperer, on ne scauroit qu’augmenter ses frayeurs, et luy en les exposant peut estre aux autres augmenteroit leurs jalousies. Dailleurs l’objet ne peut repondre a la presente proposition, et si *le Roy d’Espagne* y entre pour son propre interest, il trouvera bien les moyens d’y satisfaire, Ainsi je suis d’avis que dans cette affaire le mystere doit estre autant et meme plus pour *le Pape* que

pour d'autres. Je ne dis ici cependant que mon sentiment particulier, et je serai toujours prest a me conformer dans la suite aux desirs de *le Roy d'Espagne*, et pour le present aux avis de *Cardinal Aquaviva*.

"Les frayeurs et la conduite du Pape ne me surprennent point, je suis bien aise qu'elles ne vous regardent pas personnellement, et puisqu'il ne daigne pas prendre garde aux petits services que nous avons taché de luy rendre, nous nous consolerons de l'avantage qui nous en pourra revenir dailleurs, et le tort est tout de son coté. A l'egard de *la Princesse de Saxe* je ne vois autre chose a faire que de garder un profond silence, en ecoutant seulement ce que *Cardinal Albani* en pourra dire dans la suite. Et si ma derniere reponse attire une rupture de cette negociation, j'en serai dautant moins en peine que cela me convaincra qu'on m'y tendoit quelque piege.

"Pour ce qui est de *le Pape* meme, il n'y a personne que je respecte plus et que je crains moins. C'est pourquoy il faut souffrir ses humeurs sans s'en inquieter, et ne point trop faire l'empresé aupres de luy." *Copy. There is also the original postscript in James' hand.*

JAMES III to CARDINAL AQUAVIVA.

1718, Jan. 27.—No one could be more sensibly touched than I am at the zeal you show for my service and, as I know that your friendship for me has its origin in your attachment to the interests of the Catholic King, I believed it would not be unsuitable to send you the annexed memoir which may furnish you with potent arguments for bringing to a good end the business in question. If you consider it suitable, you may send it to Cardinal Alberoni. I flatter myself that you have here wherewith to convince him, and I should have a real pleasure in owing to him the success of my plan. He sees the unbounded confidence I show him, but seeing also the immense importance of secrecy I rely that he will communicate it only to those to whom strict necessity requires it should be. What glory for him if after having begun his ministry "par un eclat heureux" he carries it on by measures which shall render his memory venerated to the utmost bounds of the earth. *French. Copy.*

OTHER COPIES of the above letters to the two Cardinals.

JOHN PATERSON to LORD SOUTHESK.

1718, Jan. 27. Urbino.—Apologizing for his long silence caused by having nothing to say, thanking him for half a dozen pairs of gloves and for the lemons of which he had his share, inquiring after the Laird of Invernitie, forwarding him a letter, and adding that he had no news but what he'll see in the public prints. *Copy. 2½ pages.*

LORD SEAFORTH to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Jan. 28. St. Omer.—Yours of 18 Dec. was most acceptable, but I was something surprised to find what I so much coveted not yet put in execution. Your Grace being one I so much value is the only thing that makes me a little easy, being convinced you will always act the part you professed of being my true friend. I wish his Majesty may have many who will so eagerly strive as I have to make it appear how much they are his dutiful subjects, but with better luck.

The packet from the Duchess to her son, you say, I am misinformed about. The gentleman told it to above 40 that he delivered it to you, but your saying the contrary is sufficient. I have according to your directions sent the enclosed letters with some few remarks, which when maturely considered will, I am convinced, answer expectation.

I give you many thanks for your good wishes to my son, and promise, if he follows his father's advice, he will make it his study not only to maintain, but if possible, increase the friendship you are so kind to honour both him and family with. I shall be very anxious to hear how the memorial relishes and therefore beg you to let me hear from you as soon as possible.

Postscript.—I intend to inquire of Gen. Echlin how he comes to assert things so entirely false as to my particular, I mean that ridiculous letter, which certainly you have seen is dispersed about.

T. BRUCE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Jan. 28. Br[ussels].—We have as yet no certain accounts, but it's believed that *the Emperor* will agree to *King George's* propositions. I shall send you by next a memorial which *T. Bruce* gave to *de Wilda*, who transmitted it to his friend as did *Falconbridge* to *Stingin*. I took occasion to talk with a gentleman, who does *serve the Prince of Hesse's father* and goes there in a week or two, at a distance of *azile* there, and he has as of himself written to a proper person, that such a thing fell casually in his way, and to know how he should manage, if he had any further occasion given him on that head. He expects an answer in two weeks. There are some difficulties in it. One is, that it might draw *the King* into a bargain with the *daughter*, which, perhaps, he has no mind to. Another is that, if *the King of Sweden* has any view of the former bargain, it may unseasonable *declare* it. I know not if I have been too officious, but it seems within the compass of your instructions, especially considering how matters are like to go as to the other affair, and, having done it in the remote manner I told you, all persons concerned can retire without any offence. Please let me have your directions.

If *the King of Sweden* does as is expected and *King George* gives credit to *the Emperor*, *the King of Spain* has the same opportunity of doing his business all at once, as *the*

King of Sweden had when *Mar* was in *Scotland*, namely, by sending a fleet with troops to the West of *England* or *Ireland*, whilst the *King of Sweden* goes to see his friends in 168 (? *England*).

We are told from *England* and *Holland* that the *King* is to assist the *Emperor* against *Spain*, and the *Emperor* is to refuse residence to the *Pretender*, but as yet this does not seem absolutely certain, and also that the *King of Sweden's* councils have over-ruled *Baron Görtz's* propositions and that *Sweden* is to make peace with *England* and *Denmark*, but this also wants confirmation.

The *Dutch* go every spring to the coast of *Norway* to buy lobsters from the fishers of that country hitherto at a half-penny apiece, but this year the *King of Denmark* has doubled the price, for which reason the *Dutch* fishers have bound themselves in contract to buy none, unless at the old rate, and they have sent to *Copenhagen* for a final answer.

The losses on the coast of *Holland* and northward to *Bremen*, *Holstein* and *Hamburg* are vastly beyond what was at first reported, especially since the last storm, which coming immediately on the back of the former, before the dykes were repaired, has drowned above 100,000 people, an infinity of cattle, large territories and many villages. The loss of *Holland* is computed above 50 million *livres*, which, besides the ruin of multitudes of particular people, will no doubt affect the State and our *King* sustains great losses in his new acquisition.

The other day I heard an *Ecuyer* to the *Landgrave* of *Hesse Cassel* say that his master has for two years past 22,000 men in his dominions. We have been told he is to lend some of them to the *Emperor*, but he said nothing of it. 2 pages.

JAMES III to the DUKE OF ORMONDE.

1718, Jan. 29.—I think you should be acquainted with a step the *King* has made. On further consideration of all *Ormonde* has written and on the great and may be present necessity there may be of money assistance, he has made a last effort to gain it by the *King of Spain's* means, and, to make his application effectual, has acquainted him with the general dispositions in which the *King of Sweden* and the *Czar* now are, though without mentioning anything of the match lately proposed. What he looked on as sufficient authority for making this confidence was the *Czar's* having been willing to trust to the *Regent* in hopes of his assistance, but that step, you know, was not thought advisable. Since he agreed to that for the good of the trade, the *King* thought that by it latitude was given him to make a like confidence, where it might be more effectual, and I firmly hope it will be so in the way it has been proposed. The progress of it you shall be informed of, and I see as yet no need of trusting the *Czar's*

people with this particular, unless they should happen to propose it themselves, but it was fit you should know it, not only for your own information, but if hereafter it should prove necessary to justify *the King's* conduct with those concerned, for things come out sometimes unaccountably, though here I little fear it, considering the precautions I have taken and the persons I deal with. One of them, you know, owes a late and great obligation to me. Whatever may happen, I look on this step as necessary and reasonable; I had no other way left of getting *money's* assistance, and should that fail us, all our hopes are lost, so 'tis certainly better to run the risk of an attempt than ruin all by not attempting to gain it. Pray have attention to what I wrote before of *the King's* going to see *the Czar*. I think it a matter of the greatest importance and advantage for him, and shall be overjoyed if it can be compassed; I am very well.

(About his having at last received Ormonde's missing letters mentioned in Mar's letter of the same day, about Capt. O'Brien, and about the way the present letter is to be sent.)

I am most impatient to hear from you and to have a favourable answer on *the marriage with the Czar's daughter*, which is a thing I most earnestly wish were concluded, for nothing can be of greater consequence for *the King*. Over 2 pages. Copy.

J. STEUART OF INVERNITIE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Jan. 29. Rome.—I wrote last week and had your letter and drafts from Sir Peter Redmond. I read the description of the design and house and viewed the plans with pleasure. (He then describes how different persons had recommended to him 10 or 12 different architects as being the best, which had hitherto prevented him from fixing on one, but he hopes to do so next week.)

Since money is not to be thrown away, you shall have a large baiock's worth. I hope you have received the drawing materials by this time. (Describing how he had observed his Grace's charge of secrecy about them.)

A man may be in Rome as quietly as in any town in the world, and, though it were known that a man of the first quality were here, who had a title to the visits of all the best people, he can receive all these visits after the Roman way, and not be face to face with one man of them. This they practise among themselves; for instance Cardinal Tremouille has been here many years and has not as yet seen above three or four of his brethren in their houses or ever spoke to them but at public occasions, and I and Count Castel Blanco made one day 12 or 13 visits of this sort without once coming out of the coach. The people here, except Lord Southesk, all go very soon from this, but, if the Duke you name come here or many of our country people, I'll say nothing. If a man

pleases, it entirely depends on himself not to be seen nor see anything here, except palaces, pictures, statues and architecture and to hear music. As for one's particular respect to one single cardinal these visits are paid in the way that one of good taste would wish, for such an hour is agreed and during that time not a soul is admitted, nor is it ever told who is with them, and for that of a man of quality seeing the Pope, that may be when he pleases and no sooner. You may think I write this because I have a violent inclination to see the gentleman. It's true I should think myself very happy if it so fell out, but not at the expense of telling you a lie.

Your songs, the best here, shall be sent by the first opportunity. Two of the best racquets here and the only 4 shuttlecocks in Rome went by the Swiss sergeant. 4 pages.

MONSIEUR STIERNHOCK to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Jan. 29. Vienna.—Requesting information as to the King's health as not only the newspapers but private letters from Rome represent his indisposition as dangerous. *French.*

The DUKE OF MAR to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, Saturday, Jan. 29.—Last Sunday I had yours of the 4th with the packet from *James Murray*. I leave my answer open for your perusal. *The King* sends now to *Queen Mary* a paper concerning that to be sent to *the King of Spain*, partly on what *James Murray* suggests in his memorial, which I wish may have the desired effect, and the more that I see not anywhere else whence that commodity is likely to be got. We have heard nothing further yet of the man *Francia* said was coming express to us about that, and *the Pope's* is almost past hopes. It appears by *James Murray's* as if *Francia's* affair were known with them, which I wish may have no bad effects by making them rely on it and so not bestir themselves and endeavour to find some people, as we proposed, to furnish those goods. I am sure they know it not from me and therefore I thought it not fit to touch in my answer that part of his letter.

Since *the King* has written so fully, I need not say anything on the paper to be sent to *the King of Spain*, nor did I think it needful in mine to *James Murray* to mention the secret of *the King of Sweden's* and *the Czar's* affair being trusted to *the King of Spain*. If you have not a sure conveyance ready for sending mine to *James Murray* I think you may venture it by the post, but I am afraid it will come too late.

I have received none of those from *Ormonde* you send me the dates of, and I believe never will, but I suppose they were in cipher, so the less matter.

You will see that *the King* has ordered another 100*l.* for De Morelle, which is *James Murray* himself, which he has ordered me to tell you to get, to send along with the letter.

By a late letter from Glendarule it seems Brigadier Campbell is in want of money by the accident of Barry. I have written to him that, if he be so, I doubt not you have been acquainted with it, who would be sure to order him to be supplied. I long to hear of the affair about which Campbell and Barry were employed being in some forwardness. I find by my letters from them you have not answered some you had from *Tullibardine*, which he thinks neglecting him and the affair. I have written that it has been certainly occasioned only by want of money for that business, by which anything you could say would be of little use, but that I hoped that would now be soon got.

Since writing the above *the King* has received *Ormonde's* letters of 17 August, 14 and 21 Sept., 25 Oct. and 7 Nov., and I one from his man *David Kennedy* of 2 Nov., but those of 18 Sept. and 2 Oct. mentioned in your note, are not come. I believe by mistake of the postmaster at Bologna they have lain all this time there. There is nothing in them but what those to *Dillon* which we formerly saw, gave account of. *The King* now writes to him, which is sent open to *Queen Mary* for you to see.

I designed writing this post to *Inese*, but the papers about the blind captain and his crew I was to have sent him not being ready, I delay it to the next.

I find one from *Ormonde* to *Mar* of 12 November in which there is not much. Since *the King* writes to him now, and I have so little else to say, I delay doing it for a post or two, when I may have something more worth his while, and, when you write, I beg you to tell him so.

(Recapitulation of the news in O'Brien's letter of the 13th.)
3 pages. Copy.

THE DUKE OF MAR TO JAMES MURRAY.

1718, Jan. 29.—Since I wrote to you 27 Dec., I have seen yours to *Dillon* of 2, 5 and 9 Dec. o.s. and by last post he sent me yours of 24 Nov. to him with a memorial relating to some points of our trade with one for myself of 19 and 24 Nov. which two last being the oldest I shall begin with. As to my expostulating with you on some things which you wrote to me, and your doing so now with me in that I last received, I need not add anything to what I wrote in my last, having there explained that matter fully. What I wrote then answers also the part of yours concerning another way for our corresponding and your question about your corresponding frequently with *Dillon*, and, “by what I say in the end of it, you will see I do not conceive how *Lord Oxford* can be of that service you seem to think in the affair of the *money*, and besides, after what I have told you that he has always given his opinion against anything being attempted in that affair, it would be very hard to impose it upon him further than he

pleases to concern himself in it, and indeed it would be unjust to put it upon the foot of his doing of that as a trial of his honesty and fidelity to the company. As my friendship with him formerly may perhaps make me be suspected on the one side to judge too favourably of him, so on the other may your and some others not being so much in that way with him, make you liable to be suspected differently in that matter, but, as I have a better opinion of you and the rest in your circumstances, than to think that would make you have or endeavour to give a wrong impression of him, so will you, I hope, do me the justice to believe that no former intimacies with him will make me have a better opinion of him myself, or endeavour to palliate to those I am concerned in any by-ways he may have, and to make them think better of him than he deserves. I have known him and his ways long, which sometimes I have been as little pleased with as those who made more noise about it, and though at a certain time when I was to begin the trade openly, which we have since followed, and had reason to think he wished well to it, yet I was far from trusting him with anything of it, seeing those I was in concert with did not, and at that time I was as intimate with him as ever, and firmly believed that he would come to join and be hearty and sincere in it. Now judging of him as impartially as I am capable of, I must confess I cannot doubt of his fidelity to the company, or of his declining any service [that] can be expected of him towards it, so far as prudence will permit any wise man to act or do in it. It is not his interest, I am sure, to play fast and loose now, and at his first owning himself to be in the interest of the company the advice he gave the chief director of employing and trusting *the Bishop of Rochester* principally, with whom he had not formerly been very well, and of endeavouring to gain *Nottingham*, who all know was the person hated him most, shows that, as he was willing to pass over all personal quarrels for the good of the company, so does his offering at the same time to give all the assistance to *the Bishop of Rochester* he could, his sincerity, since by that he put himself entirely in his power. His ability to serve the company in its present situation especially is evident, and that situation makes it necessary to take the assistance of all who will give any. Let not jealousies for God's sake at this time of day lose the least service of any one. Our director is one who knows men thoroughly, and there is no fear of his being imposed on by any of them, how cunning he may think himself, to the prejudice of others who serve the company well and faithfully, nor is he so blind [as] to have a fondness for one above others, but just as he sees their services deserve. No man concerned needs to fear *Lord Oxford's* being with this director as with the last, were the company in the way it wishes for. Without disparagement to the former, this has quite a different knowledge in trade, and, as he knows that perfectly, so does he manage it himself, which

must always prevent his being imposed on, and keep any particular one he employs from getting the ascendant to the prejudice of others. If our friends and fellow traders had had the opportunity of seeing this as much as I have, there would no fears remain with them of its being in the power of any to get the ascendant there of doing them ill offices or assuming the merit of their services. For a small proof of his abilities, I must tell you that, upon receiving your memorial from *Dillon* in relation to what you propose to be represented to and tried with *the King of Spain*, he immediately fell to work himself and formed a paper upon it to be sent to that gentleman, which some time or other you may see, and which, I am sure, will give you no small satisfaction not only as of the affairs of the company but of all that relates to *England* in the clearest and prettiest way that can be, says all that is possible to bring *the King of Spain* to agree to what is proposed for his own sake, and yet says nothing but what is really true and founded upon good sense and just reasoning. May the success answer as the paper and the case it represents deserve, and, since I mention it, I must tell you that the director differed with you in one point, which is mentioning any thing being done to oblige *the Elector of Hanover* to use his interest with *the Emperor* to renounce, being he thinks it dangerous to put anything in *the King of Spain's* head, that may incline him to make any more court to *the Elector of Hanover*. He tells in civil terms that upon the hopes of *the King of Spain's* doing what he desires of him, he has wrote to his friends in *England* to do all they can to prevent what is intended against him, but that, if they find that *the King of Spain* does not enter heartily to do what may be of service to him, that it will not be in his power any longer to act friendly, but quite otherwise towards him. What the director asks of *the King of Spain* presses much, so that there was not time for his following exactly what you proposed by way of immediate threat to bring him into it. It is needless to enlarge any more now to you on this paper, but you may depend on it that there is no argument omitted that can any way induce *the King of Spain* to comply with the desire, and it is put into so good hands to forward it to him, and who will also back it with all their skill, that I am not without hopes of its having good success, which you shall be informed of as soon as we know it. There were some steps taken in this with *the King of Spain* and his people before, which paves the way for this paper, which I hope will give the finishing stroke. There is one thing I must observe to you which is the difference in some things at the time of your writing that memorial from what they are now, then *the Emperor* was but courting of *King George*, and now we look on it as a concluded match, which necessarily obliged some difference to be made in the director's paper now from that of yours. Upon the whole you will take the proper ways to

let the friends of the company, especially those of *the Parliament*, know that the director has written so to *the King of Spain*, and he hopes they will make good his word. What you has cautioned about *Monteleon* so were we, but the man has behaved himself so long well towards the company that we can scarce give credit to it, and the more we are confirmed in this by the suspicion of him being, as we hear, put about chiefly and taking its rise from *Dubois*, who, we have had reason to suspect, so it is likely, may have had some by-end in defaming the other. How far the match above-mentioned being concluded may have made *Dubois* alter his sentiments I shall not say, and perhaps you may know more of that than we yet do, but, be that as it will, there is no occasion or necessity for *Monteleon's* being told of the particular friendship or favour the director has asked from *the King of Spain*, though I think there can be no hurt in his being told, that whatever the friends of the company with you may do to favour *the King of Spain*, is in hopes that he will assist the company and befriend the director as he shall ask of him, and that it is by the director's order or directions they do it, which otherwise perhaps they would not, and have acted a different part. Now I wish all this may come in time, but I much fear what relates to *the English fleet* may be determined and over before this can reach you, but by our situation there is no help for such accidents, which makes it the more cruel.

"Perhaps some may think the abovenamed match being concluded may be against the director's interest, but I confess I am not of that opinion, for it cannot fail of breaking the good correspondence that was betwixt the families of *the Elector of Hanover* and *the Duke of Orleans*, so that I wish that our information of its being finished may be true. As to the other part of your memoir in relation to *the King of Sweden* and the use to be made of that particular with him, I hope there has been care taken to inform our friend *Ormonde* of it, that being now the proper and quickest canal of informing *the King of Sweden* what is thought may be of service, therefore I need not insist upon that point. I wish though there were no greater appearance of *the English fleet* going to that side than the other, but it will not be wishes that will do the thing.

"The last accounts we had from *Ormonde* were of 4 December, in which he had heard from the person he had sent to *the King of Sweden*, who, on the 17 November, was got more than the most difficult half of his way to him, and I suppose we shall soon hear of his being arrived, and of the success he meets with, which it is likely you may be at least as soon informed of as we. I had a letter not long ago from my friend *Sir H. Paterson*, who says nothing of his having received any letters from your parts for *Ormonde*, which I wonder at, but I suppose his friends have wrote to him some other way. A few days

after I wrote last to you, the director and I wrote to him by an express as fully as we could of all the business that occurred then to us, which, I hope, may be with him about this time, and we long impatiently to hear from him. I cannot help wishing that we were with him, for as to all the points of our trade, I think we should be better thereabouts than where we now are, and our correspondence might be as quick too. I should be glad to know our friends' opinion in this particular that, if they think as I do, *the Czar* might be pressed upon it, and I fancy he would not be backward in giving of us house room and warehouses for our convenience until the trade should open.

"I am extremely glad to know from you the good part *Sir W. Wyndham* has acted in relation to *Bolingbroke*, and it shows his firmness to the interest of the company, as well as his particular regard for the director, who has ordered me to bid you make his compliments to him on it. I always esteemed him and this has added not a little to it. I am pleased that he had not delayed answering the letter *the King* wrote to him, which I mentioned to you formerly, and they were in the wrong, to whom he committed the forwarding of it, for not letting us know of their having had it, when they were obliged to destroy it, which they have now done.

"This accident which has happened to that gentleman *Mr. Shippen*, with whom I told you I was but little acquainted, is very unlucky, and the more that I see it is like to spoil that project, of which *Dillon* wrote to *the Bishop of Rochester*, but I hope you will one way or other have got his place supplied in that. I am glad he received what was for him as he ought, and a time may yet come and ere long, when he can be of good use. If one at this distance may be allowed to give any judgement on things of that kind, I would say that *the Tories'* conduct about that time seems yet worse than used to be. Since *they* could not get all *they* wished, why would *they* not join with *Walpole* and take part of it, which *they* might certainly have got that way? but I am afraid *their* doings of that kind will always be more to be regretted than amended, which, as a friend, I hope I may be forgiven for saying. The reason of *their* doing so certainly proceeds from the jarrings and disagreements of those who ought to direct *them*, so it is wonderful that they and *they* do not see this and amend it, but so it has been always with them, and so it is like to continue which is lamentable.

"Your project of addressing is very good, and will be well timed upon that occasion, and I hope it will be followed out. The letter to *Dr. Leslie* will be an excellent thing with regard to this too as well as for what it was intended. I find *Dr. Leslie* is mightily pleased with it, and so will, I doubt not, the other friends with you, who have certainly seen it long ere now, and I suppose made it public enough,

"I am very sorry for *the Bishop of Rochester's* illness, but I hope he is recovered long before this time, my compliments to him.

"The accounts we have of the disagreements at the court with you are great misfortunes to all who have their interest at heart, but, though it has given a very odd impression to all the world both of father and son, yet we hope things will be accommodated betwixt them, that our country may not be torn in pieces. Happy it is that the Jacobites do not agree and concert so well amongst themselves and the other discontented people as to take the advantage of this they otherwise easily might. We hear his Majesty King George goes certainly to Hanover in the spring and, if he get the Prince to submit, as we hope our friends will frighten him to it, that he is to carry him with him, where it is to be wished for the quiet of our country that he may leave him, but I am afraid the great regard that his Majesty has for his German dominions, and the apprehensions his German ministers have of the Prince will rather make them venture the disturbing of our quiet by bringing him back than that of Hanover by leaving him to govern there. Amongst ourselves I may venture to say and regret the situation we have brought ourselves to by endeavouring to avoid an imaginary evil to expose ourselves for ever to the certain misfortunes of a disputed succession, which is now not a little increased by the folly on both sides of those we have set up to rule over us, when on the other hand I am credibly informed that the gentleman we are so much afraid of is in every respect such as is to be wished for a king of a limited monarchy, he being, they who know it well assure me, of such good dispositions and thorough knowledge of our country, that he could not have failed of making us happy, if according to the maxims of some of our friends who we have much relied on of his being too knowing and doing business himself as if he were a secretary of state or minister, for which I am well assured by a good hand who personally knows him that he is the fittest that ever he met with, be not an argument against him, but, whatever may be in this and what we meaner folks may think of it, I know our heads and leaders, who by obeying and following implicitly we have so long succeeded, will think that we have gone too far in the way we are in to look back, so will go on and make the best of the bad way we have brought ourselves to, and for that end to put the best face we can on our being forced to abandon the old principles we used to value ourselves upon for the good of our country, and indeed what is our country to us if our own particular interest and that of our party be not to be served by serving of it? There is one thing which I am glad to see our friends and leaders still persist in, which is answerable to our old principles, that of ruining the Church of England for the good of the Protestant Religion, at least

what we would have believed so, the good of our own Whig party, and sure they will not be frightened from going on with that even this session, having already lost so many to the great scandal of our friends the Dissenters through the country, who have from several places complained of it in the letters I have had from them. . . .”

Tell *Murray* that I gave his letter to *the King*, who takes it very kindly that he is willing to stay there on his account, and is sorry it is not in his power to supply him as he inclines, but he has now ordered another bill for the like sum as he sent him to be sent with this letter.

The King and I having wrote lately to some friends in *Scotland* and referred them to the accounts of the trade to be sent by you and another friend to *Straiton*, you will not fail sending him such accounts as are fit for them, as I am to write to our other friend, *Menzies*, to do. *Straiton* gives us good hopes of some of the goods we most want coming from thence and of some merchants furnishing of them from whom it would be little expected, so they should be encouraged, and I have done all I could to caution them to go about it in a prudent and discreet manner. *Over 11 pages. Copy.*

THE DUKE OF MAR to COLIN CAMPBELL OF GLENDARULE.

1718, Jan. 29.—Acknowledging his of 18 Dec., on which he had written to Dillon the letter of the same day.

J. Macleod junior's letter makes *Stewart of Appin* the very worthy spark for which we have long took him, and, if true, a completer v[illai]n never was, but he has not mettle enough to go through with a game which requires so much address and cunning as well as k[na]v[e]rie. I am glad though his cousin still answers what we expected of him and pray make him my compliments when you write to him. A repenting sinner must be accepted, and I am glad Sir D[unca]n seems to be so, but he cannot be expected to be credited after what is past, till he give other proofs than words. If he be really sincere, I think you are right in what you propose for him, and you shall have the paper for it, before there be occasion of using it, which you may use as you find he behaves, and, if you think fit, you may let him know of *the King's* passing over old scores on what he had written and his future good behaviour. At the same time you may tell him what is intended for him, but all this you can best judge of.

I am glad by all the accounts given from *Scotland* his family were never in better heart and even some of those formerly set against *the King* are now wishing for him, and have him they will, I hope, ere long.

It is not a little odd that *Macdonald of Glengarry* has never answered that letter *Mar* wrote to him above a twelvemonth ago, which you saw, and it is not amiss you wrote to some proper person to let him know how odd it looks.

I hope *Tullibardine* has got as well as you what I wrote 20 Dec., and, if he has written to me since what I acknowledge in that, it is not come to me. I have no doubt of his friendship to *Mar*, nor will he ever have occasion given him to doubt of his.

I give no credit to *Stewart of Appin's* story of *Clanranald* and *Lochiel*, for I know them to be honest men than to forsake their principles. I heard 'tother day from the last, and here is an answer to what you sent me from the first.

You are right not to discourage *J. Macleod junior*, from going on in the affair with *Argyle*, but there is little to be expected from thence, so let *J. Macleod junior*, take care that in place of his gaining *Argyle* he do not catch him. I find from other hands that *Argyle* has been making applications to some of our friends by some of his tools, and have written what was proper to our friends upon it.

I enclose what I wrote to *Straiton* on what he wrote to me concerning *J. Macleod junior*, and *Sir H. Maclean*, and have since had an answer from him to the one I wrote him on your first writing to me what *J. Macleod junior*, wrote of the matter, and I send also a copy of that part of it, by which I believe you will think what *J. Macleod junior*, wrote you a little odd.

I congratulate *Brigadier Campbell* on his missing the g[allo]ws on a less reputable affair than the last time he was in danger of it, and it had been hard, had he suffered for such a thing and by mistake too. *Dillon* will certainly order him to be supplied with what that misfortune occasioned him on his writing to him.

The King is in perfect health and was very glad when I gave him account that you were all so, though he is sorry for the accident of *Barry*, and chiefly for fear it should retard the affair he was employed in, which he is very much concerned to have finished as intended.

Postscript.—*The King* and *Mar* have been plagued with a certain blind captain and his crew, who is near you, and orders are now sent for finding out the truth of that matter and putting an end to it, which I thought best to be done in such a way that *Mar* cannot be complained of by the captain, and the person to determine betwixt the captain and his crew is left blank to be filled up at *St. Germain's*, whose friend the captain thinks him to be. I am sorry for the accident of the ship *R. Gordon* writes of, but hope he shall have her again, and, if not, he may be sure *the King* will do all he can to get him satisfaction. $3\frac{1}{2}$ pages. Copy.

THE DUKE OF MAR TO COL. PARKER.

1718, Jan. 29. Urbino.—Explaining that the reason for his delay in acknowledging his letter of 5 Dec. was waiting for Cardinal Gualterio's answer, to whom his Majesty had ordered him to be recommended, but, the King having since

received another letter from him, letting him know that both his letters arrived safe, and that his Majesty will again recommend him to the Cardinal with all the earnestness he can, but that he is afraid not much is to be expected from thence, which he is the sorrier for, because he is not able to do for him what his sufferings and merit deserve.

The DUKE OF MAR to MRS. ABERCROMBY.

1718, Jan. 29. Urbino.—Condoling with her on the death of her husband, on hearing of which the King wrote to the Queen to give her such an allowance and to help her home as the present circumstances of their affairs will allow, and recommending her to go home and wait with patience for better days, and also condoling with her on the loss of her sister. *Copy.*

JAMES III to LORD EDWARD DRUMMOND.

1718, Jan. 30.—Regretting that his present circumstances incapacitate him from supplying Sir Adam Blair, whose letter of 25 Nov. he has seen, as his wants require and his merits deserve, and promising, if ever it please God to restore him, to give him and his family such marks of his regard as they will have reason to be satisfied with. The King his father's kindness for them is not unknown to him. *Copy.*

The DUKE OF MAR to SIGNOR CAGNONI.

1718, Jan. 30. Urbino.—Acknowledging his two letters and asking him to forgive some trouble he may occasion him by things from England addressed to him, which he requests him to take care of and forward.

We hear German troops are come now to quarter in Lucca, which, if true, will put an end to any thoughts of pursuing the design I mentioned to your son, even if the people there were willing to allow of it, and the one I spoke of it for should have thought seriously of it. I know you would act so prudently in any steps you took to get information that he would not appear in it, and that it would be only thought as a thought of your own, but, if that of troops being to be there be true, you had best let it fall entirely. *Copy.*

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to [JAMES III].

1718, Monday, Jan. 31. St. Germain.—I came here last night by *Queen Mary's* orders. *She* gave me yours of the 7th. The two enclosed for *Ormonde* and the *Bishop of Rochester* shall be forwarded.

I sent *the King* copies, not abstracts, of the three material letters *George Kelly* wrote me during his last voyage to *England*, dated 28 Oct. and 21 and 25 Nov. O.S. *Queen Mary* read the copies this morning and so did *Inese*. We found nothing in them that would occasion jealousy or give the least offence. One

paragraph in that of 21 Nov. is :—Mrs. *Ogilvie* arrived some days ago. Sir Redmond has the letter of attorney and *the Bishop of Rochester* received the letters sent by her, but *Mar* writes that one of them he had thought proper to destroy. He has sent two or three addresses for *Ormonde*, but I don't find them fond of writing by any other channel but *Dillon's*.

I see no consequence can be naturally drawn from this but that they thought *Dillon's* channel the safest.

I am morally sure that none of *the King's* true friends or even wellwishers would offer to give *Mar* the least dissatisfaction. His past distinguished services and his present zeal and activity are so universally known that I don't see how it can be in anybody's power or indeed in any honest man's will to disoblige him in the least. By all my knowledge of *Ormonde*, *the Bishop of Rochester* and *Arran*, it appears to me they look on *Mar* as one of the chief and best instruments to manage *the King's* concerns ; all this without any regard to any party, of which I know very little and I hope never shall.

[LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to JAMES III.]

1718, Jan. 31. St. Germain's.—Give me leave by this private note to assure you that I receive with due submission whatever comes from *the King*, but shall always be very easy regarding jealousies or *tracasseries*, being almost positive I neither have nor will give occasion to the one or the other. The horror I heard *the King* express for both these vices is a sufficient motive for *Dillon* to avoid falling into them or anything that may have the appearance of deceit.

It appears by your letter to *the Bishop of Rochester* that you suspect him, *Ormonde* and party to be desirous to have *Mar* removed from you. I venture to say and have good reasons for doing so, that *Ormonde*, *the Bishop of Rochester* and *Arran* would be highly afflicted, if they foresaw anything could happen to engage *Mar* to withdraw from *the King*. All your true friends both of this and the other side of the water are of the same opinion, and none more stedfastly than *Dillon*, who sincerely thinks that *Mar* is capable of giving a new spirit to your cause and carrying it on with much vigour. This is the common sentiment of all your well-wishers.

Dillon has some reason to imagine that corresponding with friends in *England* may not be satisfactory to *Mar*. If so, to avoid being the innocent cause of misunderstanding or jealousy 'twixt *the King's* friends, he humbly begs *the King* to name some other person for that purpose. If I can do no good, I would be in despair to occasion any harm and indeed writing is not my talent and politics much less. If *the King* should have use for me in my own vocation, none whosoever will serve him with more zeal and fidelity or will be readier to expose his life for his interest and service.

ACCOUNTS of WILLIAM DICCONSON.

1718, Jan. 31. *The King's Account. Debtor.*

		Livres.	Sols.	Deniers.
	Due from the King for balance of last account - - -	53,133	1	0
1717, July 12.	Remitted to the Marquis de Brantes from Lyons - -	182	7	0
" "	To Monsr. Denizet for champagne by Sir W. Ellis' order -	1,230	0	0
" 24.	To Mr. Loftus for letters on Mr. Ogilvie's account - - -	86	15	0
" "	Paid Sir W. Ellis' bill to Milon -	481	16	0
" "	To Mistress Olive Trant for 1717 -	600	0	0
" "	To Mr. Gough of Dunkirk for letters, &c. - - -	238	18	0
Aug. 1.	To Dr. Cowper to go to Italy -	400	0	0
" "	To Dr. Barclay, ditto - -	400	0	0
" "	To Mr. Butterfield for mending the King's dial - - -	10	0	0
" "	To Mr. Jo. Greme by the Duke of Mar's order - - -	200	0	0
" "	To a messenger sent the Queen from beyond seas - - -	200	0	0
" 7.	To James Douglas, value 200 <i>guilders</i> to quit his pension -	357	2	0
" "	To Dr. Taylor, value 10 <i>l.</i> sterling which he laid out for prisoners in London - - -	150	0	0
" 17.	To Mr. Dillon what he gave to Mr. Francis Strickland and Mr. John O'Brien, viz., 1,000 <i>livres</i> to Mr. Strickland and 2,000 to Mr. O'Brien - -	3,000	0	0
Sept. 18.	To Balthasar Tyma for pickles -	6	8	0
" "	To Brother Smith for Madam Bouchicault for correspondence in Holland - - -	300	0	0
" 28.	To Mr. Wogan paid back what I charged myself with in my last account, he not receiving this money at Pesaro - -	750	0	0
" "	To Mr. Ogilvie by the Duke of Mar's order - - -	750	0	0
" "	To Dr. Abercromby - -	200	0	0
" "	To Gen. Hamilton by the Duke of Mar's order - - -	500	0	0
" "	To Father Græme by said order -	100	0	0
" "	Paid by Mr. Gordon to the Duke of Mar himself and by his special order - - -	10,631	17	3

			Livres.	Sols.	Den- iers.
1717, Sept. 28.	To Mr. Booth for things he bought for the King and for the Duke of Mar and his journey, &c.	- - - -	5,860	0	0
Oct. 1.	To Mr. Creagh by Sir W. Ellis' order	- - - -	520	0	0
" "	To Mr. Ogilvie for the last 6 months of 1717	- - -	800	0	0
" 12.	Paid back to Mr. Hughes of the money he advanced to Mr. Southcott	- - -	15,443	4	9
" 19.	Paid back more in England to Mr. Jerningham, the banker, of the money he advanced to Southcott, first 580 <i>l.</i> sterling and then 485 <i>l.</i> sterling	- -	15,975	0	0
" "	To Mr. Hugh Thomas for watches, &c. ordered by Mr. Booth, first 80 <i>l.</i> sterling and then 36 <i>l.</i> 14 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> sterling	- -	1,751	0	0
" "	To Mr. Roger Strickland what I charged myself with in last account and yet paid him here	- - -	300	0	0
" "	To Mr. James Murray, value 100 <i>l.</i> sterling	- - -	1,500	0	0
" "	To Mr. Waters for 5 <i>lb.</i> of tea he delivered to Mr. Booth	- -	125	0	0
" "	To Sir Henry Stirling by the Duke of Mar's order	- -	2,941	9	0
" "	To Col. Jo. Stuart, value 50 <i>l.</i> sterling, with which he sub- sisted people in Swedland, &c.	- - -	740	0	0
" "	For Lord Dundee's funeral	- -	78	11	1
" "	For young Boyn's funeral	- -	300	0	0
" "	To Sir H. Paterson, money he laid out on the King's account by order	- - -	673	9	0
" "	What Mr. W. Gordon sets down for keeping a servant, which he says the Duke of Mar ordered in June, 1716	- -	1,200	0	0
" 26.	For paper sent the King by Mr. Booth	- - -	47	0	0
" "	To Mr. Johnson in cash and by bill on London	- - -	500	0	0
" "	To Lady Melfort's nephew to go back	- - -	300	0	0
Nov. 1.	To Mr. Creagh to go to Italy	- -	500	0	0
" 18.	To Father Moore for balance due to him	- - -	611	10	0

		Livres.	Sols.	Den- iers.
1717, Nov. 18.	To Sir Jo. O'Brien to pay an express, viz., Gen. Dillon's man - - - - -	1,000	0	0
" "	Selme's bill on Francia protested for 50 <i>l.</i> sterling with charges, &c., which we were forced to pay - - - - -	772	7	0
" "	Paid Mr. Cantillon commission, &c. - - - - -	246	13	0
Dec. 7.	To Col. Cook what he said he laid out - - - - -	200	0	0
" 23.	To Arlaud for pictures - - - - -	680	0	0
" "	To Bell, ditto - - - - -	484	0	0
" 30.	To Dumyrais for plate for the King - - - - -	1,310	4	0
" "	To Madame Bouchicault for correspondence, second payment - - - - -	300	0	0
1718, Jan. 11.	To C. Wogan in money 2,000 <i>livres</i> and a bill of 3,000 - - - - -	5,000	0	0
" "	To Dr. Maghie to go to Italy - - - - -	800	0	0
" "	To Mr. Trotter for port of letters on the King's account - - - - -	7	15	0
" "	To Mr. Ogilvie for the first quarter of 1718 - - - - -	400	0	0
" "	Paid pensions to the year's end by W. Gordon, Paris - - - - -	12,270	6	8
" "	Paid by ditto for returning money, postage, &c. - - - - -	290	1	5
" "	Paid ditto for letters for the Duke of Mar - - - - -	191	2	0
" "	Paid by ditto for Gen. Dillon's letters - - - - -	31	6	0
" "	Paid pensions to the year's end by Robert Gordon, Bordeaux - - - - -	11,905	0	0
" "	Paid pensions in Holland to said time by Mr. Dundas - - - - -	2,405	0	0
" "	Paid pensions at Brussels by Mark Wood and Mr. Hairstens to the said time - - - - -	5,072	10	0
" "	Paid pensions by Mr. Erskine at Liége - - - - -	535	0	0
" "	Paid pensions by Mr. Ord at St. Omer to the year's end - - - - -	4,403	5	0
" "	Paid pensions by me at St. Germain's to the said time - - - - -	9,373	13	9
" "	To Monsr. Clapayron what he paid the King at Avignon by order from the Court of France and for which his Majesty drew a bill on Mr. Nihell - - - - -	80,000	0	0

	Livres.	Sols.	Den- iers.
1718, Jan. 11. Paid several gratifications or extraordinaries to persons to go away or the like, as by a particular sent herewith - -	3,585	10	0
	265,353	15	6

The King's Account, Creditor.

1717, Aug. — Received back from Mr. Arthur of London, 1,250 <i>l.</i> sterling, being part of the 1,700 <i>l.</i> de- posited in his hands by Mr. Farnham (Colclough) as per my account given in 16 Jan., 1717 - - - - -	18,750	0	0
„ — Received from Major Cavenagh in part of what is due from Berwick's regiment [rest 1,613 <i>livres 10 sols.</i>] assigned to me by Sir Richard Cantillon in lieu of what I paid for him to Capt. Camock and was brought to the King's use -	900	0	0
„ 10. Received from Gen. Dorrington value 17 old <i>louis d'ors</i> which Sir W. Ellis gave him at Avignon - - - - -	340	0	0
I shall likewise charge myself with the 12,000 <i>livres</i> a month, which was usually returned to the King out of the pension received from the Court of France, which not having been remitted to his Majesty since Nov., 1716, it makes 13 months to the end of 1717, amounting to - - - - -	156,000	0	0
	175,990	0	0
So due to the Queen for balance of this account 31 Jan., 1718 -	89,363	15	6

265,353 15 6

Endorsed.—“ Mr. Dicconson's accounts sent to Sir William Ellis and received at Urbino Feb. 20th, 1718.” *With a separate paper giving particulars of the “several qualifications” above mentioned.*

Paper by JAMES III.

1718, Jan.—I beg you to inform the lady and gentleman interested how sensibly I have been touched by the kindness with which they spoke of me to Mr. B[ooth]. I have not neglected

the advice received from them since I had the honour of seeing them myself, and you may assure them that I immediately conformed myself to it, but, my first attempts having been frustrated, I could not show a greater regard to their counsels than by sending as soon as possible to reconnoitre the person they have proposed, though I had already another of the same country in view. When I have had news of both, I shall make my decision. Meanwhile I beg them very earnestly to inform me how I can proceed to make the proposal to her whom they have suggested, in case I decide for her. They will confer an honour and a very sensible pleasure on me, by continuing to aid me with their good counsels, and my readiness to follow them ought to convince them how persuaded I am of the rectitude of their intentions. I should be really pained at being so long without testifying to them my gratitude and my feelings towards them, but I believed that your channel, though the longest, would be the most agreeable to them.

Be kind enough to send them this or to inform them of its contents as you judge convenient. *French. Endorsed*, "To the Q[ueen] to be sent to the K[ing] of S[icily]."

T. FORSTER to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Feb. [1?]. [Fano].—Since coming here we have met with all imaginable civility. One of the operas is very good, but the other is more esteemed by the inhabitants, who seem more pleased with the farce than the music. Some of the best songs Dr. B[arcla]y carries with him; he is ravished with their airs and will give you a particular account. Mr. Erskine and I go to-morrow to Pesaro.

Since writing the above we have been hearing a lady sing, who, Mr. Erskine says, has more charms than all the opera. I think so too. She's worth 2,000 *pistoles per annum*. She's young and must be handsome, at least Mr. E. swears it.

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Feb. 2. Vienna.—I am in terrible agitation, because the newspapers publish that the King is dangerously ill. I beg you to send me some news to guide me in answering people. I enclose this week's news and some other news from the Hague. I am trying to bring into his Majesty's interests a Secretary of State of the Ministers here, and I find a very good disposition, but it is necessary to have instructions and a secret commission from you. I shall try with all my dexterity to advance further. I shall doubtless be seconded by good friends, and, if the Emperor were once relieved of the war against the Turks, something might be hoped from this Court. Almost everyone here deplores the lamentable position of his Majesty, and the feeling against Hanover increases more and more here.

Prince Eugene, I know from a good source, has the best intentions towards his Majesty. I shall try to cultivate them. Bishop Leslie, as far as I can ascertain, is not among such good friends of his Majesty. He has lately been made by the Emperor Prince of the Empire and Bishop of Laibach. It also seems to me it would not be bad, if I shall carry on correspondence with your other friends in other parts to concert all that shall be for his Majesty's service. This proposal proceeds from my great desire to distinguish myself in his Majesty's service. The Swedish Resident has given me the enclosed for you. He continues in the best sentiments towards his Majesty as does also the minister of Muscovy. Mr. Germain (*i.e.* Wogan) is not to be seen here yet. I shall be on the watch for his arrival to deliver him the letter and to serve him in everything in my power he shall order me. *French. Partly in cipher deciphered. Enclosed,*

EXTRACT from a LETTER to the Secretary of the King of Sweden, residing at the Court of Cassel.

Requesting him to inform the writer of what he learns or thinks of the commission of Mr. Halden, the English minister who is returned to the Court where the Secretary resides. It is apparent that this commission is partly to try to penetrate the plans of the King, our master, partly to put in train and facilitate by the Landgrave's interposition a peace negotiation with his Majesty, in case circumstances take such a turn that King George should find it his interest to reconcile himself with his Majesty, in whatever manner he may. 27 January, 1718. French.

COMMISSION.

1718, Feb. 2. Urbino.—To Lieut.-col. John Stuart, brother to Balcaskie, to be a colonel of foot. *Entry Book 5, p. 66.*

THE DUKE OF MAR TO CAPT. DAVID GEORGE.

1718, Feb. 2. Urbino.—I have seen your letter of 18 Dec. to Mr. Inese with the attested copies of the receipts you mention in it, all which I have laid before his Majesty. The accounts you and your crew give are so widely different and they complain so loudly of abuses on your part, as if you had withheld their wages, that it is impossible for the King to judge whether you or they are in the right, till the agreements betwixt you and them are fully examined and the books and other papers relating to this affair fully revised and compared with the payments made by you to your crew and a report of the whole made to him. This, he thought, could not be so well done as by appointing proper persons in the place. He has therefore ordered me to signify to you his pleasure that you choose a proper person on your part, as your crew are ordered to do

on theirs, to examine thoroughly into this affair and report thereon to himself. It is his pleasure that you submit yourself wholly to these two persons and give them all the lights and informations you can, as your crew are likewise to do, by laying before them all accounts, papers, &c., which you or any of them have in relation to this affair. And, where they shall be defective, you are to make affidavits to them on such points as they shall require of you. The King has likewise appointed a person on his part, who may have a regard to his share in this affair and see that justice be likewise done to his Majesty and who is to be umpire in case of difference betwixt the others, and the three are jointly to report to his Majesty. I enclose a copy of my letter to your crew, to whom I have sent a copy of this, and a copy of the powers granted by his Majesty, the principal being sent to the person appointed on his part, with blanks for the names of the persons to be chosen by you and the other side. $1\frac{1}{4}$ page. *Draft*.

THE DUKE OF MAR to CAPT. GEORGE'S CREW.

1718, Feb. 2. Urbino.—Acknowledging their letter of 10 Oct., and desiring them to appoint an arbitrator on their behalf, in the same terms *mutatis mutandis* as the last letter. *Draft*.

JAMES III to THREE PERSONS, whose names are left in blank.

1718, Feb. 2. Urbino.—Appointing them arbitrators on behalf of Capt. George, his crew and the King (the last to be umpire) on the matters in dispute between Capt. George and his crew. *Draft*. *There are fair copies of these three documents in Entry Book 5, pp. 66-71.*

LORD B[ATHURS]T to JAMES III.

1718, Feb. 3. Urbino. [Received.]—Expressing his gratitude for the letter he had lately received from him and expressing his zeal for his service and his devotion to his person. *Signed*, 9, 13, 19, 60, 14, 2, 61, 55.

THE DUKE OF MAR to the DUKE OF ORMONDE.

1718, Feb. 3.—I had not yours of 12 November nor *David Kennedy's* of 2 Nov. till 29 Jan., when *the King* wrote to you acknowledging those he received from you that day. I now send the enclosed copy by the address those letters of yours brought us. I believe the safest way of sending letters from you for me, and not by France, is by putting them in a cover to Signor Belloni at Bologna, but I take *Dillon's* canal to be the surest.

I am very glad the letters I told you were written from some of your company could be of no ill consequence, and *Dillon* was also afraid about them as I was.

I heard some posts ago from *James Murray* that the address I sent him for *Ormonde* by *Sir H. Paterson* came, and that

Ormonde was to hear that way from them, which I hope he may have done, and therefore I need say less on what I hear to-day from the *Bishop of Rochester* in answer to what I wrote to him from *Paris* last October. He says things are much changed for the better on what has happened betwixt *King George* and the young minx. *James Murray* tells me that *Argyle* has now no further communication with his old master the *Prince* and that *Ilay* had told him he was happily disengaged from him and that no consideration on earth should prevail on him to serve him or *King George* again. They say nothing though of being resolved to look for other service, though *James Murray* mentioned that of the *King* to him, but rather to be inactive save the way of the *Parliament*, in which there was nothing they would not do.

The *Bishop of Rochester* says that *Bernsdorf* and *Stanhope* are not at all well together and that the first is looking out for new friends which the last cannot fail of knowing, from which he thinks there may come good. He says little himself of the money affair, but *James Murray* tells me the *Bishop of Rochester* is doing all he can in it, but I doubt not you will hear of all these things directly, so it were needless to say more here. *Lord Oxford* was not then come to town, which was 14 Dec., he having been ill in the country, but was expected in a day or two. Just as I was writing this, the *King* came in and gave me this note to enclose to you.

We will long to hear from you on O'[Brie]n's arrival and hope you'll have good news to send. Copy. Enclosed,

JAMES III to the DUKE OF ORMONDE.

With this Mar sends you a duplicate of mine of 29 Jan. to Ormonde, who will have had from Dillon an account of England's affairs, such as is in general comfortable, so to him I refer and only notice one particular, which is, that Mar has received a letter from the Bishop of Rochester by which it does not appear he has any jealousy of Mar, but that the friendship between them is such as is proper and convenient. By this my letter to the Bishop of Rochester on that subject, which I sent you, may seem to have been useless, but, as it can have no ill effect, I am persuaded it will have good ones in showing the King's sentiments on some points and in putting a stop to some little dealings, which might have made tracasseries at last by people's speaking too much without book, as I find has been done in another point by the Bishop of Rochester's letter. For God's sake get me soon out of this desert and well engaged with the Czar marriage. I long with impatience to hear from you about that, for I daily like it better. I find it more and more to be of the last consequence for the trade. You cannot have more snow there than we have here. Two copies both in Nairne's hand.

THE DUKE OF MAR to the MARQUIS DE VILLEFRANCHE.

1718, Feb. 3. Urbino.—Thanking him for his New Year's letter which he wishes may be a very happy one for him, asking him to make his compliments to all his friends at his agreeable town and particularly to the Marquis de Donis and family, and to convey to Madame de Vacluse his interest in her change of condition, wherein he wishes her all the happiness she deserves, adding that he understands that the eldest Mademoiselle de Donis has some thoughts of making a tour in Italy, but fearing they shall not have the pleasure of seeing her there. *French. Copy.*

JOHN OGILVIE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Feb. 4.—It is with the greatest pleasure imaginable that I tell you that *the King's* debtors are so forward to pay their debts, that they only want a receiver. Yea those that have this long time been nice and pretended arrestments are now willing to hazard on the least shadow of a pretence or appearance that the arrestment can be loosed. I dare not offer advice, since *the King* understands his own affairs, but, were it possible, all his friends could wish that his affair were pushed, so long as his debtors are so well disposed.

I have seen a great many of *the King's* friends since I saw you, and they are so overjoyed with hopes that I cannot express my satisfaction at seeing even those that truly used their endeavours to prevent *the King's* satisfaction. I wrote you a confused letter from the place I saw you last to inform you how to direct to me. *Endorsed*, “John Ogilvie, incog., to Lord Mar. Received at Rome from Mr. Innes, April 13.”

CHARLES WOGAN to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Feb. 4. Strasburg.—I am come thus far in pursuance of your instructions after a journey that has been very tedious to me in my great desire to answer the dispatch you recommended. My delay has been occasioned by a concert that Mr. *Dillon* and I entered into to give the more easy air to my quitting Paris at this season. It was judged convenient I should go to Schlestadt with Mr. Lally* who travelled in a little slight berlin and with his own horses. In the beginning the ways were so deep and the horses so little used to fatigue that we made but very slow advances. His machine broke every day and so I engaged him to take post-horses and an old post chair of the Bishop of Waterford's at Sens. This had lain by a great while and broke at every turn. The frost grew very hard and I could not prevail on my companion to get on horseback because of an old indisposition that frequently betides officers after some campaigns spent in love and war. I should not trouble you with this detail, but

* Mr. Lally elsewhere in this cipher=Prince James Sobieski's court. Here, however, it is apparently a proper name.

that I am too young a soldier to deserve any excuse for my delay on this score.

I have procured a recommendation here from a very good hand to *the Court of Baden* by Mr. *Dillon's* means, which will give a great facility to my measures and inquiries. I propose to be there to-morrow night and to proceed, after gaining all the information I shall judge proper, by way of Ratisbon. I am told I shall find the snows very deep and the ways almost impassable in places, but hope to get the better of such difficulties, and heartily wish I may be able to give you hereafter the full satisfaction you require in matters of more consequence. *The daughter* is now at *Rastat*. *Queen Mary* and Mr. *Dillon* are of opinion I should go by my own name in the address of letters to me, because nothing that can tend to suspicion is to be admitted without some necessity, and there appears none in this case which has a very fair pretence, that of travelling.

I have already settled a correspondent here through whose hands my letters from Paris are to pass, who is to transmit them to me to such places as I shall mark to him from time to time. But, as that were too great a round for any instructions you shall honour me with, I am now to inquire for some merchant at Ratisbon or Prague, to whom my letters may be addressed from thence. $2\frac{1}{4}$ pages.

WILLIAM ERSKINE to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, Feb. 4. Pesaro.—Giving an account of his visit to that place and Fano with Mr. Barkley and Thomas Forster, and adding that he intends to return to Urbino next week. $2\frac{1}{2}$ pages.

Monsieur STIERNHOCK to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Feb. 4. Vienna.—These are to acquaint your Excellency that Count Reventlow, Minister of State of the Duke of Holstein, the nephew of the King, my master, and a good friend of Baron Görtz, which Count has been here a little while about his master's affairs, has just shown me a letter of M. de Görtz, containing the news that the Czar and by his intervention the King of Prussia and King Augustus, having proposed Danzig as the place for the peace Congress to his Swedish Majesty, the latter had accepted it and would send his plenipotentiaries there, who would be apparently Count Velling and Baron Sparre, and I should have orders to inform the Imperial Court that, if the Emperor should wish to send a minister to that Congress, he would be welcome there along with the one from France. Though I have not yet received these orders, nor any other advice of the King's resolution, I do not doubt that he has taken it, without my having seen the original of M. de Görtz's letter, which makes mention of it. I am extremely glad of it, in hopes that the

preliminaries of the peace between his Swedish and his Czarish Majesty will have been already settled and that the Congress will be only for form and for the conclusion of it after the precedent of that of Utrecht, that the Elector of Hanover will come too late and will be excluded from it, and that advantageous consequences will result from it for his Britannic Majesty. I do not doubt however that the said Elector will employ his utmost efforts to hinder that peace or else to be included in it, foreseeing that it might be fatal to him, if he be excluded from it. *Over 4 pages. French.*

JAMES III to the KING OF S[ICILY].

1718, Feb. 4.—“Je n’ay pas osé reconnoître par un autre canal moins seur que celuy de votre tante les bontés que vous avés temoigné pour moy, lorsque mon gros valet a passé par vos terres. Je vous puis assurer que loin d’être choqué des responses que d’ailleurs je ne meritois point, je les ay regardé comme un temoignage authentique de votre penetration et de votre bon coeur envers moy. Je dois pourtant vous dire ici que, quoique je profite actuellement des lumieres qu’il vous a plu de me donner, vous ne devéz pas être scandalizé s’il echet que l’exécution de vos conseils n’arrive pas si tôt, et que de nouveaux avis que j’ay receu soient la cause d’un delay que vous approuverés vous meme, si j’osois vous expliquer mes raisons, mais ne le pouvant faire clairement, je vous envoie un chiffre par le moyen duquel quand je scaurai que vous l’avés receu, je pourrai avec seureté vous informer de l’état de mon procès. Vous ne prendrés, j’espere, pas mauvais la liberté que je prens, puisqu’elle est fondée sur la connoissance que j’ay de ma propre insuffisance, qui me porte a chercher avec empressement des lumieres aussi superieures et aussi sures que les votres, le secours de vos conseils me fera marcher avec plus de fermeté et de hardiesse dans les affaires epineuses qui me surviennent souvent, et vous ayant pour guide et pour directeur je ne craindrois point de faire de faux pas. Les differentes et étroites liaisons qui sont entre nous, et l’amitié sincere que vous m’avés temoigné, m’en font avec justice esperer la continuation : Nos affaires de famille n’ont pas laissé de changer de face depuis que j’eus l’honneur de vous embrasser, et ce seroit pour moy un sensible plaisir et un singulier avantage, que de profiter de vos avis qui ne pourront qu’être utiles au bien de nos deux familles. J’attendrai avec impatience de scavoir si cette lettre arrive a bon port, et vous puis assurer que je ne vous souhaite pas moins de bien qu’a moy meme. . . . *Copy.*

The DUKE OF MAR to COL. JOHN STEWART.

1718, Feb. 4. Urbino.—Enclosing the King’s commission in the terms he desired in his of 5 Nov., and wishing it may answer the end proposed. The King thinks him much in the

right in his resolution of going where he mentioned and is persuaded that, wherever he may be, he will not let slip any opportunity of doing him all the service in his power. *Copy.*

SIR PETER REDMOND to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, Feb. 5. Rome.—Thanking him for his letter of 20 Jan., and for having made his respects acceptable to his Grace.—I have remembered you to Lord Southesk and Mr. Stewart. I am in the same club with them, Lord Edward, and Mr. Fleming, and we every day remember our friends at Urbino. They are all now at the opera.

There are more operas and plays in this city, I believe, than in any in Europe, three operas every night and four comedies, besides a gang of good rope-dancers, Germans, French and English, who end afternoon before the operas begin. The worst of the operas is that they end not till about midnight.

I fancy still the voices I heard at Fano exceeded any I heard here. I am not perfectly curious that way, for, after once hearing a play or an opera, I would not give a pin for it the second time. I begin to be pretty well wearied of Rome, though I believe I shall not leave it these 15 days, as the weather is not fit for travelling. I see your self-denial in keeping house and not going to Fano opera, and hope to see you enjoy the fruits of your loyalty and affection for his Majesty, whose service keeps you close to him in that disconsolate situation. *3 pages.*

OWEN O'ROURKE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Feb. 5. Couvonges.—Acknowledging his letter of 16 Dec. with the enclosed from the King to his Royal Highness.—It does me no small pleasure to see their correspondence renewed. It will always look well that his Majesty entertains a commerce of amity with a prince that left no stone unturned to acquire his good will. The Duke has written lately to the King and addressed his to M. de Litta, who acts in some things for him at Rome. It is likely H.R.H. will continue to use this way as safer and shorter than that of France. I do not think fit to wait for the Duke's answer to return mine to you, whose arrival near the King I feel as a singular comfort to his Majesty. Your absence, though in his service, must have been uneasy to him.

I do not use in this letter the cipher you sent, judging it needless where there is no secret. I cannot foresee I may have much to say of any great consequence. Our Duke has not the shadow of an agent in England, nor have we any other news from thence but what the Gazette brings. Still I shall use the liberty you give me of writing to you, and hope you will honour me at least with some account of the King's health, &c. The Holland Gazette alarmed us lately in publishing, I thank God, falsely, that he was again attacked with the

fistula. I hope the climate will prove favourable to his health, and not prejudice his interest to the degree his enemies pretended. Its remoteness is indeed the greatest inconveniency. If the war begins and spreads all over, as in all likelihood it will, it must of course afford some happier turn to his affairs. The Georgeans have a hopeful heir for their Crown; I long to hear that his Majesty may be in a way to give a better and more lawful one. Of all that can depend on him I see nothing so necessary as that.

I do not doubt the Duke has mentioned the happy conclusion of his affairs at the French Court. His treaty about the exchange for Longwy and other difficulties is signed and ratified, the title of *Altesse Royale*, not owned hitherto by that Court, is allowed and established by this treaty, so that the Duke and Duchess part the 15th for Paris, where they intend to pass a month to improve the Regent's friendship. There go along with them but three ladies, Madame de Craon, Madame de Lenoncourt, and Madame de Furstemberg. The men are Messieurs de Gerbeuiller, de Craon, de Trichateaux, Lenoncourt, Lamberty, Spada, the two Honsteins and a young brother of Madame de Craon's. 4 pages.

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Feb. 5. Vienna.—Giving an account of Danzig being chosen as the place for the peace Congress and of the exclusion of the Elector of Hanover as in Stiernhock's letter calendared *ante*, p. 434.—For this reason it has transpired that the said Elector has sent ministers both to Cassel and the King of Poland and also to the Court of Prussia to endeavour to thwart that negotiation or at least to have a hand in it himself. All these circumstances may soon cause a change of scene in favour of his Britannic Majesty. By my following letters I hope to be able to tell you more. As this Court will doubtless lean to the stronger side, that is, to that of the Czar and Sweden, and the more so, when it is seen that King Augustus, for whom the Emperor interests himself much, is included in that peace, I suggest that his Majesty would do well to write from time to time some letter of compliment to the Emperor and to Prince Eugene, recommending to them his interests and his just cause. I shall get the letters securely slipped into the hands of both, having the Jesuits here, whom they entirely favour as they assure me, and, though neither of them shall answer, yet it will not fail to produce a good effect and to dispose this Court gradually for his Britannic Majesty, in order that at a proper time and place they may support his interests whether underhand or openly. I beg pardon for venturing to suggest all this.

There is nothing fresh from Turkey beyond what I notified in my last. The peace with the Turks is still uncertain, and it will be necessary for the Emperor's army to take the

field, for the Turks do not cease making very considerable preparations. The Chevaliers Sutton and Stanian are here still; the last is on the point of starting for his embassy at Constantinople to relieve Mr. Montagu; Sutton is waiting to be employed in the mediation of the affairs of Turkey. Yesterday he had a long conference at the Court here on the affairs of Italy, whether they ought to break entirely with King Philip or make up with him. A large party of the Emperor's ministers are of opinion that his Imperial Majesty, being still without male succession, ought rather to yield to the Spanish monarchy, and that there would always be time to reassume all his pretensions to the said monarchy. For this reason they are still in suspense whether to send an army to Italy or not. 7 pages. *French.*

THE DUKE OF MAR to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, Saturday, Feb. 5.—Till last Thursday we had no letters from France, save the Gazettes, since the 23rd, and then I had yours of the 10th with the enclosures. That from *the Bishop of Rochester* being in answer to mine, which *Queen Mary* and you saw some days before I left you, you should both see it; therefore I enclose a copy. I suppose next post will bring us your remarks on what *James Murray* writes both in his letter to me and the memorial, and also on what *George Kelly* brought by word of mouth, “which, till I know, it will be in vain for me to say much on *the Bishop of Rochester's* letter, since I as yet know things but by halves, so shall defer it till I hear again from you. In the meantime I see not how what *George Kelly* wrote you of the affair of *the King's marriage* as *the Bishop of Rochester's* opinion, can be reconciled with what he writes himself, nor with what *James Murray* says of it.

“I hope you had mine of the 29th of last month with one to *James Murray* enclosed. What he says now of the two fleets, makes a good deal of difference in that particular on which he formerly sent a memorial, and of which *the King* made use in his paper to *the King of Spain*, and, though this does now alter the case a little, *the King* was in the right to make that use of it as things lay then before him and I hope it may not yet be altogether in vain or of little weight.

“I cannot but remark upon this occasion that you, who are in the middle betwixt us and those in *England* and see our answers to other of so old a date, that the affairs are quite changed before they can reach those for whom they are intended, and consequently what we do upon their advice, not at all conform to what they afterwards advise upon the change in the situation and circumstances of affairs, must look very odd to you, and seem a little like their and our playing at cross purposes, or like two deafish people speaking

together, that think they answer what each other says, while those who are by and hear the conversation are ready to die a laughing at the ridiculousness of it, but so it must always be so long as we are at this distance from them.

"I suppose you will tell us what you think of this last proposal of *James Murray's* of speaking to and trying of *the Duke of Orleans*, and that you will do in it what is fit, which upon some considerations were perhaps better to be tried of yourself than by orders from *the King*.

"*The Prince of Wales* must be a sad fellow, but for that perhaps *the Duke of Orleans* may like him the better, and think, since he sees he can be cudgelled into a thing, that he may come to have his time of hectoring him, as his predecessor has done himself (*the Duke of Orleans*), but he is blind if he see not that *England* is now brought so thoroughly to condemn the youngster, that it will never be in his power to serve him effectually there.

"I look upon *Argyle's* being disengaged from *King George* to be very lucky, and, notwithstanding of his friend's shyness to *James Murray* as to their thinking of a new service in *the King's* family, I am persuaded by what I know of both their tempers that they will soon come to it, and I am the more confirmed in this by what I had last post from a new correspondent who had been of *the Whigs'* club and a great friend of theirs, and in which he tells me not to mind what had been said to *James Murray* on their backwardness that way, for that they would not venture speaking freely on that point to him. This correspondent says further that, if he were instructed fully of *the King's* real intentions of securing *England's* present way of religion to it, and he empowered and entrusted to make the best use of it he could, with such as those and the other scrupulous part of the family, he did not doubt of his doing great good with it. It seems by this as if *the declaration* of 1715 were thought there not to be now regarded, the main thing for which it was intended having failed, and this makes *the King's* late letter to *Dr. Leslie* still the more reasonable and necessary, for beside the particular end for which it was calculated, it answers this fully, as it does the aspersions *Bolingbroke* thought to fix on him, by his changing some of the words of that *declaration*, since it is not what regards *the King's* own part of religion that is now desired to be explained and secured, but that of *England*, which *the King's* said letter, as *the declaration* formerly, does, though not that of his own part of it, which I am glad to see they do not now expect, and so will not be disappointed, which otherwise I am afraid they would be.

"*Sir W. Wyndham's* letter and also the Lord's are very hearty and the first very handsomely gives up *Bolingbroke*, though regretting the ways he has taken upon their account of their old friendship, which ways, he says, do more than justify what was done as to him.

"By other letters I have I find *Lord Oxford* had been ill in the country, where he still was at the writing of *James Murray's* letters, but was expected in town in a day or two. I had sent me a letter of Mrs. *Ogilvie's* to *Capt. Ogilvie* but two days older than *James Murray's*, in which she says not one word of her returning, so *James Murray* has been misinformed about it, but you see how jealous all those folks are of one another, which makes me still wish the more that there were different canals for each of the two parties' correspondence with us established and fixed, so that they may have no interfering together and they may then both be of use.

"I hope *the Bishop of Rochester* has explained to you by *George Kelly* what he proposed as to *the declaration*, of which I wrote to him and to which I think a paragraph of his letter refers, I mean to what *George Kelly* is to tell you from him on that head.

"I have a letter from Mr. *Cæsar*, but being every letter of it in cipher, I have not as yet got it fully read, so shall say nothing of it till my next, and perhaps I shall find then that there is little in it worth your while, though his accounts used to be far from trifling.

"I have heard again from our friends at Bordeaux and particularly from Brig[adie]r C[ampbel]le upon the misfortune of Barry, who he now thinks innocent of what he is charged with. He says that he had laid out 500 *livres* on the account of the goods he was employed about for earnest, &c., which he got advanced upon Barry's credit but, he failing, he has been obliged to pay 300 of it out of his own subsistence, and that he is dunned to death for the other 200, which he is not in a condition to pay, and which makes him very uneasy. They all complain heavily of having no return from *Dillon* of what they wrote to him, so know not what to do. I told you in my last what I had wrote to them on that head, and therefore need say the less to you here on that matter, but *the King* thinks that Campbell should be immediately relieved of that 500 *livres* since it was laid out upon his account. C[ampbel]le says another thing which deserves attention, viz., that those goods cannot be had there in that quantity without the *King of Spain's* allowance, at least connivance, which I am afraid will be hard to be got, but those goods are so necessary that you and we both must think how that is to be obtained. I long to hear from you about this affair.

"Since writing what is above, I had got *Mr. Cæsar's* letter deciphered and I think it worth the while to send you a copy of it. He is a particular friend of *Lord Oxford*, and not ill with *the Bishop of Rochester* and his set, but he writes now unknown, I believe, to the latter, and you may see the more by it the consequence of hearing from both those sides of our friends." 5 pages. Copy.

THE DUKE OF MAR to L. INESE.

1718, Saturday, Feb. 5.—Yours of 3 Jan. I acknowledged by *Mr. Dillon* and that of the 10th I had but two days ago. Our Brussels friend tells us some particulars which give light in some things, though not worth while sending you back, and what you say of his loving a cipher is true.

I sent *Mr. Dillon* a copy of *the Bishop of Rochester's* letter in which you will see what he says of *Menzies* and the money which shows as plainly that he is afraid of having any noise made about that affair, as that he has not got full satisfaction in it. By this I am to say no more of it to *Menzies*, but, as you told him, his own honour and reputation is concerned in it, which unless he clear or at least tell us the truth, some of us can never have our former opinion of him, and indeed his delaying so long gives a shrewd suspicion against him, and the more, that I find by letters from thence in his favour, that, while he himself is silent on the point that touches him, he is getting others to write favourably of him in general terms, and endeavouring to throw odium on others, such as *James Murray*, who to my certain knowledge has always written of him as one friend could do of another.

In a letter from *James Murray* there is a paragraph which I know of no way of explaining but by you, nobody else that I know of in *St. Germain's* keeping correspondence with *Scotland*, and, in case *Dillon* should not have shown you the letter, I enclose a copy of the paragraph. Our friend in *Leith* I take to be *Lord Balmerino*, and the memorial is that I sent to *England* last summer, I having desired *Menzies* and *James Murray* to send as much of it as was proper to *H. S[traiton]* for the information of friends there under the greatest secrecy. I thought a stop had been put to all those by or sidewind messengers thither which have ever done hurt, and can do no good, but I see old errors are not easily cured. The ladies to be sent to I can t[ake] for no other but *the Duchess of Gordon* and *the Countess Marischal*, who, I am sure can be of no service, but may be of hurt by knowing things, as for the most part happens with the sex. This is so little like your ordinary way of doing, who seem to like as little the fair sex being employed in anything but such for which nature has ordained them, that I cannot think it has come from you, but for the above reasons I think you ought to endeavour to find out from whence it comes, that a stop may be put to such things for the future, and the best excuse we can find given for this *faux pas*, which, if known generally, you see of what hurt it would be.

I enclose the papers about that ever troublesome affair of *Capt. George*, and there being nobody of that place known here fit to be overman, it is left to you to inform yourself of one to whom you or who else is thought fit must write and forward the papers to the different parties. I wish I may

never hear more of it again, provided all parties have justice done them. *Over 2 pages. Copy.*

The DUKE OF MAR to CAPT. OGILVIE.

1718, Feb. 5.—I hope you had mine of 15 Jan. and I have had since yours of 31 Dec. and 3 Jan. with all safe you mention to be enclosed. I thank you for your unreservedness in sending Mrs. *Ogilvie's* and such particular accounts of all you heard or thought. I fancy her zeal and being a little piqued makes her believe more of what she writes of *Dillon* than there is real ground for, because I can scarce think a man of honour could be guilty of such doings towards one to whom he professes so much friendship and what can he get by it? However I am obliged to her for advertising me of what she believes to be in it. I see it has been *Menzies* who was so kind to give her those cautions and pretended friendly advices as to *Mar's* insinuations against her, and of his throwing her off, but I see too she knows him better than to credit such things. I am sure he never wrote anything about her not being employed, but what he told her, and all that was in it was that he thought there was no occasion for sending her over on every trifle, but only on things of consequence. *Menzies* has failed in a certain thing himself, for which when he sees us displeased, he endeavours to throw that off by making people believe that the displeasure proceeds only from other people's dislike of him, which is not fair when he knows how much some of us have suffered from those people by standing by him without giving him up, and that it is in nobody's power but his own to hurt him here, as is the case with all who serve well, but, if they do things which cannot be justified and are indeed intolerable, who can stand by them? This is only to yourself, and do not think I have abandoned *Menzies*, for I hope he will still be able to acquit himself of the affair that gives the displeasure, yet his delaying it for so long as nine months, and being still silent, while he is getting people to write in general in his favour, who know nothing of the particulars, as Mrs. *Ogilvie* foretold, which, by what you last sent me from *Anne Ogilethorpe*, I now find to be true, and his endeavouring to stir people up against some who have ever wrote favourably on his chapter to us looks odd and it is hard to put a good construction on it. I have written to him again and again very plainly besides messages I have sent by friends, but all to no purpose in producing any satisfactory return, which I almost now despair of, and, though on the earnest desire of the person there most concerned I am to say no more to him about it, occasioned, I suppose, by his apprehension of its making too much noise and so hurting himself and other friends concerned, yet, if *Menzies* do not, for his own honour and reputation, clear himself without being any more desired to do it, it is impossible for me or the best friend he has to think of him as we wish. You'll be

more persuaded of this when I tell you that I wrote to him, when you and I were last together, to tell me the plain truth, that, if he could not extricate himself, I might endeavour to help him, and even that has produced no answer.

I must tell you of another thing I am not well pleased with in another acquaintance of yours, F[ather] G[ræ]me at C[alai]s. I told him I would correspond with him on condition that he did not only never show my letters, but even not own having any correspondence with me. Now I know he has shown my letters to get him credit with one he was desirous to know some things of, by which it is thought by some that I used to write to him of business of moment, when it never was about anything but what was insignificant and for getting me intelligence of what was about that place. I have heard several times from him since I came here, but have wrote no answer, at which 'tis likely he may wonder, so I do not forbid your explaining the reason to him.

I am very glad *Lord Oxford* has altered his mind about you, and Mrs. *Ogilvie* gives you very good advice on it, but I am absolutely against your coming here, which makes me write this post, in case you be come the length of Paris and be waiting for my return, which if you be, I would positively have you returning to your post and so would *the King*, for whose service it is as necessary, now that *Lord Oxford* is for your continuing there, as it is useless for you to come here. Nothing that you can have to say, but may be wrote under Gordon's cover which comes always safe, and it is fit too on *Lord Oxford's* account you should not stir from thence.

I am very sorry for *Lord Oxford's* illness, but hope he is well again and in town long ere now. I have had returns to most of what Mrs. *Ogilvie* carried over save of that to *Lord Oxford*, for which I long. You may expect returns to those you sent me in your last from *Anne Oglethorpe* by next post.

You will tell Mrs. *Ogilvie* what of this you think fit and the less notice she takes of it to anybody the better, and tell her I beg she may avoid falling into any of their little parties or jarrings there and of being prepossessed against one or for another, especially *Menzies* and *James Murray*, betwixt whom I find there is a design of making emulation and discord, and 'tis hard *the King* cannot have the liberty of employing such as he pleases for certain uses and things. That is the old St. G[ermain]s way and that of the *Tories'* opposites, but I am sorry it is got so far amongst people there. You and she may be sure *Lord Oxford* is not included in this caution to her.
4½ pages. Copy.

JAMES III to CARDINAL IMPERIALI.

1718, Feb. 6.—You will doubtless remember what passed on my journey to Rome concerning the demand for 300,000 crowns I made of the Pope, which was kindly received and even granted the only remaining difficulty being the means to execute it.

Several were proposed and I believe you were consulted. Things have been six months in this state, and, since I see myself disappointed of the just hopes I had and which I communicated elsewhere, but without mentioning the Pope's name, as a foundation for the measures which are taking for my restoration, a foundation without which the best dispositions will become useless, and the best concerted plans will go astray, while I shall run the risk of being taxed with thoughtlessness or bad faith, only in advancing what every prudent man would have believed himself justified in doing on so sacred a word, which I would have failed in respect to, by doubting it, though I experience delays which certainly discourage those whom I cannot inform that the money is in my power.

The Pope's anxiety about Lord Peterborough's affair has long caused my silence, and the promise he made, as I have been informed, not to help towards my restoration, has not failed to surprise me, especially considering by what country that promise was exacted. However, as nothing has shaken my confidence in the kindness and the word of his Holiness, I should think myself wanting in what I owe to myself and my friends, if I were to put off further making a last effort to obtain what is so essential for us. I do not ask for the money to be put into my own hands, provided I am assured in writing that it is ready whenever I shall ask for it, on informing his Holiness of the use for which it will be employed, and that I can then receive it promptly and secretly.

You must not take it ill that I do not explain myself further ; the secrecy imposed is not mine, and the scrupulousness with which I observe it should be a proof to you that I shall use the same towards you, if necessary. The importance of my demand is clear, my all is at stake, and the advantage Europe, Italy and above all religion would derive from my restoration is too plain for me to say anything of it here. What glory for the Pope to have contributed to it with so little expense, and let me be allowed to add what account will he have to give, if his refusal or delays place an insurmountable obstacle to so great a blessing. I conjure you to reflect seriously thereon and either to tell me as a friend, if I am to hope for nothing more, in order that I may take my decision thereon, or to advise me by what means I may obtain what I ask. I count with certainty on your friendship and the credit you justly have with the Pope is not unknown to me. Now is the time for you to employ both, by representing to his Holiness the reasons and truths contained in this letter. I have written them with respect and you can add to them the force and freedom allowed to those who govern the Church, whose cause I plead rather than my own.

I do not know if you have reflected since on what passed between you and me on the subject of the Emperor. I should be

glad to learn your sentiments on that question. Can it be possible he has asked the Pope not to assist in my restoration? For myself, as I see no reason he can have to be against me and I am so convinced of his religion and justice, that it is impossible for me to believe that he could have carried considerations of policy further than he believed himself obliged to do for the good of the Empire, and it is not impossible that he may find the English Parliament less disposed in his favour than he expects. The quarrels in that country ought, it appears to me, make some impression in foreign courts, where a glaring proof of the instability of the present government will have appeared. You know my feelings towards the Emperor, and see how important it is to make him favourable to me, and you will, if you please, communicate to me your thoughts on that subject.

I will say nothing about the affairs of Ireland, of which Nairne has written to you by my order. No one can be more sensible than I of the zeal you show me in these matters, and I have only to ask the continuance of it, begging you also to continue to assist me with your lights and advice, to which I shall always pay the greatest regard, having in view no less than you have the good of that desolated Church. This letter should convince you of the confidence and friendship I have for you, and I am persuaded you will make the best use of them. $5\frac{1}{2}$ pages. *French.* 2 copies.

JAMES III to CARDINAL GUALTERIO.

1717, Feb 7. Urbino.—Impatiently expecting your first letter on the conversation you were to have had with *Cardinal Aquaviva*, I have only to thank you for yours of 2 Feb., being very glad that the packet, to which it is an answer, met with your approbation.

I thought I did well to send to Cardinal Imperiali direct that of which you will find a copy here, and am sure you will not disapprove of my doing it. In case he speaks to you of it, you ought not, I think, conceal that you know I have written to him. It is a last effort, which it was necessary to make in the extreme need of *money* we are in, since it is always good to have two strings to our bow, and in the extremity I find myself in a refusal is no more to be feared than a delay, whilst the letter will put him on quite a wrong scent of what is being concerted with *the King of Spain*, and, if it does not procure me a favourable answer, I shall at any rate get useful information, particularly with regard to the Emperor, with whom it is always necessary to keep on terms.

I do not know if it will be necessary or convenient to inform *Cardinal Aquaviva* of this step to procure *money*, and I leave it to your discretion to do as you think proper. I rely greatly, as you see, on the pledges his Holiness has given me.

Postscript. Feb. 10.—I have read yours of the 5th and the business of *the King of Spain's money* was of too great importance for me to expect a hasty answer from *Cardinal Aquaviva*. A delay of a few days is of no consequence. I am very sensible of *Cardinal Aquaviva's* zeal and glad he has such a good opinion of secrecy.

I have no answer to make to *Cardinal Albani* on the subject of *marriage*. We must wait for what the first news, which is promised us on that matter, will bring us. I should not be glad at its being absolutely broken off, but a state of indecision with regard to that suits me better for the present than to be pressed too strongly to make a decision, always flattering myself that I shall have in a little time means for deciding positively or rather particularly on the subject of *marriage*.

I see with pleasure that we are of the same opinion with regard to *the Pope's money*. It is certainly not a thing to be neglected, and speaking of it to *Cardinal Albani* could do no harm. However I thought I could not write to him about it before receiving *Cardinal Imperiali's* answer without much diminishing the confidence shown towards the latter, and as he ought to be considered my man and the other *the Pope's* man, such a distinction of confidence with regard to the contents of the letter, even if it were known, cannot reasonably shock anybody.

The quarrels between the father and the son are not being made up. $3\frac{1}{2}$ pages. French. 2 copies one partly in *James's* own hand.

JAMES III to LORD ORRERY.

1718, Feb. 7.—From your friend *in London* and another now with me, I have lately had the satisfaction of being informed of the continuance of your friendship for me, which I value as I ought and shall be most desirous of returning it. Your description of *England* seems very natural and would more move my compassion, if the inconveniencies *it* has run *itself* into were not at present so visible to *it*, that in self-defence *it* must have recourse to the only remedy left *it*. I am most sensible of your desire of soliciting my lawsuit on proper occasions. I should think it of the greatest advantage if *Argyle* and his friend could be prevailed on to befriend me. Past mistakes ought not to deter them, since a sincere repentance will easily obtain pardon, and future services merit reward. *Your own good sense can best suggest to you the proper motives of engaging lawyers in my cause, which in reality speaks for itself, neither ought *the King's religion* alarm, since his own private opinion in that respect neither hath, will, nor indeed can hinder him from giving all reasonable satisfaction on that head, on which so many old writings of his still stand good and in force that I need only refer you to them, and a late one much on the same subject, which you may have heard of, ought to put all thinking men at ease on that topic.*

I am sorry to find nothing can be done without French wine (*i.e.*, assistance from France), though I easily believe the necessity of the commodity. I am doing what I can to procure some for you, and nothing shall be undone by me that can be for the good of the trade, of whose prosperity I have better hopes than ever.

My present habitation is inconvenient and dismal in all respects, and, as necessity drove me to it, it shall alone continue me in it. I earnestly desire you to give me the assistance of your advice. 1½ page. *Copy.*

WILLIAM GORDON to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, Feb. 8.—Acknowledging his letter of the 15th, the enclosed in which to Capt. Ogilvie he had forwarded to Dunkirk, and concerning the widow Abercromby.—I let Mr. Crawford see the Duke of Mar's postscript about Lord Stair and took his promise he should tell him of it. He is perfectly recovered his health.

JAMES HAMILTON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Jan. 28[–Feb. 8].—“*King George and the Prince of Wales* are irreconcilable, nor can it be otherwise since the animosities are also between their respective lawyers. *King George's* are divided, some for and others against an agreement though on different views and private piques, which their mutual interests at this juncture compel them to constrain, and nothing but what they call the good of their client keeps *Marlborough* and *Stanhope* from an open breach.

“*Walpole* and *Townshend* are jealous of *the Speaker* and *Argyle*, yet all these with their adherents concur in the *Prince of Wales'* interest, so that *his* friends are numerous. I am told from a very good hand that *the Ministry* was for laying this matter before *the Parliament*, but on summing up they suspected *the Parliament's* inclinations.

“*The Duchess of Hamilton*, who has been very industrious in persuading *the Prince of Wales* to be obstinate, ordered me to assure you that *the Duke of Argyle* has a very mean opinion of *the Prince of Wales* and is much uneasy and out of humour. In case you think it proper to procure a letter to him from *the King*, she will take in hand to deliver it, there being a confidence between them, but, this being of so nice a nature that *Menzies* does not know how to advise, I am commanded to give you her most hearty service.

“Many of the most weighty of *the Tories* make their addresses to *the Prince of Wales*. How far they may engage few can tell, nor easy for friends to advise, by reason, was *the Prince of Wales* to be neglected, no terms could be proposed but what *he* would except, and supposing some of *the Tories* most considerable friends to be sincerely in *the Prince of Wales'* interest, and that *he* should come to the estate, they could not

have the management of it long, such is the impetuosity of *his* haughty fickle temper, as well as the awkwardness of *his* intellects; this some of *his* friends make no secret of owning.

“It is generally thought that this affair will terminate to the advantage of *the King*, if those unhappy discontents on your side of the water do not open a field to the prejudice of this promising and pleasing prospect; for few come here that are not full fraught with melancholy insinuations, that the middle sort are at a loss to distinguish the real friend; though actions are the best proofs, and what is past is a good testimony, yet scarce a ship comes to this port that does not bring some dismal account from the company, and the best that can be done here is to conceal them, and to lament. Nor is there wanting among us to give these troubles the worst turns; these things seem unavoidable, considering the different views at *St. Germain's* and those who wished you best flattered themselves that your universal character and knowledge in the affairs of *England* would have kept matters so far in your own power that those people could not expect to have the weight with *the King* and *Queen Mary* they formerly had, which has been so destructive to the common good, but to the regret of your true friends those people are so far interested that it will be next to an impossibility for you to shake them off and put things in a right channel, and, till that is done, nothing but a miracle can make *the King* and you successful in your undertakings.

The Duke of Roxburgh owned to one he did not suspect, that he was entirely master of *the King's* motions and actions.

Nor are matters in our company as could be wished, though more concealed, for some, though fresh in real business, will be thought the main spring that moves the machine on this side; and assert authority for it, and seldom take the opinion and advice of the most experienced, till difficulties have rose from this conceitedness, which is not altogether exceptable to those of old standing and unalterable principles; these are hints I have from a lady or two you have heard of, which in time will make some cool, and resign wholly to Providence, all which in spite of art and good intentions cannot be long concealed, if *King George* and *his son* had a right understanding.

“As no man knew the temper and disposition of *England* better than yourself, by all that I can learn few or none of them have any deeper impressions of God and Religion than formerly, and consequently no more honesty, so that they are to be looked on the same now they were in your time, so that, except you can bring what will satisfy your creditors and force your welcome, it is in vain to expect anything from this, and rely on it the middle and common sort will be the first and the faithfullest in compounding.

“Pardon me for these presumptions, but believe I have a motive and that very sincere, which is, *the King's* service and my attachment to you. Perhaps I may be the first that

does inform you of a growing coldness to *the Duke of Mar* but, if he keeps ground with those he has had the longest experience of, he will find them the faithfullest and the ablest. I shall never enter on particulars. I have seen the consequence at the expense of others and God forbid I ever should be so great an enemy to my adorable master.

"*Menzies* has laid the business of *Lord Bolingbroke* so full and clearly before *Lord Lansdown* and *Sir William Wyndham* that they will use their utmost endeavours that matter may terminate according to desire.

"There are some differences among the *Non-Jurors* but friends exert themselves so far, that this matter is rather whispered than spoken of.

"The disputes between *the Whig clergy* run very high and many of *the Whig and Tory clergy* begin to have favourable sentiments.

"I have fixed a close correspondence between *Sir H. Paterson* and *Menzies*, which has brought *Sir H. Paterson* in good esteem with *the Duke of Ormonde's* friends here, so that all that way now goes smoothly, there being a very good understanding between *Menzies*, *the Earl of Arran* and *Sir Redmond Everard*, the two latter being far from the attachment to *the Bishop of Rochester* as formerly. *Sir H. Paterson* in his last says that *the Duke of Ormonde* desires to know what quantity of money can be got here, in case he should come on that head with *the King of Sweden*. *Menzies* consulted the proper merchants on it, who have agreed that money from this is impracticable, but whatever *the Duke of Ormond* contracts for, on the appearance of a promising army, shall be punctually performed with good allowance. I assure you, was people willing to trade that way, it would be very difficult to get any of credit to be receivers or disbursers after the usage of *Jerningham* and *Menzies*. I beg that the most favourable construction may be put on what I have said.

"I have the honour of yours of the 4th of last month, and delivered all enclosed. Since I came to town I have had three parcels of goods for *Lady Mar* by the way of *Holland* and the last from *France*. The difficulties by *France* are scarcely to be thought of, for the Custom Houses not understanding these goods is not all that is to be considered; it is whom they are directed to that they pursue, which I find to this day to woeful experience.

"*C. Kinnaird* has been in *Scotland* near three months. I have communicated to him the receiving of his you mention.

"That from *the King* to *Dr. Leslie* is spoke of here. I have not seen it yet, though I daily expect it. 'Twill be *apropos*, since *Lord Bolingbroke* is printing his memorial in *Holland*, not much in favour of *the King*, nor of his regard to *the Church of England*, but, if the letter contains what I am informed of, it will blunt the edge of *Lord Bolingbroke's* malice, and will

be the more acceptable by reason of the difference between the *Whig* and *Tory* clergy.

“What you say of the *money* sensibly touches me, both on the account of *Menzies* and in coming from *Mar* by reason I have seen of a long time such strong proofs of *his* friendship in several particulars that is not for writing. *He* says *he* has already said all on that head that can in reason be desired, considering circumstances of time and place, and looks upon that affair as one of the master strokes of *his* life, and *he* is conscious of this, will bear all the hard things that *Mar* has said, till a proper time will show *his* integrity and judgement in that matter, which is severe to be doubted after so long experience.

“I have little to say of news, the business of the half pay officers was this week before the Parliament where some resolves were carried in opposition to the Court, this being a trifle in itself, yet it is the only rub the Court has met with this reign, but also shows what people we are, who can vote for standing armies, money &c. and bustle about a nut-shell.

“I doubt not but you will have large accounts of the *House of Commons* from good hands, who, I fear, will magnify, though business was spoilt at the beginning by their not agreeing with some merchants about having all the traders at once with the *House of Commons*. I wish their warmth may not bring you under some future inconveniencies. Your unhappy distance at this juncture, when *money* is desired, is never enough to be regretted, since you have not time nor opportunity of knowing the different sentiments of the company to form a clear and distinct idea of matters on this side.”

Postscript.—*Hamilton himself* has been above three months absconding from his creditors under difficulties. He and some friends importuned *Lady Mar* to speak to some of his creditors, which she did some weeks ago, but so coldly that it was not to be thought he could expect any such favour by means of the *Duke of Kingston* or that *Hamilton* would surrender as the *Duke of Kingston* advised, especially since there is one of the same proofs against him for which he first absconded, that has been in the Custom House hands these 10 months, where power is to secure whoever should call for those goods and to inform of the person they were directed to and this on their peril.

Last June his friends advised his taking the benefit of the wind that then offered. He delayed that voyage, thinking he was of some use to *Mar*, and thought his attending *Lady Mar* would make all easy, but *Lady Mar* thought themselves by no means concerned in his safety, though his being under *Mar* is a second cause for their resentments.

While in *France* he received the allowance for 5 months, though he served there above 7, and that sum was more than half exhausted in postage, not to mention debts he was forced to contract there and while travelling homewards. These

particulars he never could have thought of, if he had not been informed of a coldness in this compounding of his business, contrary to what he and others looked on to be naturally expected, considering for what and for whom he suffers, and, though he has and does run the same dangers since, they do not yet seem to have any weight.

His confinement deprives him of business, and is the cause of his long silence, besides depriving him of means of subsisting. He has had some small help from *Lady Mar*, but is so persecuted and hunted that his expenses must be a burden to those that cannot spare it. He earnestly prays you may prevail with *Lady Mar* to compound this matter before she goes into the country or he despairs of freedom. 6 pages.

JAMES HAMILTON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Jan. 28 [-Feb. 8]. London.—Several friends in the country were desirous of some prints of *Lord Mar's* copperplate. *Lady Mar* would not consent. If you give orders about it, 'twill please many that wish you well. *Lord Mar's son* is come to town in good health.

ANTONIO DAVID to [the DUKE OF MAR].

1718, Feb. 9. Rome.—He has forwarded to him the portrait of his Majesty, which he had ordered. The delay has been caused by his illness. It has all been executed by his own hand. He requests him to represent to his Majesty his desire to have the patent dispatched, appointing him his Majesty's painter. *Italian.*

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Feb. 9. Vienna.—Since my last a second letter has come from Baron Görtz to the Holstein minister here, confirming the news of his Swedish Majesty's resolution to send plenipotentiaries to the congress on what the Czar had proposed to him through Görtz, but that this would be only after the preliminaries, on which they were at work, had been settled. Count Windischgratz, the President of the Aulic Council here, has declared to the Hanoverian envoy here that the Emperor found it more convenient that his master made a separate peace with Sweden to the exclusion of the Czar and that he would have thereby much obliged the Princes of the Empire. The envoy replied that the Elector had sent to Sweden Mr. Fabrice, the Holstein minister, with proposals for peace, with which he had also sent to Cassel Mr. Haldein. Fabrice according to letters of 29 Jan. from Lübeck was to start for Sweden in an English frigate. It appears that the Elector begins to be eager for peace, but I hope he will come too late and the Czar will have anticipated him, and the peace with that prince will be made to the exclusion of

the said Elector, notwithstanding the differences of opinion on the question in what manner the peace is to be made with the Czar, whether the other enemies of Sweden ought to be included in it and if the peace with the Elector is to be made at the same time, and also with regard to Reval.

As far as one can penetrate here, the Emperor wishes the King of Sweden to make a separate peace with Hanover, to keep him always diverted, knowing that, his spirit being martial, if he found himself at peace with the Czar he might carry his armies into Germany, and that at the same time France, availing herself of the opportunity and of the diversion in Italy, which is going to be made by King Philip and Sicily, should at leisure attack the Emperor in the Low Countries and elsewhere. Besides that, the need that Court has of England both for ships and other things make them at present of this opinion and they even declare that, as the introduction to the Congress of Danzig of an English, I mean a French, minister is desired, the Emperor wishes absolutely not to send one in the present state of things. With all this the Minister here of Sweden as well as that of Muscovy, who are both my friends, are of opinion that the preliminaries of the peace between Sweden and Muscovy are arrived at a good conclusion, as I shall hereafter have the honour to advise your Excellency of.

I have good information that the Czar's journey to Moscow is only to visit his naval armament, which he has at Voinitza, a great river which flows into the Black Sea, and that he intends to reinforce it continually with the firm intention of using it against the Turks, as soon as the peace with Sweden is assured.

Count Schonborn, Vice-Chancellor of the Empire, and a great minister at this Court, who has all the business regarding the Empire in his department, is a terrible enemy of the House of Hanover, and tries to thwart all the negotiations between this Court and that of London. On the contrary he would be delighted to see a peace between Sweden and Muscovy, and as, for that reason the Emperor has had the suggestion previously mentioned made not by the said minister but by the President of the Imperial Aulic Council, Count Schonborn is so angry that he speaks openly against the Court of London and the Elector of Hanover. He is a very powerful minister and nephew and heir of the Elector of Mainz, and ought to succeed to the said Electorate.

Mr. Connell (*i.e.* O'Brien) has already passed Danzig and will be now at St. Petersburg according to what he wrote to me from Danzig. Mr. Germain (*i.e.* Wogan) is not to be seen here. *French. Partly in cipher deciphered. 9 pages.*

SUMMARY.

Of part of the news in the above letter and of De Busi's of the 5th, calendared *ante*, p. 437.

The EARL OF SOUTHESK to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, Feb. 10. Rome.—I am extremely pleased our people are all so well in that dismal place ; I am sure, were it not for their good consciences, the bad air and worse wine, notwithstanding the help of punch, would kill them all, though they have one happiness that exceeds all others, the daily seeing of the best of kings. I don't yet know when I shall be with you. The Urbino air disagreed with me so much last autumn that I must have a better season before I can think of going there. Enver (Invernitie) is still the same man, viz., as graceless as ever, and we are all in very good health.

The DUKE OF ORMONDE to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, Feb. 10.—Yours of 24 Dec. I received the 8th. It has been 44 days on the road. (Advising him to send letters by Holland, as it would save a great deal of time.)

Ormonde told me he had no news of *Jerningham* nor has Ormonde any from Lavelline (? Dr. Erskine), nor is it known when *the Czar returns*. I have heard and I believe it is true that *the Czar's eldest daughter* was born before marriage, but this you will be informed of, when I send an account from *Sir H. Stirling* relating to this affair.

I must repeat what I already mentioned in several letters concerning my being able to answer *the King of Sweden* as to the *sum, time and place of payment*. If Ormonde cannot give a satisfactory answer, we must *not expect any good from that quarter*. This ought not to be delayed. (Regretting Dillon's indisposition and hoping he is better.) Pely (*i. e.* Prague) and Binette are the same, as you will find. We have had the news *Rome* sent a month sooner by way of *Holland*. What is become of *George Kelly* ?

ANNE OGLETHORPE to MR. MACMAHON.

[1718,] Jan. 30[–Feb. 10].—Pray let *Mar* know that I have sent him by this very direction a letter from *Mr. Cæsar*, with accounts [which], I believe, will please *the King* and him, and if he has any answer in haste to send to it, so it be but a single letter, pray direct it your way to your coll[onel ?] of the cellar, for I hear there is some new misunderstanding between *Dillon* and *Capt. Ogilvie* concerning a parcel of Indian goods (? letters) come to *Dillon* lately, and as the consequence of this misunderstanding may end in a seizure of the goods or at least in discouraging the merchants from venturing, I do not care to find myself embroiled without any service, so, if he has any particular advice to give, you may let him know how to direct safe.

As *Lord Oxford* will certainly write all particulars of his business himself this week, I shall not trouble you now. I desire you to let him know that I think it would not be amiss if *Mr. Hopes* (the King) would write a letter in his own hand to

Mr. Cæsar to thank him. He knows his desert ; besides, having written to several lately, I fancy it would not be amiss.

Let *Mar* also know that none here has been acquainted with the contents of *the King of Sweden's* steward's letter, but *Lord Oxford*, *Lord Arran*, *Menzies* and a resolution here as absolutely necessary not to tell it any more, but *Mr. Cæsar* has found means to compass the getting them the goods they desire.

Cadogan brags everywhere having received a letter from *the King* and *Mar*, and *Argyle* attacked *Mr. Phaeton* (? *James Murray*) in *Parliament* and asked him if it was he that had conveyed it. *Stanhope* and *Cadogan* are at open war. *Cadogan* will get the better. Pray write to your nephew to give you an account of your affairs, for, as nothing has been drawn since you travelled but your daughter's and what you had, it will not be amiss you knew how your affairs are. $2\frac{1}{2}$ pages.

JAMES III to the PRINCE DE VAUDEMONT.

1718, Feb. 10.—“ Pour ce qui est de politique, que pourrai je vous dire dans cet éloignement ? vous etes dans la terre des vivans, et je suis ici dans un desert et parmi des montagnes couvertes de neige ou nous ne scavons ce qui se passe dans vos pays que si long tems après, que les affaires sont changées souvent, avant que nous ayons appris la situation ou elles se trouvoient au depart des lettres. Au reste mes esperances sont bien fondées, mes efforts continuels, et l'obscurité permanente avec une incertitude certaine de tout ce qui me regarde, et une enuÿe que trop raisonnable d'un éloignement que je ferai de mon mieux pour faire cesser au plutôt, et malgré tout cela ma santé, Dieu mercy, n'a jamais été meilleur et m'aide a bannir tout abattement d'esprit. Nous n'avons ici presqu' aucune compagnie ou amusement, si ce n'est quelque petite musique Italienne, que je commence a goûter beaucoup, et les neiges nous tiennent presque prisonniers dans le palais, qui est un des plus commodes et des plus magnifiques qu'on puisse voir, mais sans jardin ou possibilité d'en avoir, etant perché sur une haute montaigne, dont le sommet est a peine assés grand pour contenir le batiment soutenu par des voutes en un endroit pour empecher que la terre ne s'ebouille. Mais c'est asses vous parler de nos (*blank in original*) ; comment vous amusés vous, ou s'occupe-t-on dans la Lorraine, et comment font et sont toutes mes anciennes connoissances dans un pays qui me sera toujours cher, et ou les maitres me sont si respectables ? je vous prie de leur faire ma cour quelquesfois, et d'etre persuadé que ma reconnoissance et mon amitié pour vous, loin de s'affoiblir par l'absence, croissent comme de raison tous les jours.

“ J'ay mandé a M. le Duc de Lorraine tout ce que je puis dire sur l'affaire du Comte de Peterborow, et vous n'aurez, je crois, pas eu du deplaisir, s'il vous a dit que je songeois serieusement a m'etablir au plutôt. Pour ce qui est du premier,

je crois qu'on n'en entendra plus parler, et pour le second vous pouvés compter que, si des delays arrivent, ce n'est que pour un plus grand bien." . . . *Copy.*

BILL.

1718, Feb. 10.—Of a joiner, with note by John Paterson of its payment that day.

The DUKE OF MAR to LORD OXFORD.

1718, Feb. 11.—I have not much to say, having wrote so fully 23 and 29 Dec., but, having an opportunity of sending a letter safely to *Anne Oglethorpe*, I could not forbear writing to you concerning what can be of great use to the company and in which you can most properly and indeed only do it effectually with some people, who either are or ought to be concerned in the trade. *The King* expects to be called on every day for the sum there was a necessity of promising to those we are endeavouring to get to join in the trade with us, and, if he be not in a condition to answer it, the whole project must needs fail. This was foreseen long ago, and at that time *the King* had very good hopes of being furnished with a considerable part from some foreign merchants he has dealings with, but, not being perfectly sure, he wrote to some of those concerned in the trade at home, how necessary it was for them to assist him in making this advance, since they were equally concerned, and they have sent him word that they are doing all towards it they can amongst those of the company they have acquaintance and influence with, and they hope it will not be without success, but that there are some who will be only determined by you in such things, so they will not apply to them, but leave them to your management, which indeed seems reasonable, and therefore *the King* has ordered me to write to you on it, and I enclose a list of such with whom you will certainly have great influence.

What was expected of the foreign merchants is more like to fail than succeed; therefore the more necessity there is of being furnished from home.

I know you never thought much could be done this way, and that there were inconveniencies in trying it, but, when you consider the necessity of the thing and that there's now good hopes of succeeding with some, neither *the King* nor I doubt you will set about it with all the earnestness you can with such as you can have influence with and particularly with those recommended to your management, who will probably be in the same place with you, when you get this.

We will be impatient to have an answer from you, and I heartily wish a good one may be with us before the call for the money come, otherwise the inconveniencies will be insurmountable and hardly ever to be retrieved. I might say abundance of things to enforce this, but I know they will

easily occur to you, so shall spare you that trouble. *The King* bids me tell you he is so persuaded of your concern for the success of trade as well as for him in particular, that he has no doubt of your exerting yourself effectually in this.

I am very glad to know by *Anne Ogleshorpe* that you have altered your mind about *Capt. Ogilvie's* leaving his post, or that we did not understand you right in what you wrote about it, and, since he is to continue there, I hope what I wrote of to you in my last concerning the fixing of the conveyance and putting it on a more certain foot will be the more easily and quickly done. We are concerned to hear you have been out of order, but hope you are quite well again long ere now. I hope I shall soon have an answer to the other particulars I wrote of in my two last and a good account of things with you with relation to the company and our trade. $2\frac{1}{2}$ pages. Copy. *Annexed,*

The SAID LIST.

Lord Poulett, Lord Dartmouth, Lord Harley, Lord Mansell, Lord Bingley, Lord Fol[e]y, Aud[ito]r Fol[e]y, Aud[ito]r Harley, Bishop Hereford.

The DUKE OF MAR to LORD ORRERY.

1718, Feb. 11.—My present distance from you is so great, that I did not receive yours of 11 Dec. till a few days ago, but that made it not the less acceptable and by the enclosed you will see *the King's* regard for you. Your account of affairs with you and the good disposition of the merchants to enter into the trade proposed is very agreeable, but I am of your opinion, that without the assistance of some merchants elsewhere the trade cannot be carried on to advantage, so you may be sure all endeavours are using to bring such into it, and, though I cannot as yet tell you any thing positive of our success that way, yet our hopes are so well grounded that I think it is next to a certainty that we shall have two very substantial ones at least to join with us, but, after they do, it must take some time before the trade can be actually opened. “Could we get *the Regent* to join there need be no delay, and it could not fail of making the success sure, and it is somewhat odd that he sees not his own interest in doing it, but, though I have reason to think that he wishes to see the trade opened and succeed, yet the rules he has laid down to himself for clearing the affairs of his own company, which a little time will do, will, I am afraid, keep him from venturing any hardy new stroke of trade, by which he could do it at once. How far his seeing of *King George* joining with *the Emperor's* project of trade may alter his ways, I shall not say, but I am apt to believe, if he saw and were sure of that conjunction, he would certainly alter his present ways and join heartily into the trade with us, which makes me wish for a more close and open junction between *King George* and *the Emperor*. Upon the

whole it is impossible that things can stand long as they are at present with those people, and any alteration, that shall be amongst them, is more like to turn to our advantage than otherways, so that the chief thing with you in the meantime is to keep up the good disposition of your merchants towards the trade we propose, and to keep the other from taking deeper root or being better established by new merchants joining in it, and, to say the truth, the folly of that company amongst themselves seems to make that matter pretty easy.

*“ As to *the King's religion*, which seems to give you and some others some pain, *he* has said enough to you in the enclosed to make you easy about it and any consequence it could have, and, if you will take my word for it, who, I think, know as much as any what is to be expected in that affair, I assure you none of the merchants or traders need to have the least apprehensions on that head, but that they will be effectually secured in that particular they desire and are so frightened about, as indeed he has already put it out of his power to do otherways, had he a mind, as I am sure he has not the least thoughts of it.*

“ I rejoice at what you sent me word of concerning *the Duke of Argyle* and his friend, no man is so proper as yourself to improve the good disposition which now begins to appear to you in them, and I doubt not of your taking all ways of doing it. It was not designed that *James Murray* should have carried them any commission, I knowing them too well to have sent any to them by him, and what he said to one of them of that kind, was by his mistaking what I wrote to him about them or venturing to go further in that matter than I instructed him, which was only to keep up his acquaintance there and, if he found it convenient, to speak to the youngest as of himself in relation to the trade, but I have taken care that there shall be no more such mistakes, and, if you can speak freely to them of those things, there is no occasion for any body else doing of it. I always had a great value and esteem for them both, and never had any difference with them but upon account of the trade, and, if they join in the company, our interests every way would be perfectly the same, and I am sure I would have a great deal of pleasure in being in entire friendship with them. They have it in their power to do more than they are aware of, and by what you sent me word of about them, and what I hear otherways of their resolving to join entirely with the *Tories* and never to have any more meddling with *King George* or *the Prince of Wales*, I am not without hopes that a little time with your help may bring them to join entirely in the company and be as hearty in the trade as any of us.

“ As to the hint you gave me in your postscript of my coming nearer you, in case the affair should draw in length, it is very good, but how can it be effected? *The King* cannot himself, and he will not be willing to part with me, if it were not for a little time, upon some pressing occasion. . . . When

anything now occurs, you shall have an account of it. . . .
The King has entire confidence in you." $3\frac{1}{2}$ pages. *Copy.*

COPY

Of the paragraphs between asterisks in the above letter and in that of *the King* to Lord Orrery of the 7th instant, calendared *ante*, p. 446.

CHARLES FORMAN McMAHON to JAMES III.

1718, Feb. 12. Versailles.—I went the other day to see Mr. Pulteney in Paris, hearing he was become well inclined, but, except he dissembled extremely with me, there is not the least ground for such a report. On the contrary he made several efforts during the two hours discourse I had with him, to draw me over to England, offering not only his own but Lord Stair's interest to obtain a privy seal for me and likewise the reinstating me in my former employments. His terms were too opposite to your Majesty's interests for me to accept them, wherefore on my absolute refusal he forbid me in a very civil manner to see him any more, telling me at the same time it was impossible your Majesty could ever succeed in the chimerical project, as he called it, now on foot. I fear by several hints he gave me, that, if the Whigs are not fully informed, they have at least got too great a light into whatever affair is managing at present. He told me there were orders for a rendezvous at Paris the 15th instant, if I do not mistake, and that something was to be gone about immediately. He asked me several bye questions about the Czar and your Majesty's removal from Urbino, and then entered into a long discourse about the Dukes of Ormonde and Mar too tedious to trouble you with, except that he was very inquisitive to know where the former was, and, when I thought to impose on him by telling him he was either in Anjou or Bretagne, he smiled and told me I was very much mistaken, for he was at present very far north. At parting he again recommended to me to think of my family, assuring me positively that the present scheme will come to nothing. I answered him with the same stedfastness as before and so left him.

Whether all this was only to dishearten me, or to pick something out of me, or whether it was the effect of any knowledge he has got of the matter, I am not able to determine; however I thought myself obliged to acquaint you with it, that, in case he has been anything near the point, you may have opportunity to take measures accordingly. One thing in justice to him I beg permission to observe, which is, that, whenever he had occasion to mention you, it was with the greatest respect and civility, using the titles Chevalier and King James alternately, and expressed a great deal of concern for your royal person, distinct from your public interest, to which he is in no way inclined, for which I am heartily sorry,

for he is a man of excellent parts and a very good fortune.
4 pages.

CHARLES FORMAN McMAHON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Feb. 12. Versailles.—Having writ to his Majesty the substance of my visit to Mr. Pulteney, I doubt not he will communicate my letter to you, and therefore I shall not make a repetition of it here. If I do not write more to you at present, it is for want of matter to entertain you.

I believe you have received the copy of Mr. Min (? nis' *i.e.* Menzies') letter to Mr. Gordon about me long ago. I will always maintain the character he gives of me to my last breath, which I thought some time ago would not have held out till now through the melancholy I was under in not being permitted to see either your Grace or my Lord of Ormonde when in Versailles, although I was there all the time and no stranger to several persons being admitted to you both, who, I may say without vanity, were not of more consequence in England nor more zealously affected to his Majesty than myself.

THEOPHILUS OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Feb. 12. Rome.—I received yours of the 6th to-night. My brother is gone hence to pay his duty to his Majesty, being pushed by the natural zeal that belongs to the family. I shall write to Mr. Paterson and do all in my power for his service in Sicily.

JOHN STEWART OF INVERNITIE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Feb. 12. Rome.—I was honoured with yours of the 6th last night and shall not fail to converse fully with the architect as to the situation of the gallery and the number of windows in front, and also about what you speak of the house for a town. I was to have done this last night but missed him and to-day he is called by an assembly of Cardinals. The first design is almost finished and, if not too far done, the alterations may be yet made. The man is esteemed here, and I am hopeful his work will please you, which if it does as much as yours does him, I shall then be persuaded he is a very pretty fellow and am hopeful in the meantime to improve myself in what I formerly was a pretender to amongst ignorant people.

You insinuated that one might write the fine diversions of this place; it's certainly the best in Italy and yet we have nothing like fine conversation. Our best and noblest ones are those of cardinals and princes, which strangers have liberty to go to, but for one that does not play and will not allow themselves, if they do, to be cheated by the ladies, there's no pleasure to be hoped for that way. Then the graver sort of the men either ask you questions or talk nonsense in a political way, and, if one chooses that of the young men, their whole discourse runs on — and to keep them company one

must visit all the *zitellas* in Rome (Nota, they are called so here, though they have cast a bottom girth or two), so that except three times I have never been at any of their assemblies and that at Prince Ruspoli's for love of his music. But now we have three operas and four comedies, all of which I have seen. Two of the operas are good, the music good and some of the voices are very tolerable and would be much thought of in our country, but are very far short of what I have formerly heard here. The most that can be said of the comedies is they are what we would call strollers or stage players and the great wit in them consists in *double entendres*, all upon the fat, which, if it pass for once, will never bear a second hearing. One of them was called Eugene in Belgrade. All the officers he had was one widow lady in men's clothes, who exceeds Harlequin at Paris when he turned colonel, and being asked for his regiment they were all concentrated in his own person. In one of the scenes Orcane, *primo viziere*, speaks from the walls of Belgrade and is very bluffish, but the widow, being confoundedly heroine, hectors him and gives orders without Eugene to attack the town, on which, I know not by what miserable accident, the poor widow's children were prisoners, but the *viziere* lifts them up from the inside of the walls and there they cry, *O madre mia, madre mia cara ed amorosa*. This scene I write of for the instruction of a certain officer who served under your Grace a great many years ago, but is lately turned poet. The operas all change to-night and the songs, that is some of the best of what has been in the former, are writing out and shall be sent the first occasion. This should have been sooner done, but on no account they would allow them to be copied while they were sung on the stage.

None of our company thinks of stirring for some days, being afraid of going into the snow, but sure with a little diligence, if a man's mind gives him to it, it would be agreeable to get out of it.

I have a letter from a good English hand, and, such as it is, I presume to send it. The divisions daily grow stronger and the way of speaking of well-wishers *aut nunc aut nunquam*. 3¼ pages.

SIR PETER REDMOND to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Feb. 12. Rome.—Your indication of his Majesty's desire of seeing me at Urbino on my return gives me infinite satisfaction, but your Grace treats me too sparingly and delicately, whereas, if you would oblige me, you should command me absolutely without ceremony in anything you thought me capable of.

I shall settle with Cardinal Gualterio to-morrow morning how he is to introduce me to the Spanish Cardinal or give him a good impression of me. I have thought of that myself, since I understood Cardinal Aquaviva is Cardinal Alberoni's

principal correspondent and friend here, and am to be recommended to him by his particular friends here and by him and them to Alberoni and Aldrobandi, who, including the Queen's Confessor, compose the triumvirate at Madrid, to patronize me in the recovery of some debts and other pretensions I may have there in my way to Lisbon, as I pretend to them. However, though Cardinal Gualterio's friendship with Aquaviva may be prevalent, I know those I have found out here have an influence over his spirits and are willing to serve me, but, as I am recommended to Gualterio, I shall follow mostly his advice and advise you of the result. It often happens among those sort of people that they give themselves up to the wiles and influence of their private favorites rather than to the requests of their equals. The Court of Lisbon is neither the greatest nor the wisest in Europe, but 'tis subtle and mysterious enough and it requires some years' experience to pursue a man's designs with success there by watching their humours and seeming often to be ignorant or indifferent of what one pursues. This Court is all composed of labyrinths and stratagems, but not so dark as ours and I find none of the Cardinals or Prelates but are easy of access and seemingly very free and familiar, and I have the vanity to think that, were I among them some time, I should insinuate myself into the good-will of some of them. I have so many acquaintances already as to keep my coach employed from morning to night, and now I could like the way of living here better than it appeared to me in the beginning, whilst I have been seeing a few plays and operas with the club I dine with, who are the subjects I mentioned in my former.

I'd be glad for many reasons to inform myself of what passes in the world and I delight in it more than in all other diversions. After one has seen St. Peter's within and without and a few other principal things, the lesser curiosities have no taste hardly with me. If a good picture or statue strikes my fancy and raises my admiration, I am pleased with it for a while, but I am not virtuoso enough to enquire and fill my memory with the names of the famous authors of such and such pieces, and I am very indifferent whether it be ancient or modern, so it pleases me or leaves any little impression in my mind of the beauty and perfections of it.

We are to have great doings and masqueradings here the last 8 or 10 days of the Carnival, and, as the weather is not the best and 'tis 100 to 1 I shall never come here again, I believe I shall not begin my journey till the 2nd or 3rd, and shall go then in company of Lord Ed[ward] to Urbino by Loretto, which is the best road, but, if he should not go so soon, I shall hardly stay longer, so I shall have the honour of kissing his Majesty's hands about that time or sooner if you think it requisite.

There's not much news here, nor does the season serve for action to furnish anything material. They expect two regiments

of Germans in Naples shortly, but have carried thence two regiments of Spaniards to recruit the troops against the Turks in the room of the Germans they are sending. The Turk resolves to continue the war. I am told Cardinal Alberoni told Stanhope, in case the English helped the Emperor, the King of Spain would order all the South Sea effects in Indies to be seized. There's no talk here but of that Cardinal's great designs and the vast preparations he is daily making by sea and land. The Genoese have hired or sold him lately 13 of their largest ships which are of the line. 'Tis said the Dutch sent to the Emperor that he should acknowledge King Philip of Spain and the King of Sicily as such, and that all things should be adjusted, but they desired a positive answer, which 'tis thought cannot be given. I am told George ships off to Hanover daily as much money as he can scramble. The enclosed is an Italian newsletter I received just now. I have not time to peruse, much less to translate it. *Nearly 6 pages.*

JOSEPH CAGNONI to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Feb. 12. Leghorn.—Thanking him effusively for his letter of 30 Jan.—We have no news here that any German troops are to be quartered in Lucca nor its small territory, those that were in the Duke of Massa's country being retired in the Milanese, but notwithstanding, I wrote to Lucca to one of the Senators, a friend of mine, that my son coming from Rome had been at Urbino and found that the King's Court was somewhat uneasy about the inconveniency of the place, and it was come into my thoughts that Lucca would be a much more commodious place for the King and his Court and that therefore, if he thought fit to propose it to the Senate, in case they liked it, I would write about it to some of my friends at Court. He has answered that he has not thought it convenient to make any overture about it, because, the place being but small and the country scarcely capable to provide for the inhabitants, such an addition might prove of damage to the public. But I do not know whether the right cause of not accepting the proposal does not proceed more from jealousy than from anything else, for it is well known they are extremely and almost ridiculously cautious of their liberty.

We have no public news out of England besides the continuation of the bad intelligence between the Elector and his son, and that the silver coin was grown so scarce that they coined at the Tower a great deal of small money to go to market, and that the remedy of lowering the price of guineas to 21s. had not produced the effect expected, and therefore it was believed they would lower it again to 20½s. I hear by a very good hand that a treaty of marriage is as good as concluded with the Prince of Piedmont and the youngest daughter of the late Emperor Joseph, and that the marriage is to be celebrated next October, which proving true, the project of the Spaniards

against Italy may be frustrated by it, if they have depended on the assistance of the King of Sicily.

In a case of oatmeal I send to Mr. Jeremiah Broomar, I have enclosed 12 pencils of the best black lead I could find here and I desire him to deliver them to your Grace. $2\frac{1}{2}$ pages.

THE DUKE OF MAR to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, Feb. 12.—Yours of 18 Jan. came not here till two days ago. I am sorry to find by it you were out of order, but I hope you were soon quite well again. *The King* having wrote to *Queen Mary* on most of the heads in yours I need say the less. I enclose a copy of my letter to *Lord Oxford*, which pretty near answers what *the Bishop of Rochester* desired in that matter, and I have sent it in such a way to *Lord Oxford* that I hope it will come soon and safe to him, which you may acquaint *the Bishop of Rochester* of, but I think he had best not speak of it to *Lord Oxford*, unless he speak first of it to him, I mean my writing on this to him.

Since *the Bishop of Rochester* owns that *Shrewsbury* and he are in no intimacy, *the King* thinks it were scarce fair to answer directly what *the Bishop of Rochester* desires to know about the other, but that it will be enough for you to thank *the Bishop of Rochester* from *the King* for his hint concerning *Shrewsbury* and that the right use shall be made of it as soon as possible.

The two powers desired for *Lord Arran* and whom else he shall think fit are herewith sent, and I hope all will still come in time before people leave town.

Pray tell *the Bishop of Rochester* that I delay writing to him on his last letter, till I have some thing more to give him an account of, which I hope may be soon, and what I have to say in the meantime I shall write in a post or two to *James Murray*.

Menzies is the only person there who has any dealing with *Shrewsbury* or whom he will trust. Against the next post I shall write to him on the hint *the Bishop of Rochester* gives about *Shrewsbury*, which is all I see for us to do as to that.

Pray tell *Inese* I had his of the 17th with three from *Menzies* to him enclosed, on which I will say nothing till next post, when I shall send him the letter I am to write to *Menzies* to forward, which I shall leave open for his and your persual.

I wonder *George Kelly* says nothing from *the Bishop of Rochester* of the affair of the declaration, which he promised to write particularly about, and it seems that paragraph of his letter to me wherein he refers to *George Kelly*, that I thought as I told you in my last he meant as to this, is not so but concerning the money affair. I think you should remind him of it, it being of consequence and it may be wanted sooner than we expect.

* I am heartily sorry there is not a better understanding than you mention betwixt *the Bishop of Rochester* and *Lord Oxford*, which, as you think, will certainly be a loss to *the King* on every emergent. I wish I knew how to help it, but I believe

all that can be done towards that from hence is done already, though I confess I despair of its having the desired effect.*

I hope we may now soon have an answer from *Ormonde* to what *Queen Mary* wrote to him, for which we are impatient, and by that too know something how affairs are like to go in that part of the world.

We have now here a most cruel winter and very scarce of the right antidote against it, which makes it the harder. I could not believe that there was ever such winters in any place of this country and will think the better of our own island afterwards.

Postscript.—*Lord Panmure* left us to-day for Venice, whence he goes to France, in hopes by the accounts he has from his lady to get his attainder taken off by giving money to the Germans, which I much doubt of. I cannot say he is in very good humour, being desirous to be informed of everything, which *the King* and I did in general now and then, only without naming persons, but he fancies there are secrets where there are none, and that he is not let into them, which made him often very peevish, as I suppose you and others will find him when he comes to your parts. A good deal of it is owing to his natural temper and not having been much accustomed to public business and a Court before, and I am apt to believe his chagrin was kept up, if not augmented, by the doctor who is always with him, so that, though he cured the wounds in his body, he has been far from doing so by those in his mind. I am really sorry for it. He is a worthy honest man, and I am persuaded nothing will ever alter him with regard to the King, but none else must know what I have said but *Queen Mary* and *Inese*.

I must add one thing I had almost forgot. The Queen sent the King last post the enclosed paper, to which it is scarce possible to give any answer without his being further informed. He knows not when the paper was given to the Queen, but this man being of the same name with one who was also in that service, who, we see in the prints, was lately taken up at Dunkirk and sent to London, where I suppose he still is, makes it likely to be the same, and so that the paper had been given some time ago. But, if it be another, and he be about Paris or St. Germain's, his Majesty thinks you had best talk to him of it, and let us know if you think anything can be made of the proposal. 3½ pages. Copy: The paragraph between asterisks is printed in the Stuart Papers, p. 4, note.

The DUKE OF MAR to ANNE OGLETHORPE.

1718, Feb. 12.—The post before last brought me from *Capt. Ogilvie* yours of 16 Dec. with one enclosed from *Lord Orrery* and another from *Mr. Caesar*. I enclose an answer to the first, which being left open I refer to as to what you wrote me from him. *Mr. Caesar's* is a very sensible and distinct account of what

he writes of, but I do not write to him now, hoping to have something more worth his while in a little time. In the meantime I beg you to tell him how sensible *the King* is of his good wishes and endeavours for promoting the good of the company. I hope *Lord Oxford* is perfectly well again and with you long ere now. I long for an answer to some things I wrote in the letter you sent him from me, as also to one I wrote him a little after my coming here. I have now written to him again of a particular affair, which *Capt. Ogilvie* will likely send you with this, and you'll get it safely delivered, and pray press him to send me an answer soon. *The King* desires me to thank you for the accounts of that particular you tell me you had sent him, which came to your friend *MacMahon's* hands, who brought him them, as I suppose he wrote you, and also an answer from *Mar* to what you said in those letters relating to him.

Did *Lord Orrery* know *the King*, I am sure he would like him for his personal qualifications, besides other reasons, fully or better than any man he was ever acquainted with, and he has now so good an impression of *Lord Orrery*, that I doubt not of his answering the expectations he has of him and improving it.

You say I was angry when I wrote the letter *Mrs. Ogilvie* brought you which I do not remember I was, but you seem to have been so, when you wrote me your last and particularly on *Menzies'* account. I see he has given you a very partial account of that affair, to make you believe he was hardly used and thrown off by *Mar* for no good reason, but only preferring *James Murray* to him. *Mar*, who never abandoned him or any man who, he thought, did as he ought, cannot take this very well of him, when *Menzies* knows he has stood by him and suffered for it, and that *Menzies* himself was only to blame for what he calls giving him up, he having neglected so long as 10 months doing a thing which he was again and again pressed to, and which it behoved him for his own honour and reputation to do as well as on *Mar's* account, who as his friend bore part of the blame. I am desired now by the person principally concerned there, to say or do no more in that affair, so I must not, and last post brought me a letter from *Menzies* to me clearing himself of that business, which, after I have considered it more particularly and compared it with what he and I have written on that subject, I will answer directly to himself, this post, if I have time, and by next, if I have not. If this letter of his clears him, it makes him guilty of a thing almost as bad, his delaying to do it so long, when he was equally able to have done it when first desired as now, and so might have prevented all the ill humour it has occasioned towards both himself and *Mar*, which has not been a little. Next he is very unjust to *James Murray*, who has all along wrote of him like his friend, and I believe by what I have seen of him, he was far from any view of superseding *Menzies*, as he terms it, but, after *Menzies* by his unaccountable ways in this has made himself unacceptable to some there, is he to think himself

ill used by *the King's* employing another, who is more acceptable, to carry what he has to say from time to time to them? and so to go about to you and others, I suppose, putting a wrong gloss on things, and to give a bad impression of those *the King* thinks fit to employ. It is in nobody's power to hurt *Menzies* either with *the King* or *Mar*, but his own, so you need not trouble yourself to write in his favour. Might he not have wrote me one line on the subject, which I have so much pressed him to by letters and messages, which he knew gave me so much uneasiness on his account as well as *Mar's*, in 10 months, especially when he writes now to another that all that affair can be cleared by writing so much as can be done on a nutshell?

You mistake what I wrote you very far, if you thought proofs were expected of that affair you mention. I only desired to know friends' opinions, what they would advise to be further done in it, and to know if any further light could be given, but that is now long over, and there is nothing in what you heard of his having made offers of service and that they were accepted. He is rather angry, however I hope *Anne Oglethorpe* shall not come to suffer anything on account of this business, and I am sure any part she had in it is not known from *the King* or *Mar*, and the last wrote some time ago to *Madame de Mezières* to put her on her guard, in case of his endeavouring to draw anything from her about it.

Another thing you now say I took ill by my letter with *Mrs. Ogilvie* concerning what had been said about that message of *Dillon's*, all which makes me apprehend that you have read my letter in great haste, and, if you will read it again, I believe you will find you were mistaken.

I am very glad *Lord Oxford* has altered his mind about *Capt. Ogilvie* as well as you, or I am content to let it pass that I was mistaken in what he wrote me about him, but, having mentioned this in my letter to himself, I shall not say more upon it.

I had a letter t'other day from *T. Oglethorpe*, who is not yet gone further from us than he has been for some time, and his brother has now joined him, whom I am made hope we shall see, and a very pretty youth he seems to be by the little I saw of him on my way hither, where I met him accidentally.

The King was never better in his health than he is at present, and soon may he have occasion for making a more active use of it, than he has in this dull place, where we have just now as cruel a winter as in the Highlands of Scotland. 4½ pages.
Copy.

JAMES III to CARDINAL CIBO.

1718, Feb. 12.—Acknowledging his letter of the 3rd and congratulating him on his appointment to be Auditor of the Chamber with the title of Patriarch of Constantinople. *French. Entry Book 1, p. 232.*

JAMES III to [the EARL OF ARRAN].

1718, Feb. 12.—Power for making a voluntary contribution in England. 3 pages. *Draft.*

NOTE.

That another power in the same terms was sent over to England at the same time, one to be filled up in [the Earl of Arran]'s name, to whom they were both sent, and the other with any other person's name that he should judge most proper. *Draft.* *There are also fair copies of these two papers in Entry Book 5, pp. 73, 75.*

MADAME DE MEZIÈRES to JAMES III.

1718, Feb. 13. [Received at Urbino.]—Expressing her thanks for his kindness to her brother, and the distinctions and particular favour he has bestowed on her whole family, asking him to recommend her son's interests to Cardinal Gualterio, and adding that her brother has informed her that he has obtained everything he has asked at Rome. *French.*

ACCOUNT.

1718, Feb. 13.—Of some small payments to Barclay, Bernard and Mr. McArtie.

WILLIAM GORDON to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, Feb. 14. Paris.—I shall advise you of the 100*l.* you have paid Gen. Forster. If I am so much in his debt, I shall allow it, and, if not, he will on my sending his account repay it. I notice his Grace's orders about those gentlemen's complaints of not being punctually paid and shall advise them what he commands me. Meantime you may assure him that every individual is paid long ago for the last month, whereby I am still in advance, as Mr. Dicconson knows by my accounts.

I carefully forwarded all your enclosures, and have heard from *Capt. Ogilvie* that his came safe, but can't yet have account of the 3 packets sent to Holland. I shall excuse you to all your accusers as to your laziness, particularly to Sir Hugh and G. Mackenzie. Your old comrade Sandie is as lazy a rogue as yourself, for, though he be at Rouen, I don't hear from him, unless I write about business.

JAMES MALCOLM OF GRANGE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Feb. 14. Bordeaux.—A nephew of mine, who is master of a ship, coming to St. Martin's, was desirous to see me. It was for that purpose I came down here from Cahors. He told me his uncle, Col. Balfour, who was governor of Perth, was now in very hard circumstances. He was condemned at Carlisle, but by the indemnity had his life, but his fortune stands confiscate. He has been at great charges to his friends

and is afraid they weary, and wished I might let this be known, if he could be supplied from this side, otherwise he will be brought into great straits. I therefore give you this trouble that, if anything can be done for him, you may give the necessary orders about it, for he is a very honest deserving man.—Complaining that, when he was staying with Mr. Gordon, he had been ordered to remove to a considerable distance from Bordeaux and that the Marquess of Tullibardine had not written him a letter but had only caused Mr. Gordon to show him a letter from the Marquess to that effect, which he therefore had not complied with till he received an answer to the same effect from Mr. Inese. 2 pages.

CHARLES WOGAN to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Feb. 14. *Augsburg*.—You should have heard from me sooner, but for part of the time since I writ from Strasburg I was very little master of my business and during the rest I made greater dispatch hither than the common post.

“It was my good fortune in coming to *Rastatt* to be well recommended by *Prince Berkenfeldt* at Strasburg to the *Baron Dels*, master of the horse and governor to the young *Prince of Baden*, or it had been utterly impossible for me to have made either progress or enquiry into my business there. *Prince Lewis of Baden’s* widow spends her time entirely in sickness, devotion or visiting her *Favorita*, a country house she has built in imitation of *Marly*, where she contrives to stuff all the womanish curiosities she can possibly think of. The *Court* is composed of a few men, officers of hers and the *Prince’s* household, and either dull or needy enough in point of circumstances to make it their residence. The Lady of most consequence is the *Countess of Furstemberg*, who chooses in mere friendship to live some months in the year with the widow, since her own husband’s death, who was a faithful friend to the late *Prince Lewis*. The other women, except the *Countess’s* two daughters, are mere domestics also. The Palace is great and the estate considerable, but much dispersed and a good part descending from the widow, who is daughter and coheirress of the late *Duke of Saxe-Lawenburg* and has lands in *Bohemia*, which she is possessed of, and others near *Hamburg*, which the *Elector of Hanover* has judged contiguous to him and taken into his hands without any other right than mere power, and, though the circle in which they lie has declared in her favour, the *Emperor*, whose consent is requisite, has hitherto been so regardful of the *Elector of Hanover’s* interests as not to give her a decree for the possession, and so mindful of his own as not think of paying her about 70 thousand pounds due to *Prince Lewis*, which has brought this family into a humour of being friends neither with the one nor the other, but it seems their dislike to the *Emperor* is of a longer standing, since *Prince Lewis* has left order by his will to his sons never to serve the *Emperor* in any case

but their own immediate defence, which I find to be the inclination as well as interest of most of the *Princes of Germany*.

“Some of the above reasons occasioned *Prince Berkenfeldt's* surprise at Mr. *Dillon's* requiring a recommendation for me at the widow's, which he said was the most dismal *Court* in all *Germany*, and the most unfit for a stranger's diversion or curiosity, upon which I told him I only designed to take it in my way and to gain by his means an easier access towards seeing the house, as I proceeded in my way to *Durlach*, a very agreeable *Court* at this time.

“I was obliged to stay at *Strasburg* a day longer than I expected, in order to change some part of my money into this country coin, and to take a bill for the rest upon this town. Upon my arrival at *Rastatt* I sent to know when I could wait on my Baron, who favoured me thereupon with a visit, and, after he had read my letter, told me he was in great concern that I could not see the widow, who was much indisposed, but offered me all the other civilities that lay in his power, assuring me he was very sorry he could not contribute much to my diversion in such a place as that. I was, however, comforted with the hopes of seeing *Prince Lewis's* children by his means, which otherwise I never could have done, but by some extraordinary accident.

“The Baron, upon showing his letter to the widow, sent me compliments from her by another *Baron*, who was ordered to wait on me, and I was desired, if it were not inconvenient, to stay next day, when I should see her, if she grew any thing better. Next morning she sent me my attendant and one of her coaches to see her new *Marly*, which it is one of her greatest passions that all strangers should see and admire. I had a good deal of unaffected chat with him concerning *Prince Lewis's* family and found him a very obliging person. I laid myself out in encomiums upon the beauty and delicacy of taste that appeared in the country-house which otherwise is all over a bauble; and, after we parted at my lodging, I had a message from the widow full of compliment and excuse that her indisposition was increased so as to oblige her to keep her bed, and that she was sorry, since I had said so much in praise of her favourite *Marly*, that she could not have the satisfaction of seeing me.

“I was much mortified at this, for, though I was resolved to put on all the careless assurance I could, there was little hopes of seeing *Prince Lewis's* daughter in her nursery as one may call it, since I could not see the widow and provoke her, by praising her *Marly* and reverencing *Prince Lewis's* memory, to let me see *his children*. My only resource was to repay the Baron his visit and bring the matter about as well as I could, but I was soon relieved from this perplexity by a message from him to wait upon the elder *Prince*. I found him at billiards, and was struck with the great resemblance he bears *the King*. He is about 16, finely shaped and very

promising both as to his countenance and behaviour. After some compliments, he asked me whether I had a curiosity to see the house, which I readily embraced and was conducted by my waiter, for he I was recommended to, was obliged to a constant attendance on his master.

“The young gentleman was at his studies before I had gone my rounds, but had left a message for me that he hoped to see me at the puppet-show that night, where all the *Court* was to be, except the widow. This was very much for my purpose, and I presume was contrived for me, upon some desire I had expressed to the Baron of seeing the rest of *Prince Lewis's* family. I was conducted as before, and advantageously placed, after having first been presented to *the daughter* and *her* younger brother. Though I was prepared by my discourse with the Baron, I could not help being a little surprised at the sight of them both, for they certainly are the two most complete pieces of miniature I ever beheld in flesh and blood and extremely like one another. *The daughter* is about thirteen and *her* brother eleven, but both are of the size we generally find in 7 or at most 8. *The daughter* has *fair hair, pretty eyes, features and shape*, but all *little* to a degree that it is not reasonable nor scarce natural for any *man* to think of *her*. *She* has wit and vivacity, they tell me, but it is impossible *she* can know anything of the world, since *she* never appears either at meals or almost otherwise out of *her* chamber, where an old Governante attends *her* and *her* little brother; for *the widow* is exceedingly partial in favour of her firstborn, and little concerned about producing the rest of the *children*, who never even eat with *her*, though *she* eats with her own domestics. *The daughter* dances but indifferently, which with *her* extreme littleness and *womanly* crabbedness at the same time, would make one imagine *she* is or has been *ricketty*, but that *her* brother dances very prettily. I have heard other reasons for *her* want of *size*, one of which is that *her* mother's *sister*, who for the sake of *the land inheritance* became wife to one of the *Palatine* family, was never much taller; and another that both the *children* were begot towards the close of *Prince Lewis's* days, when he was extremely indisposed and unhealthy. I heard much about his gout, but dare ask no closer questions. In short it is very improbable by the turn and fixedness of *the daughter's* *shape* that *she* ever will be half a foot taller and as unlikely that *she* will bear *children* and it must be an extreme necessity in point of fortune that would oblige even *her* equal to make *her* his *wife* upon these accounts, though *she* may have otherwise great and good *qualities*.

“I hope I need make no apology for speaking thus freely of *the daughter*, being under the utmost regards of duty and sincerity to answer the very honourable confidence reposed in me, but it is in this as in most other points, easy for a well meaning man to say what a person shall not judge proper,

but very difficult to make a judgement of what he shall ; and in this consists the great nicety and hazard of my *commission*. However it is of such a nature and urgency in point of *dispatch* that I must risk something. *The King* may still choose other and better judges, and I am of too little importance, as to what may befall me, provided I act in this as in all other points for his service to the best of my understanding.

“After having said thus much, I may venture to add something of the Countess of *Furstemberg’s* two *daughters*. The family is of unquestionable antiquity and distinction and *sovereign* of a country not inferior to *Baden*. The father was called General *Prosper*, a cadet of the house of *Furstemberg*, and died at the siege of *Landau*. He was nephew or first cousin to the *Cardinal* of that name ; and, the elder branch failing, *the heritage* fell to his children, whereupon *the Emperor* has lately given the elder son the investiture with the title of *Prince and Duke*. He has by this about 50 thousand pounds sterling yearly and is about one and twenty, now in his travels and very hopeful. What he has by his father I cannot readily find out, but the mother, who is sister to Count *Conigseck*, has a good estate in *sovereignty* near *Nuremberg*, which she keeps in her own hands. She has two sons and four *daughters*, the eldest of these married to some *Bohemian Lord*, the second to one at *Vienna*. Of the latter the elder is a *chanoiness*, but under no *vows*, and about 23, tall, well shaped and graceful, with fine eyes and no disagreeable features, but, as I observed some redness about her nose and the upper part of her cheeks proceeding from some small pimples, my attention was drawn upon the other, whom I stood close by, after I had made my remarks on *Prince Lewis’s daughter*. I observed as narrowly as I could and had opportunity enough, for, as I was the finest dressed man in company and a stranger, all eyes were upon me, but the Countess’s, who seems to be and bears the character of a very virtuous discreet lady.

“This young lady is of a very advantageous size, about eighteen, straight, finely shaped, but a little lank about the hips, which I reckon to be owing to the disposition she seems still to be in of growing taller and that probably hinders her from gathering flesh. She has light brown hair, and very good skin, her eyes black, very fine and lively, her features agreeable and her face rather lengthy, but plump enough. She has a great deal of wit and conversation, as I was well informed both there and elsewhere, dances extremely well, and her countenance has certainly a great deal of good humour and modesty.

“I was unhappy in being under a sort of necessity of leaving *Rastatt* next day, whereby I was disappointed of making any further observations upon the place, though, as the case stood, my stay could be of little or no use at all ; however, if there could have been any pretence for it, I should gladly have embraced it, and left the rest to chance or management,

but, the widow and the whole *Court* taking me for a traveller, that could have no intention to reside where nobody does through the whole year but their cousin of *Durlach*, and that very rarely; the young *Prince*, upon whom and the ladies I waited after the show to the door of the widow's apartment, turned about there, by his governor's appointment, to tell me he was very sorry he could not keep me to supper, because of his attendance on his mother in her illness, and that he was obliged to go next day to the country, but hoped he should see me soon at *Durlach*, where I should not miss being better diverted during the Carnival. Upon this I found myself obliged to take leave of him till then, but, if I could have contrived any excuse on the occasion, it would have been to no purpose, in regard the ladies are constantly in the widow's apartment, and I could have no pretence, while she is ill, to find admittance, so that my staying in the young man's absence must have been both exceedingly affected and very fruitless.

"Upon this I took the resolution of going to *Durlach*, whither I had likewise a recommendation from the same hand. I had had a character of that lewd *Court* before, and thought it a very proper place to find out the good, but very surely all the ill that could be said of the neighbours; so that what I was forced to want in personal enquiry I might at least make use in some measure by a very just information. I had also another view in going thither, which was to procure further recommendations to *Munich* or *Neuburg*, from whence I might likewise be forwarded towards *Prince James Sobieski's*, whom I could hear nothing of at that distance. And I must observe that, though this be Carnival time here, a stranger without those helps can make no progress in access or acquaintance without a prodigious expense.

"I found this place the very reverse of the other, nothing appeared by gaiety and pleasure, and I had the frankest admittance and all the honours possible done me. The *Prince* and his *wife* are in a sort of separation, but he endeavours to make himself easy by the help of about 50 handsome wenches that he keeps constantly in very good equipage; they that sing serve for his operas, which are not disagreeable; he has some wit and humour, very gracious, and a thorough man of pleasure, but jealous of his *Seraglio* to as high a degree as the *Grand Seignior*, whom he affects to be a little like in his dress too. He fears the *Emperor* and both hates and despises his cousin the *Elector of Hanover*, whom he served with and judges neither to have honesty, head nor heart. I have not to this time heard one good word said of that gentleman. He spoke to me about the *King* and wondered among other things that he did not marry, for all the people here have a notion that the *Elector of Hanover* cannot continue half a year longer master of *England*.

"Here we had nothing for the three days I thought fit to stay but feasting, balls and operas. During the whole time the *Prince* entertained me almost constantly, and I had as much opportunity as I could desire to inform myself carelessly about my affair. I found him agree in everything of the above characters, and it was from him I gathered most of the family account. The *lady* is certainly *young, agreeable, handsome*, and in all appearance *wholesome*; her *portion* I could not justly learn from any one I could rely on, as to the certainty; and the question is generally disagreeable to friends and of too prying a nature for a mere stranger, especially where a *Princess* is concerned; but I shall have further opportunities hereafter. No estimate can be made by what fell to the share of the elder *sisters*, because they were *married* before the greater part of the *land inheritance's* accession. What I can learn in the gross is that the mother's *succession* is to go to the *Prince* and he in proportion out of that and the rest to *portion* the *ladies*, but, as I proceed, I shall have further and better means of enquiry both in *Bohemia*, where the *land inheritance* mostly lies, and at *Vienna*, where the *sister* lives. The Countess is to go about the latter end of April to her estate near *Nuremberg*, where *Prince Lewis's* widow is to make her a visit, and so both go together with their families, except *Prince Lewis's* elder son, into *Bohemia*, where their most considerable *lands* are.

"I am come from *Durlach* hither in two days; and now am in some doubt whether I shall go to *Munich*, to which *Court* I am well recommended. I comprehend the nature of this business and know it must be done in a careless, genteel way or not at all, for to go about it in the way of puckling and disguise would be a great absurdity, and the sure way to make it come to nothing or what is worse. *Prince James Sobieski* has run out his fortune exceedingly, and has now drawn himself to a very narrow compass of living, so that there is little or no resort of strangers about his house even at this time. But your *Grace* speaks so much of *dispatch* that I fear it should be imagined I should trifle away any time upon motives of pleasure, so that, if I can procure any recommendation here either for *Prague*, *Breslau* or *Prince James Sobieski's* house, which I am not without hope of obtaining, I shall go on directly; otherwise I should go but to little purpose, if I do not take *Munich* in my way, where I am pretty sure of succeeding in that respect. After this I have nothing further to observe to your *Grace* but that upon the strictest enquiry I can find out no other Catholic nor indeed any other *Princesses* in this country, which generally has been pretty well stocked; and that the expense of travelling is just double what it is in France."

Postscript. Feb. 16.—The post not going to Italy till to-day I am to inform you that I thought it convenient to stay here a day longer to procure letters for the places I am bound for,

which I have done, and am resolved to go on directly. (Addresses to which letters might be sent to him.) I reckon to be at Vienna in about a fortnight. I have been told that, on the division made between the sons of General *Prosper*, the elder at present, who then was second son, had to his share 60,000*l.*, and this was before the succession of the *Duchy*. 7 pages.

CHARLES WOGAN to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, Feb. 14. Augsburg.—Explaining his delay in writing and thanking him for his recommendation, which was of singular use to him. (The rest of the letter is a repetition almost *verbatim* of the last. The only addition is “Your *Laura* is, I assure you, a very comely person in comparison of *Prince Lewis’s daughter*,” and there is a postscript similar to and of the same date as that to the last.) 7 pages.

The DUKE OF MAR to J. MENZIES.

1718, Feb. 14.—Since your sending us word of having received mine of 9 Oct., I might have expected to have heard oftener and more particularly from you, and there were things in that letter of weight enough to deserve your attention and particular answers before this. (Mentioning another letter he had written to him of 29 Dec. and also that he had seen several of Menzies’ to Inese.)

I had lately a letter from the *Bishop of Rochester* in answer to what I wrote to him last October, in which is this paragraph: “As to the affair of the *money* in relation to what is past, ’tis my earnest desire that no more may be said of it. I am now pretty well acquainted with the whole of it and not willing to give you or anybody further trouble on that head.” I am glad it is come to this and I’ll say no more of it to him, but I must write freely on it once more to you, for I fear that matter is not yet so clear as the accounts of it you send to *Inese* would make it. I cannot but observe that *Menzies* could never be brought to speak clear on this matter, till he saw what I wrote to the *Bishop of Rochester* of the quantity remitted by him to *Inese* or those he is employed by. What I then wrote was as *Inese* informed me, but now, when I look over the books of *Queen Mary* as stated to the *King* by *Queen Mary’s* book keeper, I find not so much was sent as I wrote to the *Bishop of Rochester* by 1,000*l.*, and sure those books wrote by the man who received the *money* are more to be relied on than what *Inese* told me at the time of my writing to the *Bishop of Rochester* from his memory. When I first wrote of this to you, I think last May, I had then seen those books and *Inese* did not contradict them, on which I wrote to you as I then did to get *Menzies* to clear it, and it was on that all I have since wrote and the messages I have sent about it proceeded. When I wrote that letter to the *Bishop of Rochester*, neither

Inese nor I had the books by us, so we might easily mistake the quantity. The only thing I ever saw on it from *Menzies*, till what you lately sent which now lies before me, was a short scrap to *James Hamilton* last July. There he tells of that 1,000*l.* which you now mention being given *Gyllenborg*, as I have no doubt it was, but how comes it that that did not clear the account then as well as now, for the accounts you now send clear it no otherwise than by this 1,000*l.* given to *Gyllenborg* and what was sent to *Inese* or *Queen Mary*, and in that letter to *James Hamilton* he does not pretend that those two articles clear it, for in the end of what he says then, after telling of that 1,000*l.* to *Gyllenborg*, he says: "But he has near recovered some of the other two and may with a great care and exactness recover the whole in a competent and proper time."

Several messages and letters were sent him after that letter upon it, both by *Mar* and *Inese*, and he would not have been so long in letting them see their mistake and giving satisfaction about it before this, had those two articles cleared it, as he now says it does, since he knew the quantity which I said in my letter to the *Bishop of Rochester* was sent to *Queen Mary*. I leave you now to judge who is his friend, if either *the King* or I think the accounts of it you have lately sent clear it, but must conclude that *Queen Mary's* accountant's books are to be relied on, by which it appears, allowing the quantity of the brandy (*i.e.* money) given to *Menzies* to be as he says, near 1,000*l.* of it should still be in his hands, and with what I wrote you he had got from one who deals in that liquor in your parts on *the King's* account there should be more than 1,000*l.*

Till I have an answer from him as to this, if that is to be expected in less time than formerly, I shall say no more. I must though mention some things concerning him which look a little odd, and that I have no reason to take very well, no more than *the King* has. Was it right in him, in place of clearing himself on his own account as well as others, as I had pressed him to do, to go about endeavouring to give people an impression as if he was hardly used by us, that he was shaken off after his long service only to gratify some who had malice against him, and that a young favourite of theirs might come in his place, and all this without letting those, whom he endeavoured to put this upon, know one tittle of the true state of the matter? Since he says now that all that affair can be cleared by writing what could be done on a nutshell, how far in the wrong has he been both to himself and all of us, to whom that business has occasioned so much uneasiness not to do it sooner? But I must observe he would certainly have done so, had there not been some flaw in it.

Was it right in him, when by his own unaccountable management in this he had made himself unacceptable to those concerned in it, and with whom *the King* has still dealings,

to be doing all in him lay to hurt with friends the person *the King* was forced in that case to employ to carry his messages to those people, and was *the King's* doing so any hardship on him? or was that of his the way for advancing the trade of the company? In justice to *James Murray* I am obliged to tell you he was so far from endeavouring to supersede *Menzies*, as he terms it, that from the beginning and all along no friend of *Menzies* could have wrote more favourably of him, nor more to his advantage, and you may judge how it looks to us at this distance to see their two different manners of acting towards one another, and I must say, notwithstanding his late bob to those he compares with cobblers and the mem[oria]l men, as he calls them, that that way of writing is a great deal better than that of the laconic, and, after telling scraps which serve only to raise curiosity, referring to another post for the rest and the particulars, which never come, because, I suppose, never again thought of. I would not write all this to anybody else, except where he himself has forced me to it, by making his groundless complaints of me, that they may see I am not the ungrateful body he has endeavoured to make me appear. It is in nobody's power to do him hurt here but his own. He has now got off scot free with *the Bishop of Rochester*, and shall not be brought on again there in this by me, but it behoves him on his own account to be a little modest on the head and to write a clear letter on it for *the King's* satisfaction, who must judge how men would act in greater things as he sees them do in small. 5 pages. Copy.

MEMORANDUM by the DUKE OF MAR.

Pounds sterling.

1718, Feb. 14.—*Menzies'* first bill to Mr.

Innes as by Mr. Dicconson's account

given Lord Mar in March, 1717 1,856

The second bill 1,000

2,856Given by *Menzies* to C[oun]t G[yllen]b[org] 1,000Given to *Menzies* by *the Bishop of Rochester*4,800*l.* as he says and by *Jerningham*there 100*l.* more 4,900

3,856 discharge.

1,044 remains.

Lord Mar was told by Mr. Innes at Paris Oct., 1717, that *Menzies* had sent over almost 4,000*l.* which he, Lord Mar, wrote to *the Bishop of Rochester*, on which *Menzies* founds his clearing of himself, but by what's above it seems Mr. Innes was mistaken in what he told Lord Mar *Menzies* had sent him, so *Menzies* has still 1,044*l.* to account for.

FANNY OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Feb. 15. From the country.—I believe you'll be in pain not to hear from me, because of my last letter to you with an enclosed, which gave us hopes of hearing from *Lord Ilay*, but we have had no news from him since, and, that you may not think we're in fault, we have not heard from him since. I wrote to him last post, not to press him, but only to tell him we have not heard from him as he promised. I wish his letters are not taken up at the post. He runs a great hazard to send them that way.

By all the news M[ezières] can gather there is reason to believe that this country and England are like to jar. There is even talk of a war. God continue it. There are great disputes between Maréchal de Villars and M. le Duc, the first refusing to resign the presidency of the Council, which M. le Duc demanded as I wrote you. An edict has appeared to augment the gold and silver, which will make money common here.

My two brothers are at last met at Rome. The eldest carries the youngest to Malta. You're in great favour with the first. One would think he knew what you had done.

M[ezières] has not yet heard from *Sparre*, but the ambassador of Sicily wrote my sis[ter] last post that at last, after many adventures, he was arrived and was in great favour with his master, who put him in all his pleasures. I don't aver this for truth, but that's all we know. M[ezières] is persuaded that he waits till he has some positive answer, and that he'll take his time to speak when he's worked his master into a right humour.

You're in great favour with the eldest sister also. All the rage of what she knows is fallen on me. I imagined I should be the victim, but she's in the wrong, for one's never master of another's secret, when one's trusted, but she does not write why she's vexed nor do we take notice that we perceive she is. Her true anger proceeds from her not being able to find out the bottom of what she guesses, so do you be on your guard. 2 pages.

The DUKE OF MAR to J. MENZIES.

1718, Feb. 15.—I will long for an answer to what I sent you in one of 29 Dec. which I hope may be on the road.

We had lately accounts from some of those concerned in the Company that they were setting about the advance by the different merchants concerned for enabling *the King* to answer the demand he every day expects to have made on him for bringing the merchants I formerly named into the trade, which is so necessary that, unless it be done, the whole project of that trade must fail. On *the King's* hopes of being enabled this way as well as by what he expected from some

he deals with elsewhere, he ordered his factor to promise positively to those merchants a certain considerable sum, on their agreeing to enter into the trade, as soon as they should demand it, and he looks to be called on every day for the performance, which he is as yet in no condition to do as those he deals with elsewhere, having all of them projects of trade, which they think more nearly concern them, are like to fail him entirely, though he does not give over taking all the ways he can to make them see their own interest in it, and so to get them to agree to it, but I cannot say there is much hope of success that way. Some I told you above we have accounts from in your place give us pretty good hopes of prevailing with the merchants of their acquaintance there to do their parts, but that cannot be expected to make up what is necessary, unless others of the merchants advance what shares they can too. It were not reasonable nor indeed fit to desire those correspondents to apply to others than they are acquainted with, so we have wrote to others of our friends to speak to another set of the merchants, and there are two substantial ones particularly that *the King* thinks you the most proper to make the application to, who are *the Duke of Shrewsbury* and *Lord Portmore*. Nobody certainly wishes better to the trade of the Company than they do, and nobody is more able nor more fully instructed to inform them fully of the projected trade and the advantages there are to encourage traders to venture part of their stock on it than yourself. It is pretty plain, if this project be not followed out, there is scarce a possibility how the Company can be re-established again, and, if *the King* be not in a condition to answer what he was under a necessity of making his factor, *Ormonde*, engage for, fail it must a course. It was not on his own account alone that he entered into that engagement, and, if the other traders do not assist him, who are almost equally concerned, his being unable to perform what his factor engaged for, will be none of his fault and they will suffer as well as he. He bids me tell you, that they may take what means they please to secure that what they advance shall be no otherwise employed, but whatever is done ought to be soon, else it may come too late, for by our last accounts from *Ormonde* he told *the King* to have the money ready, because he looked to be called on for it every day. I shall say no more for it is needless, but to desire you from *the King* to tell those two gentlemen that, the whole success of the Company and its trade depending for ever in a great measure on what they and the other traders will now do in this way, he doubts not of their doing what's in their power, and he hopes the trade will soon repay them what they advance with good interest. I have no doubt of your being diligent in this, which is the best way to recommend yourself to *the King's* favour and that of all who wish well to the Company. A speedy answer is of consequence.

I must recommend another thing to you. In those letters you sent me from *H. Straiton* he told me, as it seems he did you, that he had good hopes of getting some of that commodity I formerly told you was so much wanting to begin a trade, on which letters are sent him to some friends and those who have that kind of goods, and they are referred to him for such accounts of the trade as are necessary for their information from time to time, which I have told him *Menzies* and *James Murray* will give him. The last I have wrote to about it, and desired him to speak to the first till I should write to him, and my doing so to you now may save both him and me another letter, so I hope it will be taken care of. Because it is told them in those letters that some friends in *England* and *Ireland* are to furnish some quantity of those goods, let nothing be said to contradict it. I forgot to mention this last in my letter to *James Murray*, so pray tell him of it.

You may easily believe that the accounts in the last of yours I have seen concerning *the Duke of Shrewsbury's* recovery gave us no small pleasure, and you are to make many compliments upon it by *the King* which, I am sure, are very sincere. He also desires you to make his compliments of condolence on a late occasion to 768 (? Lord Portmore).

We will long to hear what the Parliament does upon its meeting again, and how the divisions at Court are made up, which last gives us no small concern, but we hope the wisdom of King George and the faithful ministry he now employs will turn all that to good. $3\frac{1}{2}$ pages. Copy.

SIR PETER REDMOND to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Feb. 16. Rome.—To-day I have been with Cardinal A[quaviva], whom I find a good agreeable man, but, as it was the first time, I did not think fit to mention any recommendation from him to his friend in Spain. All his discourse was drollery and merriment about the times and the part of the world I live in. I told him I would, before I parted, call for his orders to Spain or where else I travelled, and he answered he would be glad to see me often and to be able to serve me in any thing. What I shall pretend to him is that I have some dependencies and debts due to me in Spain, and that his friend Al[beroni]'s protection and friendship may be of great use to me there. I have told as much to Cardinal G[ualterio], who introduced me, though I have not a pin's dependence there, but the prospect of serving my master. I must pretend something particular to justify my desire of acquaintance or recommendation, and, as you don't tell me whether you have intimated any real design to Cardinal G[ualterio], as he does not touch on it to me, I shall not to him, but talk at large of matters and laugh it off, for, though they seem very open and sincere, they are very wary and penetrating, and it's dangerous jesting too much with them, for none of them

are fond of embarking openly in any thing, till they see a real prospect of success. I am acquainted already with more than half a dozen cardinals and they all understand perfectly well the affairs of Europe and John Bull's better than his own countrymen do in general. Many here have been curious to know your character, which I have presumed to give as of being a wise and honest man, which I shall hardly say of any other great man or minister. I told Cardinal G[ualterio] I had been seeking other little recommendations in Spain, of which he approved, so I shall proceed with all caution not to do anything to disgust him. I believe he has all the zeal and affections imaginable for the King's affairs, and 'tis certain he is very witty and pleasant and to all appearance a good man. I wish you would give particular directions how I should entertain him or his friend A[quaviva], in case you don't approve of what I pretend to them, and, if you have any enquiries I should make while here, I'd be glad to know them. I had yesterday a second audience of his Holiness by his own or his chaplain's appointment, wherein he entertained me with a grace and goodness natural to him and was very merry with me, but, many being present, I had no particular discourse with him, as at first, but, making him the best answers I could to what he advanced to me, he did me a great deal of honour and established my credit among the cardinals in declaring he was well contented with the audience I had of him.

The French post is come but I have not been yet able to learn any news it brings. I intend without fail to begin my journey the 3rd of next month for Urbino.

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Feb. 16. Vienna.—I expect with impatience your instructions, for the present crisis of the affairs in Europe demands a person instructed here, in order to advance in everything the service of his Britannic Majesty. I find the ministers of Sweden and Muscovy here much inclined to the King's interests and in some degree the minister of France. Prince Eugene is really among our friends. Two or three Secretaries of State are also for us. All this I am discovering by little and little, and finally the German ministry here is for us and against the House of Hanover, but the Spanish ministers, who are here in abundance, are all Hanoverians, for they hold before the Emperor's eyes the phantom of the Spanish monarchy and consequently the necessity of English assistance. However the German ministers are firmly of opinion that the Emperor ought to yield to circumstances and renounce the Spanish monarchy. *French. Partly in cipher deciphered.*

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to JOHN PATERSON,

1718, Feb. 16. Vienna.—As in the last letter requesting instructions. *French.*

JAMES III to the DUKE OF ORMONDE.

1718, Feb. 16.—“I begin to be now in the last impatience to hear from you, and have nothing of moment to trouble you with at present, but to send you the enclosed copy of my letter to *the Bishop of Rochester* which will put you *au fait* of the matter it contains. The choice of *James Murray per interim*, will, I hope, be grateful to you, as I cannot doubt of its being to *the Bishop of Rochester*, but indeed there was no other choice to make. . . . The great want of *Dillon* will be in relation to *the Regent*, but *Queen Mary* being so near can never want canals to address to him by in case of need. *Dillon* . . . can tell you none more than I can send you from hence, where we are almost buried with snow, but, I thank God, I continue in perfect health. . . . You should know that in employing, as I propose to do, *James Murray*, no new body is trusted, for he is it already entirely by *the Bishop of Rochester*, for whom he even writes.” Copy.

JAMES III to the BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

1718, Feb. 16.—*Mar* writing at large to *James Murray*, I shall not repeat what he writes, so this shall be only on a particular affair, which I thought deserved my own noticing.

As it is probable the Regent may soon send an army to Italy and that Gen. Dillon may accompany it, and as I think *James Murray* the most proper person to take Dillon's place, I wish you to dispatch Murray immediately to Paris, that he may be there before Dillon leaves it. Should that be imminent on his arrival, he is to stop there, but, if not, he is to come and give me an account of the affairs of England and so return to Paris to be book keeper there, if wanted, or else to return to England.

I expect daily accounts in relation to *marriage*, on which I can add nothing to my letter of 15 Dec., till they come. Pray remember me most kindly to *Lord Arran*, to whom I know you communicate all mine. Copy.

JAMES III to JAMES MURRAY.

1718, Feb. 16.—*The Bishop of Rochester* in delivering you this will acquaint you with what is designed in relation to yourself, therefore I shall not repeat it. I am persuaded you will cheerfully undertake the load laid on you and take as kindly as 'tis meant the great trust and confidence put in you. I wish it so happened that you could come first straight to *the King*, but that future events must determine. Copy.

JAMES III to the BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

1718, Feb. 16.—“I cannot but add in this private note that *I was truly pleased to find by a late letter I saw of yours to *Mar* that my letter of the [7th] January was useless enough. However I do not repent the writing of it, since by it you will have known my sentiments on some points, while you will

have seen the justice I did to you in being persuaded that some things I had heard were grounded on mistakes.* God preserve us in peace and union among ourselves, which with His blessing will make us surmount all difficulties and enemies." *The part between asterisks is printed in the Stuart Papers, p. 23, note.*

JAMES III to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1716, Feb. 16.—This is to enclose a private note to *the Bishop of Rochester* and to tell you how pleased I was to find by your last note that you took as kindly as I meant it all I writ you by Bask. You are the first reasonable body I have met with in their own case, and that makes me regret the more the loss we are threatened with of your assistance at *Paris*. Your sentiments on that are worthy of yourself, and you have with me all the merit of a sacrifice I am too just to you to accept of. The re-implacing you in your absence will be impossible, but we must do the best we can and without loss of time, and all I can say on that subject you will have from *Mar* or *Queen Mary*. *Copy.*

The DUKE OF MAR to JAMES MURRAY.

1718, Feb. 16.—Since I wrote to you 29 Jan., I have yours of 14 Dec. and a long one from *the Bishop of Rochester* of the same date, and an account of some things sent from him by Mr. Kites† to *Dillon*.

Last post I sent *Dillon* some things in consequence of the advices from *the Bishop of Rochester*, of which I hope you may have some accounts before this reach you. I also wrote to *Lord Oxford* of the particular you thought so necessary he should be concerned in, and I have now wrote to others in like manner, at least to those fittest to speak to them, all which I wish may have the desired effect.

"The view you give in the enclosed paper of the state of trade in your parts is very full and distinct, and pretty satisfactory on the main, but how far *the King* and his Company will be able to profit of those things will depend in a great measure on what is done by people with you to enable him to make good what he was necessitated to make *Ormonde* promise to *the King of Sweden* and *the Czar*, which he expects daily to be called on for the performance of, and what he expected elsewhere towards this is much more likely to fail than succeed. So his friends with you may judge and do accordingly, but I do not see it is advisable for them to set about it in any way but what I wrote you 9 Oct. last.

"I am at so much a greater distance from *the Regent* than *Dillon* that I will not pretend to judge how far things which have lately happened may alter his way of thinking, so I'll refer that to *Dillon*, who saw your letter to me, to answer, but I fear that, whatever may be in that, it will not for some

† This cipher is interpreted in the key *Denis Kelly*, but *George Kelly* must be the person meant.

time make him do anything effectually in that we wish. However you may be sure *Dillon* has done all that could be on the hint you give.

"I am glad to find that the two gentlemen you mention and with the youngest of whom you had had a conversation, are daily freer of the engagements to *King George* and *the Prince of Wales*, and I hope they will yet go further, and be of use in the trade of the company, but I must tell you that you were in the wrong and went a little beyond your commission in saying to him that what you then said to him, as well as formerly, was by commission, for that I never desired you to say, but only to speak to him as of yourself, full well knowing that giving you any commission to them was not the way to gain them, and I find I was in the right of thinking so, for he in a manner complained of it to one who has sent me an account of it. I am sensible that what you did you thought was for the best, so I easily forgive you, but it should learn you to be cautious of exceeding your commission in time coming, and this coming from a friend I know you will as easily pardon the freedom of it.

"*The King* and I are both obliged to you for telling us so plainly the thoughts of his friends in relation to his marriage. There is a good deal in what you say upon it, yet I think it is far from being so plain what he should do in the supposition you make of none of that family you mention to be had, as you seem to think. That none of that family, of his quality and otherwise suitable for him, being to be found, is but too certain after what I told you in a former of the objections to the only one of that kind that as yet has been ever thought of or proposed. The hopes of the affair you speak of happening soon you know are uncertain, but much more likely not to be immediate than otherwise, but, were it not so, he being an only child, there want not reasons for his marrying before he go to make the intended dangerous voyage. Next, were *England* reconciled to him, and he living at home with him, where could a suitable one of the foresaid family be found for him then, more than now. And, if he shall be forced for want of that to make choice of one of another family, who would not be so agreeable to *England*, is there not fewer inconveniencies in his having done it before than after their reconciliation, since necessity in a manner forces him to it now, whereas his doing it afterwards might occasion new disputes and jealousies betwixt them. And this beside the advantages of his doing it now might produce of his having thereby children, &c., which one consideration would certainly conduce much to the uncle's (*i.e.* *England*) being reconciled to him. When you and his other friends reconsider it with these views and considerations, I am apt to believe that you will alter in some measure your thoughts about it, and we will be glad and long to hear from you of it again. I must here observe to you that what you and *the Bishop of Rochester* now

write on this subject does not at all correspond with what Mr. Kites wrote as *the Bishop of Rochester's* opinion in that affair a little before, which has certainly been occasioned by Mr. Kites mistaking or misunderstanding what *the Bishop of Rochester* said to him on it, but, had things been with *the King* in relation to that business, as it was very possible they then might, and that he had only waited for *the Bishop of Rochester's* and other friends' opinions for determining himself in it, you may easily judge what the consequence of Mr. Kites' writing so might have been, which shows how wary people should be in saying anything to people to write as their sentiments without seeing it themselves after it is written and before it is sent, which I say not at all to reflect on Mr. Kites, for I doubt not but he wrote as he understood to be their meaning, though their own letters now make it clear that he was mistaken.

"As to what your friend in Leith writes you, there is nothing of that affair known to anybody here, but I have written to *St. Germain's* to know what is in it, though I am apt to believe there was no such commission given by anybody with him of that kind, and that the person has only assumed it, but how he came to know the particular facts looks odd, and is more than I can account for, and the more that there are but two people with that gentleman, or three at most that we know of, who know anything of those matters, the principal person there and one more being included, which beside *Dillon* the distance *the King* is at makes in a manner unavoidable. I cannot believe it would come from any of them, but, should any other know it from them who might upon that send such a message, and to such people as he at Leith names, I agree with you, that things are in a most terrible condition. I fancy that the commission has been but pretended, and all that was in it said by guess upon refinements and speculations on little scraps some curious people might have picked up, and, if there was anything further in it, care is taken to prevent any such slip in time coming, and it is not amiss that you let your friend, who gave you account of it, know as soon as you can what I have said to you on it. That friend I take to be *Lord Balmerino*.

"I am sorry for what you tell me of *King George's* not trying the affair of the two fleets with *the Parliament*, but, as that is a loss one way, it must be of some advantage another, by its showing *England* what she has to expect from time to time with *King George*. The use you proposed in a former paper to be made of what you suggested in that affair with *the King of Spain*, was gone about accordingly before the receipt of your last letter, telling of the alteration in it, as you would see by my last letter, so cannot now be helped, and I hope it may still have some weight, and can do no hurt.

"Nothing could be handsomer than the letter you sent from *Sir W. Wyndham*, as that from B[athurst] likewise is. *The King* desires that you may return them his kind compliments,

and pray be so kind to do the same from me. I always esteemed and loved them, which you may be sure is increased by my seeing new proofs of my not being mistaken in them. *The King* very much approves of *Wyndham's* going on in keeping that door open in the way you write of, which may some time or other be of use when it is in the management of so good a hand. *The King* desires also that you may make his compliments to *Mr. Shippen*, whose present condition is a sufficient excuse for no letter being from him, but I hope that will soon be over and he in a good state of health again, which is not doubted he will employ, as he has always done, for the advancement of the trade, and *the Bishop of Rochester* has said so much of the gentleman who was out of town together with the former proofs he has given of his good wishes to the company, [that it] makes his delay in writing not to be minded.

"I have done you justice with *Menzies* in letting him know the friendly way in which you have all along wrote of him. I am extremely glad that *the Bishop of Rochester* is now pretty well satisfied about that affair, in which *Menzies* was concerned. I would fain hope, that being now over, that things will be on the old foot again with them, but that is as *the Bishop of Rochester* pleases, who is the best judge in it.

"You were mistaken about the little woman, for there were no thoughts then of her coming, nor is not as yet, that I know of.

"I spoke to *the King* of the commission you had from L[ord] C[arnwath] about that friend of his. He and you may both be sure of *his* having all the inclination possible to make any friend of his easy, but you know how low the trade is just now, so that *he* can scarce get bread by it for the journeymen *he* has on *his* hands in the parts where *he* has workhouses already on this side, and it's easy to foresee the unsupportable inconveniencies of setting up new ones at this time in your parts, or even employing more journeymen either there or here, till trade be quicker, which when L[ord] C[arnwath] considers, *he* is persuaded he cannot take amiss *his* not doing what indeed *he* is at present in no condition to do. It will yet *he* hopes be in *his* power to employ such good workmen who deserve so well, and in the meantime that he and others will be able to make some shift for themselves.

"I spoke to your friend I am with of what you told me of some friends with you having thoughts of sending *James Murray* to give him an account of his lawsuit as soon as the term is over, which he is far from disliking, and the more that there is some appearance of his agent *Dillon at Paris* being employed and taken away by *the Regent* to assist in the affair he is like to have in *Italy*, which being so much more advantageous for *Dillon* than anything he can make in your friend's affair that it were hard to obstruct it. This though is not as yet certain, but, if it should so happen, your friend thinks

that *James Murray* is the fittest he has to succeed *Dillon* in *Paris* that he may correspond with his other lawyers from thence, and any business he may have to do with *the Regent*, which *Dillon* now does for him, he will find another fit for it, who may at the same time be in concert and intelligence with *James Murray*. So that when *James Murray* comes the length of *Paris*, if this of *Dillon* has happened, which, if at all, will by that time, *James Murray* may stop there and wait your friend's orders, and, if it does not, then he may come on, and return afterwards from whence he came, or do as should be found most advisable, and even if it does happen as to *Dillon* perhaps it were not amiss that *James Murray* should make no stop at *Paris*, but come on to your friend who would make him *au fait* of all his affair with *Paris*, *the Regent*, &c. and where he might soon return, and your friend too by this might have the advantage of being fully informed by him of the opinion of his lawyers with you. He has therefore wrote the two enclosed on it to *the Bishop of Rochester* and *James Murray* himself to which I refer. Your friend is sensible that *James Murray's* coming and staying at *Paris* will cost him some extraordinary charge, but that your friend must bear with, the greatest difficulty in it is, how to find a proper agent to succeed *James Murray* with *the Bishop of Rochester* and some other lawyers there, which *the Bishop of Rochester* himself is the fittest and best able to advise your friend in, which I doubt not but he will do. This is all that occurs to me on this head. Pray make my compliments to *James Murray*, and tell him that I foresee there may be some difficulties in it as to himself, as you hint, but I hope he will not find them insurmountable, whatever happens in *Dillon's* case, so that I please myself with the fancy of seeing him soon, though I should like it fully better that we should save him that journey by coming to him. It will be our turn to make it e'er long I hope, and he with us.

"A friend of ours, who had lately a letter from you, tells me you was gone to the country with a brother-in-law of *Mar's* where you was in hopes of meeting friend G[? eor]ge, and I suppose you will all be returned to town long e'er you get this. Pray make my kind compliments to these two gentlemen, whom I love with all my heart.

"So far in answer to your letter, and now I must trouble you with my compliments to *the Bishop of Rochester*, with my thanks for the letter he gave me the pleasure of and since I have wrote so long a one to you, which you will, I know, show him, I will not trouble him at this time with a particular one to himself. But pray tell him that I am very much of his sentiments concerning the affairs of the trade in general that he writes of, but, though he has many reasons to confirm him in his opinion of those who now manage *King George's* affairs, by what he has done in them for some time and particularly of late, as he mentions, yet I much doubt if they

have so good reasons or designs at bottom, however nothing could certainly have been more lucky for *the King*, and we will long to know what further steps are taken in it by them, which I hope will be of a piece with what went before.

"*The King* and I both expected that he would have said something on *the declaration* that was wrote of to him, or rather that he would have sent a new draft of it against there should have been occasion for using it, which, perhaps, there may be sooner than we expect, and fancying that the person lately come from those parts might have brought what he had to say on that head to *Dillon*, I delayed writing to you these eight days, in expectation of his sending me some account of it, but in the letters I had from him last post he mentions nothing of it, so that I conclude *the Bishop of Rochester* has yet delayed it, but *the King* and I both wish that he would think of it as soon as he can."

We know nothing as yet from *Ormonde* since my last, though we expect it every day and perhaps *Dillon* may have it before this reach you. If he has, he will certainly send you an account of it with this, and you may have accounts from him directly as soon as any of us. 10 pages. Copy.

BILL.

1718, Feb. 16.—For 2 portpapier and 6 pound of tobacco.

The COMTE DE CASTELBLANCO to [? the DUKE OF MAR].

1718, Feb. 17. Pesaro.—Explaining that he has not written sooner, having been detained 8 days at Fano by a cold he caught on the way. He has however almost lost it, and hopes in two or three days to leave for Bologna. The Duke will have heard of the opera at Fano from the gentlemen who have returned. Here the sun is always visible, though a little snow fell last week, but it was only a very small sample of that at Urbino. *French*.

The DUKE OF MAR to LORD PANMURE.

1718, Feb. 17. Urbino.—This is principally to know how your journey has agreed with you, and to beg you to let me know it from time to time as you proceed. I hear you made but a short stay at Fano, which I do not wonder at, when you were going to a place where you would find the operas much better. I hope you find the place answering your expectations, as I found it exceed mine.

We are going on in our old dull way, one day being as like the other as two eggs and these eaten without either pepper or salt.

(Complaining that he has been a good deal out of order in his stomach occasioned, he believes, by the new wine, which they were forced for want of better to drink, but they have

heard that day that the King's wine from France is arrived at Leghorn.)

The King himself is a little out of order to-day in his stomach, but I hope it will be nothing. He thinks of going to Fano next Monday for love of the opera, and I heartily wish the cold weather may not give him a distaste of the music, which he comes every day to like better.

The people in England are in mighty briguiings for the meeting of Parliament, every party having great confidence in their own strength and no doubt in their own politics too. I am afraid it will be as that of the mountain and the mouse.

I wish you a good journey and all success in what you are in hopes of, nobody having a greater confidence that you are incapable of doing anything but what is worthy of the part you have all your life acted than I.

I am told the President here takes it amiss that you did not take leave of him, which I thought I was obliged to let you know, that, if you think fit, you may write him a line of apology.

Lord P[erth] went to Fano some days ago, galanting some ladies. Lord W[into]n gave yesterday a regal to old Dominic [Sheldon], Sir William [Ellis], N[air]n, B[oo]th and De L——r. 2½ pages. *Copy.*

THE DUKE OF MAR to MR. DALMAHOY.

1718, Feb. 17. Urbino.—You may believe I am heartily sorry for the occasion of this letter. You will have heard long before this can reach you, of the misfortune of your cousin Capt. Thomas Dalmahoy. As soon as the thing happened, I had letters from the people on the place, all agreeing that he brought this unavoidably on himself. In a word the other gentleman did nothing but what every man ought to do in his own defence, and I can see nothing more incumbent on you as Mr. Dalmahoy's relation but to regret his misfortune, and as a gentleman, I think you ought not only to forgive the other, but even to compassionate his case and live in friendship with him, which I have reason to believe he wishes for of all things.

His Majesty being desirous to prevent the matter having any further ill consequences expects that you will give the gentleman no disturbance on account of what has happened to your cousin. If this poor gentleman has done any thing amiss, 'tis fit we leave that to his Majesty, who is the proper judge of it. 2 pages. *Copy.*

THE DUKE OF MAR to MONSR. STIERNHOCK.

1718, Feb. 17. Urbino.—Thanking him for his letters of 19 and 29 Jan.—The King is very sensible of your zeal for his service, and will, I hope, yet have it in his power to make suitable returns for it.

I am obliged for your advices and news, and doubt not of your continuing to write, when anything happens worth while. As to what you mention as to the uniformity of our Master's interest with yours, I have for a long time been of your opinion and am persuaded that a little more time and experience will bring others into our way of thinking, and that it will every day appear more and more evident that doing justice to my Master is the surest and perhaps the only bottom on which the peace of Europe can be established with any tolerable prospect of its being lasting.

I am glad to see that the Czar and your Master are in a fair way to accommodate matters. I am far from pretending to make any judgement of the King of Sweden's affairs, but I might venture to say, that, considering what he has already met with from some of the powers of Europe and what he has reason to expect from them and particularly from the House of Hanover, he cannot possibly do himself better service than to make up with the Czar as soon as he possibly can, by which he may not only be in a condition to defend himself against any attacks that may be designed against him from other quarters (and that there are such designs is, I think, pretty evident to all not wilfully blind), but likewise do justice to himself and others. I have it from England and from good hands that the present Government there, who are bent on the King of Sweden's ruin, apprehend nothing so much as a union and friendship betwixt his Majesty and the Czar, and that they are underhand doing all they can to defeat it, but this, one would think, should make the Czar and him the more anxious to bring it to a speedy issue. I hope they will, and that the King of Sweden may find his account in it.

We take very kindly your concern for my Master's health, which indeed is bad enough by the accounts you have. I have the same from other parts, but they are all equally false, and since ever I had the honour to be personally known to him, he never had his health better, nor never looked so well as now, so none of his friends need be under any apprehensions on that account. We are in a country that I cannot say is a good one, and the winter is severe enough to try the hardest constitution, and his Majesty walks abroad every day in the cold and snow, whilst others of us are glad to keep within doors. The Elector and those that serve him are sensible enough that they always have been, and are every day more and more obnoxious to the people of England and by a thousand mismanagements have reduced themselves to the utmost contempt with all the thinking people of that country. Finding perhaps the few friends they have somewhat alarmed on account of the present broils and divisions amongst themselves, and possibly the King's friends somewhat uppish on it (and I hope with reason on both sides), they have trumped up the story of the King being ill to dispirit the one and keep life in the other, and perhaps their friends

in France have taken occasion to write these accounts into England on the King's having sent to France for a physician, as having some immediate occasion for him, whereas the truth is he sent for this physician on the death of his ordinary one a little while ago, and you'll agree with me, it were not fit for him to be without some such person about him. One would think by this poor way of doing these people were now on their last legs.

The gentleman you mention, to whom you are related, is, as you say, my particular friend. When you write to him, pray make him my compliments.

Mr. Walkingshaw is not now with us, but, when I write to him, I'll let him know you remember him. $4\frac{1}{2}$ pages. Copy.

JOHN PATERSON to CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI.

1718, Feb. 17. Urbino.—The Duke orders me to acknowledge yours of 14, 22, 26 Jan. and your last of 2 Feb. Anything we can write you from here must be very stale long before it can reach you, and so, if I am not so regular in answering your letters as I ought, I hope you'll forgive me. His Grace expects you'll continue to send him what news you can.

He has wrote pretty fully in the enclosed to Monsr. Stiernhock, which he believes you'll see, and I must refer you to that, being pressed for time, which will answer some of the particulars in your letters and particularly as to the King's health.

My Lord is very glad to find that the King has some friends even in your part of the world, and is of opinion that time and experience with the justice of his cause will increase the number there and everywhere. He is of opinion that the best use you can make of such people is to endeavour by their means to get into the secret as much as you can of the views and designs of your Court and to know what passes with them and the other Courts of Europe, particularly that of England, by which you may be able to give us lights into these matters.

As to the King's giving you a commission as his agent, the Duke has mentioned it to the King, who thinks it would not be proper in this way of doing, nay that it would rather be an hindrance to it, because possibly it would make some people shy of talking to you so freely as otherwise they would, besides that he is not used to grant any such commission to anybody, for which he has a good many reasons unnecessary to be mentioned.

I wish you may be rightly informed as to what you say of *Prince Eugene*. If one could make any dependence on that, there might indeed be a proper use made of it, and nothing would be wanting on this side to promote it, but, till we know something more certain, it is impossible to give you any

particular orders about it, but there can be no hurt in your endeavouring to know something of his disposition in regard to the King, in which no doubt the secretary you mention may be of use to you, if he pleases, but this you had best do as from yourself only and without seeming to have any particular concern with anybody here, at least till you can write us something more particular about it, and have further instructions from this.

The King goes next Monday to the opera at Fano, which they say is a tolerable good one, and from this and what I have already told you, you'll easily judge how little ground there is for these idle reports about his health. *Over 3 pages. Copy.*

THE DUKE OF MAR to WILLIAM GORDON.

1718, Feb. 18.—I enclose a copy of a paragraph of a letter from Mr. Dicconson to Sir W. Ellis. The thing is so long ago that I forget what I wrote you on it, and his Majesty thinks so great an allowance to your servant too high, being more than he allows to some of the best gentlemen of his people. Therefore let me know the orders given in that by that mentioned letter of mine and the grounds on which they were founded.

I wrote not long ago to H. Straiton by the King's order to lay out 100*l.* on his account, for which perhaps bills may be drawn on you, and if so you must answer them, which Mr. Dicconson will allow you on your showing him this.

If Sir H. Paterson draw on you on my account for about 300 *livres*, pray answer it, and place it to my account. As to the balance of 335 *livres* 4 *sols*, which you say in yours of 31 Dec. I owe you, place it to Mr. Dicconson, which shall either be allowed him there, or I shall account to Sir W. Ellis for it here.

Pray let the enclosed be carefully delivered to Mistress Oglethorpe, and forward the other to Mr. Dalmahoy. Tell Charles Forbes I had his with his project, which is not amiss, but he might have thought fit to have answered something to the particulars I wrote of to him, and might have had a little more patience before asking an augmentation of his allowance. *2 pages. Copy.*

THE DUKE OF MAR to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, Feb. 18.—What I send enclosed for *James Murray* with what I send Mr. Inese for *Menzies* answers fully what remained to be said to our friends in *England* on what Mr. Kites* brought us from them, and, as Mr. Inese will take care of forwarding what is sent him, so will you, I hope, what is enclosed. *Queen Mary* and *Inese* wrote to us of a particular concerning *Dillon*, which gave us as much joy on his account as the loss it will be to us would allow, but, *the King* having wrote to *Queen Mary* on that head and I to *Inese*, I'll say no more on it.

* See p. 482, note.

What our M[aste]r has wrote to Mr. L[a]w will show you he is of the opinion you wrote on that head, on which you have something more to say. I know not if that be the same fancy which has struck me about him, which is, in case of *Dillon's* removal is there any body so fit to supply his place with *the Regent* in what concerns *the King*, if L[a]w will undertake it? I am hopeful he would, but there's time enough for determining this, after *the King* has heard *Queen Mary's* and your opinions, when you see that *Dillon* is certainly to be removed; only in that case, as I say to *James Murray* of the person to succeed *Dillon* with *the Regent*, *James Murray* and L[a]w might be in concert together, and neither appear further in the business than they had a mind, which I believe would not only be convenient but agreeable to both.

I like the answer mightily which you write *the King of Sweden* gave to *King George's* message. I heard from Vienna that *King George* was endeavouring to try something of that kind of means of *the Landgrave of Hesse*, but I am hopeful that what they tell me of the likelihood of things being made up betwixt *the King of Sweden* and *the Czar* will put an effectual stop to anything *King George* can expect that way, as the answer you say is already given cannot fail of doing. Sure we must have some accounts from *Ormonde* soon of all those affairs.

The report of the King's illness has certainly been industriously invented and given out by the Court at London and its friends to prevent their own quarrels from having their natural effects and perhaps they have taken occasion on Dr. Mackie's coming as a good colour for giving out what they knew there were no real grounds for.

(Concerning his own indisposition and that of the King and of the intention of the last to go to Fano, as in other letters.)
2½ pages. Copy.

THE DUKE OF MAR to L. INESE.

1718, Feb. 18.—Last post I desired Mr. Dillon to acknowledge yours of 17 Jan., in answer to which and to some things you wrote me before, I have but to refer you to what I have now enclosed for *Menzies* with a copy of a former letter of his to *James Hamilton* and a note of his account, all which will give you a clear light into that vexing affair. You may think I write a little severely, but, did you see what I have from some in *England* to whom he has been applying for shelter, and what they write in his favour and against others by the false lights he has given them, you would not be of that mind. By what I have wrote to *James Murray*, you will see whether or not I act as a friend by *Menzies*, though 'tis very likely he will not believe it. But now all this is betwixt ourselves and him only, and so can have no ill consequences with others as to any of *the King's* concerns, and, when he once acknowledges

the truth of the affair, he will set all right again here as to himself, and, though I fear he can be of no more use with *the Bishop of Rochester* and his people, yet he may with others who have confidence in him, particularly with *the Duke of Shrewsbury* and *Lord Portmore*, and a little too perhaps with *Lord Oxford* and *Mr. Cæsar*, so I am not for his being laid aside, and I thought him the fittest to write to now about the *money affair* with relation to the two first, which has occasioned the two enclosed letters to him, and you will take the right way of sending them. As to what he says of a quietus being sent him, which 'tis plain he apprehends notwithstanding his seeming to desire it, he has too good sense to desire it in earnest till he has cleared himself here of that ugly affair, for what other construction could be put on it, but that he thinks it better to be laid aside with 1,000*l.* in his purse than with an empty one. I can scarce believe he will ever heartily forgive me for what I have wrote and pressed him to from the beginning, but that cannot as yet be of great prejudice to *the King's* business, and the fair and friendly part I am conscious of having acted in it makes me very easy.

Dillon's being like to be taken from where he now is, is certainly a misfortune, for with respect to all he deals with it is impossible to find anyone who can fill his place, though it is like to be so much for his own advantage that, as *the King* has too just notions to stand in its way, so no friend of his can be sorry for it. Your considerations of the inconveniencies there may be by *the King's* referring to the people you name whom he should make succeed *Dillon*, if removed, are very just, so *the King* has determined himself as to him who is to correspond with those in *England*, as you will see by what I have enclosed to *Dillon*, and indeed there was scarce any choice for want of people who could answer all the ends, and to whom there were not manifest objections. As to his part with *the Regent* and how that can be supplied, it deserves another consideration, but *Queen Mary* being so near him, who can find several agreeable canals for coming at him in the mean time, it may be further thought of, and wait *Queen Mary's* return to what *the King* writes him. Mr. *Dillon* will also tell you of a notion which struck me on this particular.

THE DUKE OF MAR TO MR. LAW.

1718, Feb. 18. Urbino.—It is no small pleasure to me that you have so generously made good what I made the King expect of you on what I spoke to you the day before I last left Paris. You will see by the enclosed he is far from being insensible of the obligation, and I am sure no man will ever have cause to complain of his being unmindful of any service, when it is in his power to recompense it. I hope you will yet have it in your power to be of further use to him and your countrymen, who suffer for his and their country's just cause,

and that he will one day be in a condition to acknowledge it otherwise than by words. *Copy. Enclosed,*

JAMES III to MR. LAW.

Thanking him for his great zeal and attachment for his service, and of the effects already received from them, of which the Queen has informed him. 1718, Feb. 17. Urbino. Copy.

THE DUKE OF MAR to the DUKE OF ORMONDE.

1718, Feb. 19.—This dull place affords me very little to say, since I wrote to you on the 3rd. The enclosed will, I suppose, tell you all that is just now needful from hence.

I saw a letter from *Menzies* to which was a postscript, which a good deal surprised me, and gave me some uneasiness, though the thing be long over; We had very near, says he, caught *Ormonde* when in *Danzig*. I hope it is not true, but he had good luck if it was, and I wish he may never be again so near it.

All that *the Bishop of Rochester* advised by the last messenger necessary for the *money* business is sent him, and people wrote to, as he proposed, so I wish success in it heartily there, for I am afraid those who want it might starve before it came from anywhere else. *Francia* said one was coming here about that which he had promised, but there is no word of him as yet.

We long impatiently for news from *Ormonde*. *Lord Panmure* has left us in order to go to *France* on his lady's having wrote to him, that he has hopes of compounding his debts by giving a good spell to *the Germans*, but I much doubt of his success and I am sure he will do nothing unhandsome.

I suppose you hear as frequently from England as we, and it is little I have to tell you from thence, but that *Argyle* is fallen out with *the Prince of Wales*, which I have from a good hand. 1½ page. *Copy.*

THE DUKE OF MAR to FANNY OGLETHORPE.

1718, Feb. 19.—Thanking her for her two long letters of 18 and 22 Jan.—You make me too many speeches for my share in what the K[ing] thought fit to do for your family, which so justly deserves it.

I delivered your sister's enclosed letter and have orders to return compliments on it to you all. *Jamie [Oglethorpe]* has been with us two days this week, whom my M[aste]r was very well pleased with, and I believe *Jamie* no less with him. He appeared not in the day time, but came to my room in the evening, where my M[aste]r came to him both times, so none knows of his having been here but those he trusted with it himself. (About his own indisposition and the arrival at *Leghorn* of the French wine for

them and the false report of *the King's* serious illness as in other letters.)

I have had letters from Vienna and elsewhere to enquire about it, so it seems care has been taken to make it credited. My old friend S[tair] had best have the intelligence about that from me, before he credit it. I am glad he is recovered, for I must still wish him well in what concerns him personally.

All my Master or I told Jamie of the affair you write of was that you all and likewise his sister at London having desired a thing in Theo's (Theophilus Oglethorpe's) favour, he had done all in it his present circumstances would allow him, and Jamie himself was not forgot in it, the particulars of which were not fit to be spoke of on their account more than his own, but that M. de M[ezières] and Madam knew them, and that he might tell this to Theo., so it is still in your powers to manage the secret with them as you think fit, and, when I write to young F[ury] (*i.e.* Anne Oglethorpe), I shall write of it in the same terms, as you advise. My Master wrote of his having done this to the Q[ueen], so your sister had best make her compliments on it, when she sees her, and let her know how great a secret your sister is enjoined to make it.

The accounts of *Ilay* and *Argyle*, which I take to be the same thing, you send me with what I hear from another friend of theirs of their being now entirely, and, as they say, happily disengaged of all ties to b. (? the Elector of Hanover) are agreeable enough. I hear too that, though they will say nothing as to *the King*, yet they say they will never again serve either c. (? Elector of Hanover) or m. (? the Prince of Wales), and that they will go entirely in with 322 (? the Tories). I am assured also that *Argyle* has not seen n. (? the Prince of Wales) since the late affair, all which looks well, and being so it is no wonder *Ilay* desires to see Mrs. Wesh (? Fanny Oglethorpe) again, since he knows she would come on no consideration but on what they agreed, but can he think himself so cunning and other people so simple as to let him into any thing of consequence that were immediately to be done without his and his friend's having previously done something more than they yet have? You'll say perhaps that they have done more than was hoped for, yet all hitherto is but a fair appearance, and it is easy retracting much more than that, and, were they in my place and I in theirs, they would require and expect a great deal more, before they thought I had reason to expect to be let into any thing of great consequence that was immediately to happen. Did you know how many there are x's (the King's) friends, who are against his having any thing to do with them, and who think their being of his side would hamper him more than all the service they could do him is worth, you would think the steps we have already gone into as to them are a great deal, but neither x. (the King) nor I are of the sentiments of those friends and, if they two will do but the least thing to justify the friendly things already done and proposed

to be done for them, there will be no stop in the performance here, but they should consider we have our all to look to as well as they, and that is reputation, pleasing of friends and doing nothing but what we can justify to them. All they two have done is so far well, but they must either do or say more, before they can with reason expect to be trusted so far as we do those we are absolutely sure of. It is very fit that you and any body else, who speak or write to them on the subject, should let them know that we look on them to be in our interest and that we hope they will soon give us further proofs to be sure of it, and by what they know already they had no reason to doubt of everything answering their expectations so far as depended on us. They should judge, as if they and we were in each other's situation, which it is not amiss you as of yourself should tell them, but we must not seem too pressing on them. If they do as they say they intend, they will be obliged to do more than they have yet spoke of, and even perhaps more than they yet think of. You may tell them, that, as they have reason to be on their guard with their enemies, who certainly lie in wait for them, so they should consider that very often an over-cautious game is the most dangerous and mostly turns to the least account of those who play it. If you'll explain all this to *M. de Mezières* I fancy he will not differ far from me in those sentiments. We shall now soon know what happens on *the Parliament's meeting*, and that may, perhaps, give rise to new and other views about them and other people and things.

(About the King's going to Fano.) 4½ pages. Copy.

JAMES III to CARDINAL PAULUCCI.

1718, Feb. 21. Urbino.—Begging him to do all in his power to support the demand he has made of 300,000 *crowns* from the Pope and to join Cardinal Gualterio in concerting proper measures to induce his Holiness to be favourable. *Draft in the King's hand. French.*

JAMES III to CARDINAL ALBANI.

1718, Feb. 21. Urbino.—On the same subject and similar to the last. *Draft in the King's hand. French.*

JAMES III to CARDINAL GUALTERIO.

1718, Feb. 21.—Requesting him to deliver the last two letters to the cardinals they are addressed to, explaining to them what is at stake in much the same terms as the writer has used in his letter to Cardinal Imperiali.—I leave it to your prudence to direct your steps in the whole conduct of this important affair. If you think proper I should write myself to his Holiness, I will do so, but I should think it would be better

that things should be previously prepared a little by you and these other cardinals.

I am almost ashamed of my letter to the Princess Piombino. I have ventured to write as to a good friend, but, if the style is too barbarous, do not deliver it.

My stomach is well again and my little journey of yesterday will do me good I believe. I leave it to Nairne to give you an account of our festivities here, *French. On the same paper,*

Copies of the above letters to Cardinals Paulucci and Albani. On a separate piece.

Postscript.—Feb. 23. Fano.—“Je viens de recevoir votre lettre du 19. Dieu nous garde de trop pressantes instances a l’égard du mariage de *la Princesse de Saxe*, tant que nous pouvons voir venir je serai tranquille et c’est tout ce que nous avons a faire, jusqu’a ce qu’il arrive quelque chose de positif de ce coté là. Aussi il n’y a que des remerciemens a rendre au C. Albani pour le billet qu’il nous ecrit. . . .

La machine a plume ne meritoit pas votre attention, si vous n’aviez pas plus vous meme au coeur qu’au don, qui merite votre amitié par celle qu’il a pour vous, et qui s’étend jusqu’ aux bagatelles.

Je suis si charmé de l’opera et des honnetetés que je recois ici que j’y finirai le Carnaval. *Copy. Enclosed,*

JAMES III to the PRINCESS PIOMBINO.

Your many civilities to me in Rome have increased the value of those in your letter of the 16th. I am glad that the little compliment of my portrait has found favour with you, and I shall desire opportunities of showing more effectually the high esteem which I have conceived for your great merits, and which I shall preserve for all your family. Italian. Copy.

CARDINAL DE NOAILLES to [JAMES III].

1718, Feb. 21.—An inflammation of the eyes has prevented from availing myself sooner of the address of *Card. Gualterio*, which you have had the kindness to give me.

I am no longer in a condition to press as much as I have done, and as I should wish to do still concerning what is due to you, because *the Duc de Noailles* is no longer concerned in that sort of business, *the Regent* having chosen to relieve him of it. I shall lose no opportunity of going to him immediately and shall do my best to procure you a more speedy payment. It is easy to understand the suffering caused by waiting so long. I do not doubt *Queen Mary* will exert herself; it is proper it should come from her, but your principal trust should be in God.

The business of *the constitution* does not get on as fast as I could wish. I contribute to it as far as I can, but bad

dispositions are more obstacles than the nature of the business itself.

“Je loue Dieu de vous avoir fait trouver ce religieux du pais d’*Irlande*. Il vaut mieux qu’il ait du bon que du grand ; souvent ce qui paroît grand aux yeux des hommes est petit devant Dieu, et au contraire l’humilité et la piété, qui ne brillent pas devant les hommes, ont un grand éclat aux yeux de Dieu. Une longue expérience jointe à ces deux vertus mettent un homme en état de donner des conseils de salut, et de faire marcher dans la sainteté et la justice ceux qui en ont un sincère desir.”

I am not surprised that there is no news to be sent from your snow-covered mountains, but I should wish there might be some from elsewhere that would give you the means of changing your residence. I learn with great grief that *the Pope* and *Rome* are cooling a little towards *the King* through fear of suffering for him. Nothing would be more glorious than to do so, but they are not yet come to that. God grant that they do, and that faith may give them more strength than fear weakness.

I always wish you a speedy and advantageous establishment. I believe it necessary for the cause you champion and for the good of your followers. I am too much interested in that not to be among the first to be informed, when you shall have found a suitable match. I hope therefore you will do me the honour of informing me of it. *Over 4 pages. French.*

GEN. GEORGE HAMILTON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Feb. 21. Paris.—Thanking him for his letter of 29 Jan. with the enclosed commission.—I was to have waited on Mr. L[aw], but, being indisposed of a cold these two days, he does not see company. However I’ll take another opportunity by showing him the part of your letter regarding him, which is so very obliging that I am persuaded it will have a very good effect.

Mr. H[oo]ke has been so afflicted with gout and rheums these ten days, that it was not possible for me to speak to him in particular, so I shall only beg leave honestly to tell you my thoughts and what makes me wish so much he had been employed in our M[aste]r’s service is because I knew pretty well he was advised with in affairs here, consequently [I] give him occasion often to speak with relation to our M[aste]r’s interest, and to my knowledge he gave a short history from Charles I by way of information to a certain minister, showing the reasons, mistakes and occurrences that had happened till this present time. As this was conceived only in general terms, I pressed him to make a new scheme, showing them their true interest by supporting that of our M[aste]r. He answered that, as he knew nothing of the measures *Dillon* had taken, it would not be prudent in him

to interfere, lest any project he might have in view might fall out so as to be directly opposite to the other's, in which case both designs might be defeated, so that without orders and a right understanding with *Dillon* he was sure I would not advise him to meddle in so nice an affair, by which you see he had no design of supplanting *Dillon*, nor did I ever mean anything like it, and I wish there were not more the spirit of faction and prejudice than good reason for laying him aside, and I cannot help thinking that *Dillon* has more on hand than it's possible for any one man to manage well, for I have seen him days together labour like a horse, writing only his dispatches. Then how can it be imagined he has leisure to look after other affairs of greater importance? You know very well the knowledge in such business without practice and long experience is not easily acquired, and I am persuaded, if you and Mr. H[oo]ke had been better acquainted, all these difficulties and objections made against him would have been very soon removed. I beg pardon for writing my mind so freely; it's without any view of private interest.

As to the picture I can't entirely agree with you as to its likeness, and shall give you my reasons by the next. *Nearly 3 pages.*

Sir H. STIRLING to the DUKE OF ORMONDE.

1718, Feb. 10[-21]. Petersburg.—I received a message from Dr. Erskine by the post immediately after I wrote to you desiring me to suspend my journey, since I was to hear from him soon. Accordingly I received a letter last Saturday by a servant sent on purpose, though of a quite different strain from what I expected, since he tells me that the Czar has complaints made him from England that the Duke of Ormonde is protected in his country, and therefore, to evite the ill consequences that may happen on that account, he is ordered by the Czar to acquaint me that, if Ormonde go to Sweden, he will convey him in the same manner he did Görtz, and is afraid that, if he stays longer where he is, it may spoil the whole affair. These are his words, which, I own, surprise me, and therefore by this day's post I acquainted him of the impossibility Ormonde lay under to prosecute such a design, since it must be attended with as great, if not greater, inconveniencies than staying where he is, for, till he hear from Jerningham, it was impossible to know whether he would be received as a friend or an enemy, and, allowing his person to be safe, yet to go to Sweden and be rebutted would infallibly dispirit his friends in England, which I thought was by no means to be risked, but, if the Czar would propose any safe and more out of the way place, I did not doubt he would go into it. I looked on the commission Dr. Erskine sent to be so contrary to Ormonde's scheme that I was unwilling to lose any time in endeavouring to satisfy him of the inconveniencies

of it. If I have done anything amiss, I hope he will pardon it, and believe what I did was only to prevent what I thought must expose him to dangers, which a little delay may remedy.

Dr. Erskine says he has no news yet about the treaty, which was the only reason he did not write to you all this while. It's certain however that Görtz is concerned, and the expectations of success run high, but for fear of spies the strictest enquiry is made and with the greatest difficulty any person is allowed to go out or in.

The considerable news of this place is the Prince Royal's having renounced the Crown for him and his heirs in favour of the Czar's children of this marriage, which was done in the most solemn manner in the cathedral church of Moscow before the chief of the nobility and clergy some days ago, which occasions great speculation. The Czar has given orders [for] the equipage with the first of the season [of] 33 men-of-war, but I am afraid that will be but indifferently manned. He set out from Moscow the 15th and will be here, 'tis thought in a fortnight after. *Mostly in a complicated cipher, but deciphered. Copy and a copy enclosed in John Paterson's letter of 10 April.*

WILLIAM GORDON to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, Feb. 22. Paris.—Concerning the receipt and dispatch of various letters.—Boyn desired me to inquire if a letter he wrote some time ago was come to the Duke's hands. Last post brought him account of his lady's death, which is heavy on him, for, though she was endeavouring to sell her jointure, I fancy nothing was done, and now all hopes are cut off.

Your old comrade, Sandie, is still at Rouen, and I beg you to represent to his Grace the fatal consequences of a young man's being idle, and, if the King's affairs will permit, I beg his Grace's allowance for him to go to Germany or any place he thinks fit to learn his trade and be the better in case to serve his King when there may be occasion. Brigadier Hay and William Erskine will join you in speaking to his Grace.

Be so kind as to advise of the King's health that I may be in case to stop villainous reports and satisfy honest men.

FANNY OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Feb. 22. From the country.—[I] have this minute yours of 29 Jan. I [delivered] the enclosed, which was received with the respect and gratitude [it deserves]. She [begs] you'll assure the King of her inviolable attachment. She received it with great joy. I find our cold ladies are more sensibly touched than others when they're pleased. She does not answer him, having already returned her humble thanks and fearing to be troublesome.

Mezières has not yet heard from Sparre. I already wrote you word of his thoughts on that subject. The last letter

from my m[other] says that *Ilay* in his conversations when alone with her calls c. (? *King George*) and p. (? *the Prince of Wales*) the nation's tyrants. We have not heard directly from him since the last I sent you ; there must be some extraordinary reason for his silence. *Mezières* has reflected, that, as he's naturally cautious and apprehensive of everything, which may be the reason of his not writing as he promised, to remove all difficulties he has made [me wri]te him word, that, in case he has any project which he dare not [communicate] by any other way, that he thinks it absolutely necessary he [should] be told by mouth, that your Mercury shall go again. He[thought] 'twas proper to make him that offer, because in all his letters [he spea]ks of it, to try to determine him. Though you know such a [journ]ey, if known, may prove her utter ruin, yet *Mezières* pretends that, [as] 'tis of essential service to our master, thinking as we ought to do, one must shut one's eyes to all private interest and hazard every thing, but I have desired him to weigh well before he makes her undertake such a voyage, though, if it's of the least consequence she'll do it without hesitating and with joy, but will go by Dieppe or Holland, for fear of your two faithful spies. We shall wait for his answer with patience.

The quarrels between George and his son cont[inue and the] public discontents increase. They talk of dissolving P[arliament], but there is nothing in't. We have not heard of the D[uke] of A[? rgyle's being] obliged to travel.

A certain lord, that wrote to you just before you arrived [this] last time at Paris by my sis[ter], is now arrived at Edin[burgh] and has writ to her to desire her to renew his assurances of respect and duty to *the King*, and to assure you that, as soon as you come into that country, which they wait and long for with impatience, he'll join you immediately. He desires you to assure *the King* of the sincerity of his wishes.

I believe you may remember that at St. Vincennes in the wood one day *Mezières* talked to you of a certain man of quality, that is a bosom friend of *the Regent*, that talked to him at all hours, freely knew his thoughts of things and had sometimes made him change his opinion, but, as most men have their faults, he did not know how to use his power and spent his int[erest] on trifles, or, to speak better, on nothing at all by a cert[ain] indolence, which he calls philosophy. He is in great employ[ment] but no ways in the ministry. He looks on *Mezières* as his bro[ther and asks] his advice in all his affairs, but has seldom the resolution [to follow] it. You then told him 'twas proper to manage h[im for] our Master as from himself, that it might be of use, which he then did, and worked him up to such a pitch that he was metamorphosed into a true-born Englishman. He then told *Mezières* that 'twas not time to speak of *the King*, but that he would miss no occasion and send him word, but he must take his own time. Last post he sent a little billet apart in one of his letters. I send

you the copy enclosed. He has burnt the original. *Mezières* says he does not promise it will have [? success] but it's only to show you that *the Regent* is biassing and less [influenced] by *Dubois* than formerly. The same person assured some time [ago, if] *Dubois* would have asked *the Regent*, he would have given it by [now. *Mezières*] has writ to thank him for his good designs and to desire [them to] continue, and, if he found anything required his [pres]ence, he would take the post and be with him in 8 hours. You [may] easily believe, if 'tis any thing worth while, you shall soon have notice, but he conjures you not to write any thing of this to Di[llo]n nor make him go to tamper with *the Regent*. That will advance nothing and perhaps make it be talked of. The only reason he has to insist on Di[llo]n not knowing it proceeds from that person having told *Mezières* more than once that *the Regent* looked on Di[llo]n as a man that talked to him even more than he desired him, and, as that has given but an indifferent opinion of his discretion to him, he would not meddle, if he thought the other knew.

One of our English noblemen [has tak]en care to give a scene to amuse others. M. le [Duc mad]e a great feast last week to Prince Charles' lady. —on* thought fit to make one of the company and, like a [true Bri]ttain, he said he would insult all the princesses of France. They [told] him to hold his tongue, on which he cocked on his hat and [told] them he had money enough to have the prettiest woman among them and therefore could choose, and for the Princes they were but men and so he despised them. After having rattled off a great deal of such stuff and talked much of the liberty and property of England, he was desired to go away and even conducted out of doors. Next morning by the help of some sleep his brain was settled, he desired the D[uc] D'Aumont to ask M. le Duc pardon, and desire leave to wait on him, which was granted. He excused himself on having drunk too much wine. I wish for his sake it may prove but that. It would be a good thing, if there could be an Act of Parliament [to] keep our bears at home. He assured them, if they did not [take] care, they would draw on themselves the whole House of [Lords], which, I believe, has much lost its credit with M. le Duc [on account of this] last scene joined to Lord Essex and Drogheda. If anybody [speaks to] me about it at Paris, I'll assure them that knows my lords [they] leave their brains with their robes at the lobby and [never] make use of any when they travel.

The deputies of La Bretagne for the nobility have each a letter of *cachet*. One of them is exiled to Amiens. The Duc de Noailles has been like to meet with the same fate. The danger is not quite over. They talk of a new form of government and an entire change in the ministry. M. d'Argenson has the blue garter. Six months ago he was

* Perhaps the Duke of Wharton, at least the anecdote is in accordance with his character.

threatened by the *chambre* of justice. When Fortune once smiles, she showers her favours. I wish she would come to us for a little. The Jesuits grow very gay. Cardinal de Rohan is come to Paris for some time. M. le Duc is discontented about the affair of the presidency of the Council of War. The Duke of Lorraine arrived the 18th. He is to be incognito and is called the Marquis, for [aught] I know, du Prie. The Duke is to be used like grandchild of [France]. The Duke of Orleans and all the Princesses went to meet [him].

I suppose Theo will carry Jemmy in returning to wait on [the King]. He went by Leghorn, because his bills of exchange were [drawn] there. He has not come this way. We shall go soon to the good town, where we shall make, I fear, a long stay, because my sis[ter] has another chevalier to bring into the world, at least I wish it may be a boy. All St. Germain says the King is married.

Peterborough is arrived at Paris and told a friend of ours that he intended to be with us in four days. I don't know if he'll come, but that day I'll have the headache. The Duke of Shrewsbury [is dead] and has left 1,200*l.* a year to his Duchess with his plate [and his] ready money, his estate to George Talbot. Poor [? Hamilt]on is at last undone. The Portugal Ambassador [has asked] for a dispensation to marry an heiress in Holland. They say Lord Bol[ingbroke] visits every day. . . .

There was a great conference between the last, Maréchal d'Uxelles and M. de Nancy at the Regent's. The last is to be sent to Spain. The news from London is that they talk of a rupture with Spain and are discontented with France and that George has put off his journey to Hanover because of his son.

Mr. Harwood is here. He was one of those that were transported but forced the ship into France. He's in hopes to get back his estate or at least something ont. The sufferings and necessities of those poor gentlemen make [my] heart bleed. *Torn.* 4½ pages.

CHARLES WOGAN to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Feb. 22. *Prag.*—I write only to let you know I am thus far on my journey to *Breslau*, where I propose to be in three days, but, now the frost is over, the ways are so broken and slippery and the fall of the snow so great that 'tis very hard to answer for one's speed. However I must be at *Ohlau*, if possible, before the end of the carnival, for 'tis there *Prince James Sobieski* lives at present. I pass to-day over a part of the lands of *Furstemberg*, which are about the value I told you in my long letter from *Augsburg*. The other particulars relating to that matter are pretty just by what I can learn here, but my best information will be at *Vienna*.

JAMES III to *LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON*.

1718, Feb. 23. Fano.—Your two of the 31st were so far from being troublesome to me, that I take most kindly the freedom with which you wrote them, and the more that it gives me an occasion to explain my meaning on the points they contain, and which I find you entirely mistake. I do not think I was it, in taking as I did some expressions in your English letters, and, had you not taken them in that sense, you would not, I suppose, have apprehended any *tracasseries* in my showing them to *Mar*. But you know how *Ormonde* was on the road towards *Mar*, and, if you do not, I do that many are taking indirect ways to hurt him. Now these facts, joined to the letters which I could not but understand my way, made me think my letter to *the Bishop of Rochester* absolutely necessary, for, if you attend to the words, you'll see that I am far from laying any thing to his or *Ormonde's* charge, but only friendly ask an *eclaircissement*, which (even suppose grounded on a mistake), cannot but be taken kindly by *the Bishop of Rochester*, while it will certainly prevent any *tracasserie* *Mar's* ill-wishers might make hereafter. This step I thought I owed in friendship to *the Bishop of Rochester*, in gratitude to *Mar* and in duty to my own service, and after this, I believe, few people regard less insignificant jarring than I do, though 'tis always my business to prevent an evil in itself inseparable from Courts from causing too great ill effects. I am very easy as to *the Bishop of Rochester*, for 'tis impossible a man can give a wrong sense to that letter unless an ill sense were first given to it, which, I am sure, will not be the case from you.

It never entered into my thoughts of your being of any party but mine. You know how satisfied I am with you, and how necessary I think you in my service, and all the pains *Mar* takes to improve your English correspondence speaks plain as to him, therefore give not yourself a moment's concern on these heads, but rest satisfied of my kindness and go on acting the upright part you have done. I need say no more here, where the operas are enchanting. 2 pages. *Copy in Nairne's hand.*

JAMES III to L[ORD] S————

1718, Feb. 23.—My knowledge of your friendship for me, and the frequent occasions you now have of conversing with your old acquaintance A———— B———— is the occasion of the trouble I give you, in begging of you to use all your credit with him as to the opening of his eyes as to his master's present situation in respect of our native country. The thing is so visible that I need not enlarge on it with one of your penetration, who can give the best and most weighty turns to such an overture. You will not forget anything that may be agreeable to A———— B———— who is personally

esteemed by me, and to whom I should be glad to have obligations which I may one day be able to requite. I entreat you to acquaint me by some safe canal of what you can gain upon the said person. *Copy in Nairne's hand.*

WILLIAM MURRAY to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, Feb. 23. St. Gervie.—Yours of 6 Jan. I received the 16th instant with very great satisfaction, finding you thought the hazard was over as to the great escape I had made; and that the Duke of Mar took notice of me to his Majesty. I cannot but with all imaginable gratitude thank you for your kindnesses and for acquainting the Duke of my misfortune and for the good instruction given me that it will learn me a lesson of my being more careful for the future.

MONSIEUR STIERNHOCK to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Feb. 23. Vienna.—I have the honour to communicate the important news I have received since my last from persons who appear worthy of credit, namely that the Emperor two months ago caused it to be declared that he renounced his claim to the Crown of Spain on condition that Sicily should be reunited to Naples, and Sardinia restored to him and that he should be confirmed in the possession of the fortress of Mantua and of at least a part, if not all, of the country belonging to it as a fief of the Empire escheated by the ban of the last Duke and also in that of Comachio and that he should be satisfied as to his other claims on the Pope, that on this declaration projects of peace between the Emperor and the King of Spain for confirming the peace and equilibrium of Italy and for an alliance between the Emperor, France, England and Holland, tending to the maintenance of this peace and for the security of the claims of the Regent on the Crown of France in case of the death of the young King and of the House of Hanover on the throne of Great Britain and also of the Barrier Treaty have been formed between the Court of London and the Abbé Dubois and that an express sent to M. de St. Saphorin, one of the English ministers here the most in credit with the Court though a Swiss by birth, brought these projects with orders to that minister to do his best to induce the Court of Vienna to agree to them. It occurs to me, nevertheless, that this undertaking, being so important and so difficult, is not yet so well arranged on every side that one can be certain if and when it will come to perfection. The affairs of Turkey and of the North have an influence on it, and reciprocally those of Spain and Italy on those of Turkey and the North. The above projects do not prevent the Court of London giving the Emperor hopes of sending a squadron to the Mediterranean to give weight to the negotiation and people here speaking of troops being marched into Italy for the same purpose

besides those who are at present on the road to Naples. It is said that what is proposed regarding Italy on the French part is, that the Duke of Lorraine shall be Grand Duke of Tuscany after the death of the present Grand Duke and his son and daughter without children on condition that Lorraine be incorporated with France, and on the Spanish part, that after the Duke of Parma's death the eldest son of the Queen of Spain should inherit that Duchy, without the Emperor being allowed to claim Tuscany or Parma as Imperial fiefs, on the Duke of Savoy's part, that he on ceding Sicily to the Emperor should have as equivalent either Sardinia with the title of King or the title of King of Lombardy with some parts of the Milanese, and on the part of all these three powers and also underhand of the Pope, Venice and Genoa that the fortress of Mantua as the key of Italy should not remain in the Emperor's hands but should be given to the Duke of Guastalla as the nearest relation of the last Duke with the part of the territory not otherwise disposed of by the treaty to be made or at least that half the garrison of that fortress should consist of the troops of that Duke, the Pope and Venice joined with the Imperial troops and that the differences between the Emperor and the Pope should be amicably settled and on the part of the Pope, that Comachio be restored to him, the Imperial troops withdrawn from Benevento, the ecclesiastical revenues of Naples restored and the Nuncio at Naples re-established. The above points are of such a nature that it will not be easy to come to an agreement. However, if the Emperor is really willing to renounce his claim on Spain for himself and his descendants, which some add that he is unwilling to do except for his own person, it is a great foundation on which those who are employing themselves for the peace of Spain and Italy can work. But, if the Emperor is at present obliged to renounce his claim on the Crown of Spain and to guarantee to the Regent the succession to that of France and also the King of Spain to renounce the latter anew, it is a great question whether in case of the young King's death the Emperor and King Philip may not unite, the former to assist the latter with all his forces joined with those of a party in France to procure him the Crown of France, and that King to cede to the Emperor that of Spain. I wish with all my heart for peace between the Emperor and the King of Spain and a union between the Emperor and France and personally with the Prince at present governing that Kingdom, but I am very sorry to be apprised of the plan attached to it of an alliance between these two powers and the Elector of Hanover and the Dutch. If the Regent believes himself obliged by his personal interest to continue a little longer in his connection with the Elector and the Dutch, I would hope it may not be of long duration, but, if disappointed in this hope, I should be in despair on account of my love for King James and for my master.

I have just learned from a good hand that at the same time as the above alliance between the Emperor, France, England and Holland has been planned at London, there is another negotiation also going on without the concurrence of France for getting the Dutch to join the defensive alliance concluded two years ago between the Emperor and the Elector, whereby the Dutch are to send a squadron to join that of England, to be sent to the Mediterranean to the assistance of the Emperor as the party attacked, on condition that the Emperor confirms by this alliance the Barrier Treaty. As that treaty is so prejudicial to the Austrian Low Countries, the States of those countries always continue to murmur much at it, and I doubt not that it is with great repugnance that the Emperor holds these countries in a manner so little conformable to his dignity and interests with regard to them, while temporising with a view to his other interests. The dispatches of the express from London are said to relate to this negotiation, in which France is not included, as well as to the other.

When I consider what Baron Görtz has communicated to his friend here, of which I informed you by my last, concerning the proposal of the Comte de la Marck to the King, my master, for a renewal of the alliance between him and France, which is just expiring, on condition that the Czar be included in it, a condition which does not seem to me consistent with a sincere friendship between the Regent and the Elector of Hanover considering the footing on which the Czar and the Elector are to each other, and what Mr. Connell (*i.e.* O'Brien) told me of the secret good dispositions of the Regent towards his Britannic Majesty, and also the real interests both of France and according to my ideas of the Regent personally being able to find a support as, and even more, solid in a strict union with the King of Sweden reconciled to and allied with the Czar and well restored in Germany with his friends among the German Protestant princes, and King James being placed on his throne,—considering all this, I say, I find it difficult to imagine that the real feelings of the Regent and most of his Court correspond to their apparent ones with regard to Hanover. I conclude by saying that there is so much bargaining in the present circumstances that spectators have great difficulty in getting a clear view on that stage and in judging confidently of the developement of the scenes that present themselves there.

The last letters from Belgrade state that the Turkish plenipotentiaries to the peace congress have arrived at Nissa, about 30 leagues from Belgrade. The secretary of the English embassy to the Ottoman Court, who came from there four months ago, set out yesterday for Adrianople with the answer of Prince Eugene, accompanied by the express of the Dutch Ambassador to the said Court who brought the Grand Vizier's letter to that Prince, and the new ambassador to that Court will shortly take the same road. It is apparent that the congress will open before long. This does not prevent

the preparations for a campaign continuing on the Emperor's side and, according to the news from Turkey, on the Grand Seigneur's. The Emperor has named General Virmond his plenipotentiary to the congress jointly with Councillor Dalman. It is believed that, when the most important points have been settled, a person of higher distinction than the General will go there, only as a matter of form, to sign the peace. They add that, if peace should be concluded during the campaign and the Grand Vizier wishes to present himself at the congress at its conclusion, Prince Eugene will do the same. I enclose the translation of the Grand Vizier's letter, as it has been sent here by the Dutch Ambassador. Though the Russian Resident here speaks of his master's inclination for war with the Turks, I do not perceive any attention paid here to his hints about an alliance between the Emperor and the Czar against the Turks.

The Emperor's Resident at Copenhagen has written here quite lately that he knew for certain that the King of Denmark had just received a letter from the Czar with repeated assurances that his intention was not to come to an agreement with the King of Sweden to the exclusion of his allies, adding that all that was reported to the contrary was pure calumnies. The Russian Resident here also continues to contradict the general report of an approaching separate peace between their Swedish and Czarish Majesties, but not so strongly.

(Concerning the continuance of his correspondence, if his Excellency wishes it.)

Postscript.—It is said that Count Lagnasco, General and minister of State of King Augustus, will be present at the peace congress, but I am informed that, if his master sends a minister at all, it will be a Pole, and that the Count is come here with instructions and full powers about the marriage of the Electoral Prince of Saxony. I mentioned in my last, I had heard that King Augustus seemed resolved to suspend making any movements for the execution of his plan of abdicating the Crown of Poland in favour of his son, the reason of which is considered in Poland to be not to cause any premature alarm, while on the one hand that King is not certain of peace with the King of Sweden and of his consent to the execution of that plan, and on the other till he sees the Emperor inclined and in a condition to give great support to it, for I find it hard to imagine that he does not think of carrying out the said plan in one or other of these two cases, though it seems that the Saxon ministers wish the public to believe for the present that the King is resolved not to resign his Crown in favour of his son.

Count Wels, Minister of State of the second rank to the Emperor, who has accompanied the Electoral Prince of Bavaria on his Italian journey, is on the point of departure for Neuburg, the present residence of the Elector Palatine. It is said he will go to Munich or that the Elector of Bavaria

will go to Neuburg for a personal interview with the Elector Palatine and that minister. It is added that they will treat there about the marriage of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria with the eldest Josephine Archduchess and about a union between the House of Austria, Bavaria and the Palatinate. The Count is said to carry with him the Emperor's positive assurance that he will support the Elector Palatine in his just claim to recover his dignity of Arch Treasurer of the Empire usurped by the Elector of Hanover. The disputes on that subject are the cause that the Elector Palatine and the Elector of Bavaria have not since the peace of Baden taken their seats in the Electoral College of the Diet of the Empire, and thereby the formal deliberations in that College and consequently in that of the other Princes of the Empire have been suspended. 29½ pages. *French*.

THE DUKE OF MAR TO DR. CHARLES LESLIE.

1718, Feb. 24. Fano.—My anxiety to know the effects of the letter from the King concerning Dr. Hoadly's affair is the occasion of this trouble. Letters from England about the time I compute it might have arrived there mentioning nothing of it, makes me more desirous to hear from you how it was received.

I have great hopes of the good it will do in showing that, notwithstanding his private opinion with regard to his own religion, which, considering their way of treating his father and himself, could scarce be otherwise, yet their religion and Church government as established by law would be safer, better protected and encouraged than by the ways they have vainly taken to "rescure" them and under which they now groan. This shows plainly the wisdom and justice of God above that of men and that their deviating from his precepts and trusting to their own imaginations is like to be the ruin in place of security of what they value most, but it is to be hoped their eyes are now opened.

I was very glad to know the satisfaction and pleasure the letter gave you, as I doubt not it would do to other subjects to whom you showed it on this side the sea, of which I beg to have some account.

I made your compliments to your two brethren with us, who begged me to return them. Our congregation is not now very numerous by there being but few with his Majesty at Urbino in comparison of what was at Avignon, and Lord Panmure's going lately for France about his own affairs makes it yet thinner, but there are still a good number of us left and more than of any other profession in the family. *Over 2 pages. Draft in Mar's hand.*

J. MENZIES to [L. INESE].

1718, Thursday, Feb. 13[-24].—Having no account since yours of 28 Jan. it seemed very probable all had miscarried,

and the very doubt forbids writing except to send you the common papers and the most common occurrences of parliament.

The House of Commons is carried by the Court. The other day they passed the Mutiny Bill and to-day the Court has carried also the bill for the Commissioners for forfeited estates and against the Lords of Session.

The Mutiny Bill was read to-day a first time in the Lords and ordered a second reading on Tuesday, when there is to be a call of the House. An ill blood has appeared there beyond expectation, Lord Harcourt has quite broke with the Court. Argyle and Sunderland very warm. An address carried which is severe upon the Army, &c. A petition daily expected in the House of Commons as to the Baltic trade and other grievances.

JAMES MURRAY to *LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON*.

1718, Feb. 13[-24]. London.—I have received yours of the 16th. I suppose, before this can get your length, you will have heard we have lost the young prince, but they say her Highness is in a way to supply that loss soon. The Parliament will not continue sitting above a fortnight, after which it's thought his Majesty will prepare for his journey to Hanover. How affairs will be settled in his absence I believe nobody yet knows, but one may venture to say the Prince will have no share in their management. The scarcity of silver coin we at present labour under is not to be conceived, and it is certain that the Government is a good deal distressed about it, for, when people have not silver to go to market for common necessities, they can't be very easy. Though the Court have carried the powers they desired for regulating the Army in the House of Commons by 18 votes, the same point will be debated in the other House, where the event is uncertain. The members are going fast into the country, for now people are assured that nothing is to be attempted this year against the Church. Nobody has heard from *Ormonde* this great while. I wish matters go well with him. I will stay in town to expect *George Kelly*.

ROBERT HEPBURN OF KEITH to the *DUKE OF MAR*.

1718, Feb. 25. Antwerp—Explaining he had waited to answer his Grace's letter till he saw how he was to be paid the allowance his Majesty had ordered him, but now all is right with his affair.—If every man had acted his part as his Grace did, the King had been to-day on his throne. The writer had some thoughts of going home, but his wife writes he has powerful enemies in Scotland and that it will not be safe for him to go so soon. He regrets he cannot be with his Majesty. The Gazettes report he is very indisposed. It would raise his spirits to hear that he was well. 2 pages.

GENERAL G. H[AMILTON] to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Feb. 26. Paris.—A good time ago I told Mr. Dillon of this paper of Mr. H[oo]k's and to whom it was given and probably it's from him you may have this information about the lady's going on in her own way, &c. Though he has all the zeal imaginable for the K[in]g's service, yet I never found him fond of meddling for the reasons I mentioned in my last, nor do I believe we would ever have had any discourse on this, had I not pressed him on what you told me at Liége, and what you wrote to me afterwards, but by your letter, which I have not shown him, and picture, I believe you have changed your mind, therefore I will not trouble you any more on that subject. He told me last night he was very well assured that peace was concluded betwixt the Czar and the King of Sweden. The former was to restore everything except Petersburg and Ingria and to assist the King against Denmark and Hanover till he was repossessed of all his countries taken by them. This lucky agreement, I hope, will soon prove to our M[aste]r's advantage.

By my last accounts from the other side I am afraid we cannot depend on the credit required from our friends time enough in case of any present project in view, and yet they press extremely the dispatch of the goods. One half of what was proposed would be sufficient to make their fortunes and on landing the goods would repay tenfold. What they apprehend most is of false brethren. The whole or part discovered would destroy the whole trade. *2½ pages.*

THEOPHILUS OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Feb. 26. Rome.—I am overjoyed to read in the Amsterdam Gazette the names of the captains that are to command the eight ships designed for these seas. As I particularly know some to be loyal in their principles, others are my friends, and one only that I don't know, I think it my duty to let the King know this occasion to gain them ought not to be lost.

You have been informed why the squadron under Sir James Wishart did not declare. If you have any sea officer sufficiently acquainted with these captains to speak with confidence to them, I dare say part may be gained and such an opportunity ought not to be lost. I am assured the seamen are more affectioned to his Majesty than to George. If his Majesty thinks fit to tamper with them, the person he sends must have a proclamation declaring his affection for the seamen and for advancing those that are the bulwarks of the nation ready to publish when things are ripe. *Enclosed,*

EXTRACT from the AMSTERDAM GAZETTE.

The article from England, dated 21 Jan., says that the Admiralty the Wednesday before had ordered 8 ships to

be got ready, viz., the Prince Frederick, Capt. Mathews; the Buckingham, Capt. Strickland; the Winchester, Capt. Campbell; the Salisbury, Capt. Cockburn; the Canterbury, Capt. Falkner; the Defiance, Capt. Walton; the Hampton Court, Capt. Kempthorne, and the Windsor, Capt. Peirce; 3 of which are 70 gun ships, 3 of 60 and 2 of 50, and 2 bomb ketches. It is said this fleet is designed for the Mediterranean, but the Admiral is not yet named.

JAMES EDWARD OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Feb. 26. Rome.—Thanking him for the civilities he has received and assuring him how sensible he is and always shall be of his Majesty's great goodness to him.

MONSIEUR STIERNHOCK to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Feb. 26. Vienna.—Since my last relating to the affairs of Spain and Italy as well as of Turkey, as regards the first the same persons, who informed me of the Emperor's declaration that he renounced Spain on condition of obtaining by the interposition of France and England what concerned his convenience with regard to Italy, have since informed me that he had not caused it to be declared that he formally renounced the right of himself and his descendants to the Crown of Spain, but, what appears in effect the same thing, that he would make peace with King Philip and from love of peace would recognize him as King of Spain and would leave him in tranquil possession of that Crown, preserving for himself the royal title of Spain, passing over in silence his right and that of his descendants. As to Turkish affairs, Prince Eugene's second letter to the Grand Vizier sent by the secretary of the English embassy to the Ottoman Court, who left this the 21st, declares that, though the Grand Vizier's answer to his first letter regarding the principle of *uti possidetis* proposed in that letter as basis of peace was not to the Emperor's satisfaction, his Imperial Majesty adheres to that basis and has founded thereon his resolution of sending plenipotentiaries to the Congress. I have not yet heard that Fabrice, a Holstein minister, son of a minister of State of Hanover and a creature of Baron Bernsdorf, of whom I spoke as an emissary of that Hanoverian Prime Minister, intended to go to my master to open negotiations for peace between him and the Elector, has crossed the sea as yet, though the frigate which came to Lübeck expressly to transport him is there at his disposal. It is said that the King of Denmark has hitherto refused him his passport, notwithstanding that King's attachment to the Court of Hanover, and it is added that he apprehends being left in the lurch himself by that Elector, Baron Görtz, like all the Holstein ministers, being extremely embittered against the Court of

Denmark. There is besides a general distrust among the enemies of his Swedish Majesty, of which he apparently will soon profit one way or another, notwithstanding the outward demonstrations of friendship between them. I have just read a Gazette written at the Hague, which observes that according to report Fabrice was there in order to make a second journey to London before crossing to Sweden. 6 pages. *French.*

The DUKE OF ORMONDE to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, Feb. 27.—I had none of yours by the last post and I cannot yet tell if I am to receive any by this that passed by this morning. If there be letters for me, I cannot receive them time enough to-morrow morning to answer them, may be not to own the receipt of them. I send a letter I had this morning from *Sir H. Stirling*. It was a surprise to me, as I am sure it will be to you. It does, as you may believe, embarrass me pretty much. By the answer *Sir H. Stirling* makes, I shall have some time to consider what measures to take. I have had no other letters from *Dr. Erskine* but those I sent you a copy and abstract of. This behaviour of *Dr. Erskine's* is very unaccountable. He has not answered mine of 4 Dec. The enclosed will inform you of the time the *Czar is to be at Petersburg* and of the extraordinary doings at *Moscow*.

I wonder the *Czar* chose such a place as this for me to stay in, it being a little place and the road to *Petersburg* from *Holland*, the *King of Prussia's* country, *Dresden* and *Danzig* and his niece residing here. The Governor was too civil and made too great rout with me. He would have given me a guard and came to visit me without any mystery but I declined several civilities he offered me, fearing it would make too much noise.

I am sorry I cannot send the *Queen* and *King* any account concerning the marriage, but *Doctor Erskine* not writing makes me fear that he has not that so much in his mind as I could wish. I am impatient to hear from *Jerningham*. (A copy of the above letter is enclosed in *John Paterson's* letter of 10 April, 1718, where the date is given as 24 Feb.)

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, Feb. 27. *Vienna*.—Enclosing the two letters of *M. Stiernhock* of the 23rd and 26th to the Duke of Mar, to which he refers for the news, adding that the Emperor is on the point of renouncing his claims to the Spanish monarchy. *French. Partly in cipher deciphered. 2 pages.*

JAMES III to FATHER GAILLARD.

1718, Feb. 28. *Fano*.—The amusements of this place and season do not prevent me from opening to you my heart on all the contents of your letter of 22 Jan. I have always

had a real pleasure in receiving your news and finding you always the same true and cordial friend towards me.

“ Rien de plus juste et de plus raisonnable que ce que vous me dites sur ma lettre a Mr. Leslie. Vous aurés déjà secue que mes sentimens estoient conformes aux votres, et les mesures sages et discrettes que j'ay pris pour prevenir les suites d'un scandale que la malice m'a imposé et que la foiblesse pourra continuer. Mais, sans m'etendre inutilement sur un chapitre, sur lequel je ne puis rien ajouter a ce que j'en ay ecrit a la Reine, et sur lequel en general avec la grace de Dieu vos avis seront ma regle a l'avenir, croyéz vous que je ne sens pas mon cœur persé et reserré, en voyant jusqu'ou la malice a pû s'etendre a mon egard, et d'une part ou je devois l'attendre le moins, et en voyant que les temoignages les plus authentiques, et une conduite a cet egard de la religion que j'aurois crû au dessus de la medisance, y etre si cruellement exposé? Mais le repos et le temoignage de ma conscience me rassure et me calme, et comme par une funeste experience je me vois continuellement en but a tout ce que la malice a de plus noir, je tacherai d'en faire un sacrifice a Dieu, et après avoir fait mon devoir de me mettre peu en peine des discours des hommes. Du reste je trouve encore, Dieu mercy, parmi quelques uns d'eux de la probité, et la justice que vous me rendés et a vous meme me fait esperer que l'innocence et la justice ne seront pas toujours opprimées. Mais venons a la source, qu'il n'est pas juste que vous ignorés. Tous les Catholiques ne sont pas helas des saints, et il n'y en a que trop parmi eux qui ont encore plus d'ambition que de veritable zele ; auprés de pareils gens le fond et le solide de la Religion est peu regardé, et, quand ils songent a la situation ou il a plü a la Providence de me mettre, a la necessité ou je suis de vivre parmi les Protestans, a la necessité ou je serai de leur donner la preference en charges, honneurs &c. et au peu de part qu'ils auront eux memes dans les affaires, cette grande ressemblance a l'Eglise naissante n'est plus supportable a ceux qui manquent son veritable esprit, et de là vient que leur aigreur et leur ressentiment ne pouvant trouver prise ailleurs retombent toujours sur moy, qu'ils aimeroient mieux ne me voir jamais retabli, que de ne se pas voir a ma droite et a ma gauche, et qu'ils voudroient me forcer de prendre les memes mesures qui ont été la source des malheurs de mon pere, et qui continueroient certainement les miens. Dieu me garde de comprendre ici tous les Catholiques, je ne parle que de quelques uns qui font et a moy et a eux memes et a la Religion plus de tort qu'ils ne pensent ou peut-etre qu'ils ne veulent. Une triste experience me fait parler avec connoissance de cause, et gemissant encore plus sur leur manie que sur mon malheur, que puis je faire dans une pareille situation si non de prendre Dieu a temoin de la sincerité de mes intentions et en prennant sa loy pour ma regle de me mettre peu en peine de tout ce

qu'on fera ou dira de moy, pourvû que je fasse mon devoir ? Mais aussi n'est il possible pour moy de me voir ainsi diffamé dans les paÿs estrangers, et quelle opinion auroient les Protestans, si de pareilles choses arrivent a leur connoissance, quelles injustes impressions n'en receveroient ils pas de nous, et combien leur haine contre nous en seroit elle augmentée ? Dailleurs qui peut douter de mon inclination a favoriser les Catholiques, mais qui ignore que de pousser cela trop loin leur nuiroit plus dans la suite qu'il ne leur profiteroit a present ? Qui ignore la prudence et meme la charité avec laquelle les Protestans ici se conduisent envers les Catholiques ? Qui ignore que de ma religion personnelle il n'est plus question, et faut il, au lieu de cultiver cela, le detruire, en gardant une conduite que je ne vois que trop, et que, plût à Dieu, personne ne vit que moy ? Du reste je connois, Dieu mercy, mon devoir et il me paroît qu'en ces choses là je le fais. Je suis Catholique, mais je suis Roy, et des sujets de quelque religion qu'ils soient doivent etre également protégés. Je suis Roy mais, comme m'a dit le Pape luy meme, je ne suis pas Apotre, je ne suis pas obligé de convertir mes sujets que par l'exemple, ni de montrer une partialité apparente aux Catholiques, qui ne serviroit qu'a leur nuire effectivement dans la suite. Tout le monde peut scavoir et mes sentimens et ma conduite également juste et honorable sur ces chefs, et ce n'est qu'une malice interessée qui puisse les faire paroître dans un faux jour, mais avec un tel secours je ne m'étonneray jamais en voyant que les Protestans seuls me rendent justice en certaines choses, et que les Catholiques seduits par ceux, qui feignant la probité et le zele, peuvent accuser d'hypocrisie et de lacheté une politique également necessaire, prudente et Catholique. C'est ici, je vous avoüe, le seul ecueil que j'envisage a ma fermeté, mais avec la grace de Dieu rien ne sera capable de l'ébranler. Une foy fondée sur la pierre n'est agitée ni par les calomnies ni les mauvaises exemples, toujours pure en elle meme et toujours infailible, elle m'apprend que son appuy vient de plus loin que de l'exemple ou des paroles des particuliers. Je sçais a qui je dois croire, et je suis sure que je ne puis errer en suivant non ce que je vois ou ce que je sens, mais ce que Dieu meme m'a appris.

... "Ce preambule étoit necessaire a ce que je dois vous dire ici de plus particulier et qui regarde personnellement Mr. I[nese], agissant comme j'ay fait a son egard sur de sages et solides fondemens, la seule chose qui me fait de la peine c'est la crainte d'y avoir déplû a la Reine et l'impossibilité ou je suis de luy expliquer mes sentimens sans peut-estre ou blesser la charité ou le respect que je luy dois, mais ma tendresse pour elle ne me permet pas de vous rien cacher, afin que vous prenniés votre tems pour luy expliquer mes vûes et mes sentimens, qu'elle ne scauroit qu'approuver quand elle les considerera sans prevention. La principale raison qui m'a déterminé a eloigner Mr. I[nese] de mes affaires est

que je ne vois que trop par les manœuvres qu'il faisoit et dont il étoit capable il ne pouvoit manquer de me brouiller avec la Reine dans la suite du tems, je voyois qu'il prenoit avec elle les memes mesures qu'il a pris autres fois avec moy pour me prevenir contre elle, et qu'il faisoit tout ce qu'il pouvoit indirectement pour porter la Reine a des mesures qui ne pouvoient que la rendre elle meme disagreeable dans mon pays. Je ne dis rien de sa conduite a mon egard ni de son caractere assés connu pour ne pas blesser la charité en repetant des inutilités. Je m'attache a l'article de la Reine, et, comme je ne puis douter que Mr. I[nese] ne fasse de son mieux a present pour la prevenir contre moy en sa faveur, je vous conjure et vous supplie de luy decouvrir la droiture et la sincerité de mes sentimens et de mes actions, afin qu'en rendant justice a l'un et a l'autre elle soit en paix et en repos. Elle scait aussi bien que moy que les qualités de fils et de maitre en sont nullement incompatibles, elle scait que je les ay toujours allié sans interesser ni mon respect ni ma tendresse pour elle, et que, comme elle est au dessus de tout autre, et qu'elle n'a rien de commun avec eux, je suis aussi le maitre de disposer des autres comme bon me semble pour mon service, sans entammer sur ce que je luy dois. Je prens Dieu a temoin que j'ay agi ni par pique ni par vüe particuliere, mais simplement par devoir pour prevenir les suites d'une conduite qui pourroit me tant prejudicier et pour empecher des tracasseries que je voyois claire comme le jour que Mr. I[nese] me feroit, Dieu seul peut scavoir a quel dessein.

“ Quoique je n'ais assurément point de honte de ce que je vous écris, cependant c'est dans un stile que je serois fâché qu'il fut exposé a d'autres ; J'ay crû devoir me rendre justice a moi meme et en general et en particulier en ce qui regarde la Reine, et vous en ferés l'usage que vous croirés convenable : Ce que je puis vous assurer est que votre nom ne sera jamais produit dans ce que vous m'avez informé, et qu'après avoir éloigné Mr. I[nese] des affaires je l'épargnerai dans le monde autant que je pourrai ; mais vous m'avouerez que c'est une situation bien cruelle, quoiqu' honorable, pour moy de me voir en but a tout ce que la malice a de plus noir, et cela de la part également des mauvais Catholiques comme des Whigs Protestans. Les differens mais solides sujets de soupçon que j'ay en depuis des années de Mr. Inese et tous confirmés par ce que je viens d'apprendre ne m'a pas laissé de choix à l'égard de son éloignement des affaires, et, quoique je n'exige de personne de tomber sur luy plus que de raison, je vous avoue que je crois qu'on ne le scauroit justifier entierement sans autoriser la mauvaise foy et cela a mon prejudice, Et ainsi je suis persuadé que, lorsque la Reine aura attentivement pesé toutes choses, qu'elle ne prendra rien de mauvais de moy et encore moins de Milord Mar, qui a ignoré ce qui s'est passé, et en qui aussi bien qu'en bien d'autres ici j'ay trouvé une

probité inconnüe parmi la pluspart de nos St. Germainois, et je ne puis m'empêcher d'aimer la probité et de haïr le vice par tout ou je le trouve sans croire ma Catholicité aucunement prejudiciée par là, quoique puisse dire les factieux et ceux qui sont autant opposés au Pape qu'ils le sont a tout autre gouvernement et autorité legitime 8½ pages.
Copy.

FANNY OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Feb. 28. From the country.—We have no news from England since I wrote. We wait impatiently for *Lord Ilay's* answer to our offering my going if he had anything to say.

Paris is full of diversions, the greatest feasts that ever was, exceeds those of Cleopatra's for her Antony, every day at the Regent's, Duchess of Berry's, &c., for the D[uke] and D[uchess] of Lorraine, who is weary of such a hurrying life. They say they would not continue the same for a month for all the principalities in Europe. It is certain nothing tires sooner than continued pleasures to people that has the least share of reason. I send you the king's answer to his *Parlement*, with which they are extremely discontented, but the *Premier President* has adjourned them for eight days, hoping by that time they'll be appeased. M. le Duc de la Force has quitted the presidency of the finances. I send you some songs, and, that you may have some notion of the manner of writing love letters here, I send you a copy of a letter of a lady to his Royal Highness. It's not my fault if the town does not give better subjects. Lord Peterborough has taken a house for six months at Paris. He goes to the fair without his garter with a great cloak in which he wraps up his two grandchildren, only their heads appear, and two Venice ladies support him, which he calls his guards. M. de Simniam is dead. They talk much here of a war with England and Spain.

"Song sur l'air, D'une jour l'Amour, cherchant la mère,
trouva la belle Climene."

La Force haissoit tant la guerre,
Qu'il n'a jamais osé la faire.
Le metier luy parust mauvais
Mais pour faire esclater sa vie
Il prend celuy de Bouvallais
A la barbe de la pairie.

Escrement des pairs de la France,
Pitoyable outil de finance,
Chetif commis d'Argenson,
Tes ayeuls l'auroit-ils pu croire
Que les lauriers de leurs maisons
Seroit noirci dans l'escritoire."

“ Song sur l’air, Va-t-en voir s’il vien Jean.

On dit que tout l’argent
La paix, l’abondance
Vont enfin en peu de temps
Revenir en France.
Vas-t-en voir s’il vien Jean.

Je crains peu, dit le Regent,
La noire embassade*
Qu’ils vienne, je les attends.
Vas-t-en &c.

On dit que d’Argenson
La rare prudence
Fait venir des millions
Pour enrichir la France.
Vas-t-en &c.

Le chancelier d’Aguesseaux
S’est mis dans la tête
Que l’on doit luy rendre les
sceaux.
Vas-t-en &c.

* *i.e.* le parlement.”

“ Vers sur le Parlement.

Voyla la protecteur des loix.
C’est l’objet de nostre esperance
Ce parlement, qui tant de fois
S’est montré l’appuy de la France.
Qu’ a-t-il fait ce tuteur des Roys
Pour vouloir nostre souffrance ?
Des remonstrances en beau François
Puis au Regent la reverence.”

“ Lettre de Madame de Sabran à son A[ltesse].

J’ay este ce matin a ta porte. Tu n’a pas voulu me laisser entrer. Chienne de race, si tu viens à la mienne, tu pouras avoir le même sort. Tu n’a jamais sceu parler ni ecrire en amour, mais tu scais lire. Lis donc, monstre. Je t’envoyray demain mon matin pour le faire chambellan, car pour le brevet de retenu parles en a ton garde des [? Sceaux].”

Le matin, c’est son mary, pour qui elle demande une charge de chambellan, sur laquelle il y a une brevet de retenu. The letter fell from his pocket by accident.

The MARQUESS OF TULLIBARDINE to JAMES III.

1718, Feb. 28. St. Gervais, 4 leagues below Bordeaux.—Expressing his thanks for the letter his Majesty was graciously pleased to write, which unfortunately miscarried by the way, but the double came safe. All possible care has been taken that everybody this way might continue private according to his Majesty’s intentions.

The MARQUESS OF TULLIBARDINE to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, Feb. 28. St. Gervais.—I received yours of 6 Jan. the 17th instant with the double of what the King wrote to me a great while ago, which was lost by the bearer. He left the enclosed for you before he went away, of which design I acquainted the Duke of Mar on 28 Jan. Getting him dispatched has helped to occasion my being so long of sending

you this return. Glendarule has written fully to his Grace about everything we are concerned in. I wish his Grace may concern himself so far with the enclosed for the King that it may be delivered in the manner he thinks properest. I am very thankful for your good will and carefulness about my poor concerns and particularly for your kindness to the young man we have been speaking of.

Glendarule desires me to tell you he cares not how soon the attack on him begins, which he made me some time ago write he was thoroughly prepared to sustain, and, unless he be soon briskly charged home, he seems inclinable to turn the assailant. 2 pages.

COLIN CAMPBELL OF GLENDARULE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Feb. 28. Near Bordeaux.—I had yours of 29 Jan. on 25 Feb. I am perfectly persuaded *Dillon's* silence proceeded allennarly from want of money to give the necessary orders concerning *swords* and *targes*. Now we hope soon to hear from him. He will find *Tullibardine* most obedient in every thing that can contribute to *the King's* interest.

I transmit my last letter from *J. Macleod, junior*, by which you will see his further accounts of *Stuart of Appin*, of whom you judged right, for he seems already to be overtaken in his vill[ainous] practices. I very well believe *Argyle* speaks truth, when he answers *Stuart of Appin* that he is in no man's reverence, being thoroughly persuaded he never meant any good to *the King*.

I trouble you also with part of his cousin *Ardshiel's* last letter to me, mentioning *Stuart of Appin*, so you will see how little acquainted that gentleman is with telling the truth, and how honest and hearty poor *Ardshiel* continues.

I am exceeding sensible of *Mar's* goodness in complying with what I proposed for Sir D[unca]n. What I have ventured to desire for him is on a supposition that his early and sincere actions in *the King's* service may not only atone for his former escapes but deserve what is now so graciously granted him by *the King*, all which I will signify to him in the most cautious manner.

All the little accounts I have agree that *Scotland's* family was never in so good a disposition towards *the King*.

At the first view it appeared odd to me that you have had no return from *Glenгарry*. You know he has a right hearty way of thinking, and I judge his first thought has been that it was not absolutely necessary and there might be danger, should it be intercepted, and it's like he considers himself to have acted always so well that no exceptions would be taken at this omission, but I think all this is wrong and have not only writ to him myself but also to a person who will signify so much to him, so I hope you will hear from him soon after. I am convinced you'll find no defect in him, when *the King's* affairs require him to act, for in many of *J. Macleod, junior's*, letters

to me there were always paragraphs from him of his unalterable resolutions to serve *the King* with his compliments to *Mar*.

You judge very justly of *Clanranald* and *Lochiel*, for nothing could be falser than *Stuart of Appin's* story of them, so that worthy gentleman is of a piece in all his actions. I have forwarded yours to *Clanranald*.

Though I have not hitherto discouraged *J. Macleod, junior*, in going on in his expectations from *Argyle*, yet I could not help giving him hints of my own suspicions about it, and I know *Argyle* so well that I should be very sorry *the King's* affairs were so low as to be obliged to such conditions as would satisfy that gentleman's appetite, and that would be no less in the end than the ruin of the honest *Highlanders*, never to be put in the balance with him either in point of interest or honour. Were *Argyle* sincere, as I am persuaded he is not, his appearing active would bring more confusion amongst with it than would balance any real service he could do *the King*, and *the Highlanders* would never trust him, there is such a natural animosity betwixt them, and *the Highlanders* have so many just claims against him, that *Argyle* would in justice be brought under, which he knows so well that hitherto his first maxim has been to suppress *the Highlanders* and put *them* out of condition to prosecute *their* good pretensions against him, of which he gives a very recent instance, having possessed himself of all he could grasp at, right or wrong, of *the Highlanders'* effects, which I think no good symptom of his intentions. Seeing that *the King* has the promise of *Lord Glenorchy, Campbell* [of Auchinbreck], Sir D[unca]n and the most considerable of his friends, I cannot see any temptation to be much troubled about him, seeing without those you are already sure of he would make but a very small addition save innumerable troubles and difficulties.

Without him there appears to me a very plain easy way of settling *the King's* affairs in *Scotland* to great purpose, for by *Mar's* interest, *Tullibardine* and *Glenorchy, the Highlanders* and others, *the King's* concerns in *Scotland* may be put on a lasting and sure footing, so as not only to render his affairs always easy there, but also to make it a sure support to him elsewhere, if their help were required. Now, if *Argyle* be brought in, any man may foresee that *Scotland* will again be rendered a nursery of faction and troubles, and in place of a support to *the King* may become the first beginnings of mischief, as formerly when *Argyle's* predecessor was employed and trusted by *the King's* grandfather, and what they have done since, you know better than I can tell you, and this is the most likely person in all *Scotland* to lead on discontents, if it is put in his power by trusting him. You know *the Highlanders* may be put on a most solid way with no great charges to be in a particular manner most useful to *the King* on all occasions, and that is a measure *Argyle* will never be brought to. Much of our future tranquillity depends on laying the first foundation right, which will be a very sandy

one, if *Argyle's* hand be in it. I shall not say what necessity may bring him to, so as to make a seeming compliance, but that will be forced work, and how far such a man is to be depended on you are best judge. (Hoping he will forgive him for launching out so far in such matters, and protesting he means no harm to *Argyle* in his just and private concerns, and that his only quarrel with the writer has been the latter's poor endeavours to serve the King's interest.)

You will see by *J. Macleod, junior's*, letter what slender grounds he went on in relation to his hopes from *Argyle*; therefore I have now written to him to let his tampering with him drop, lest he might be entangled by him and to be careful of meddling with any of *Argyle's* tools, who may be at work even among our folk on no good design, and that he may in the discreetest manner warn *the Highlanders'* friends to observe the same measures. His own letter has given me good reasons for writing to him so, for I cannot see that this correspondence has ever been entertained in any right way on *Argyle's* side, and I have also advised him to write to his correspondent to be very cautious how he deals with *Argyle*, seeing after so long discontents nothing has fallen from him that can give grounds to expect any good that way. I know the correspondent will take the hint, and you may observe he has been pretty cautious in all that matter. I take this correspondent to be *Campbell* [of *Auchinbreck*], who has been at *London* above a twelvemonth and is now married to a cousin of his own and is to be at home this spring. I suppose the lady to be a sister of *Cam[pbell]* of *Calder's*, with which I am very well pleased. It will unite those two families more than ever, which may do some service. No doubt *Mar* has writ long ago to O——d in relation to *Calder* and his going to *Scotland* will be very necessary when *the King* has anything to do there.

I know poor *J. Macleod, junior*, is a most faithful and zealous servant to *the King*, and, though his want of experience made him grasp too soon at those dark hints that might fall from *Argyle*, I have writ to him in the most encouraging way I could, and concluded with telling him, when *Argyle* designs right things towards *the King*, he is in a place where he cannot be at a loss to find proper persons to apply to.

I received in yours *H. Straiton's* letters in relation to *Sir H. Maclean*. I see in the plainest manner *J. Macleod, junior*, has been in the wrong to him also. I have advised him to make what apology he can to *H. Straiton* and to endeavour to put him in the best humour he can, and as to his uncle *Mr. Kirkley** it appears he is over cautious and that disease, when it comes on old men, renders them very defective. However, *Kirkley* and *J. Macleod, junior*, may be made serviceable in their way to *the King*, therefore we must keep our friends

* An uncle of *Sir Hector Maclean's*, probably a *Macpherson*.

with their faults, so I smoothed this all I could, yet justifying *H. Straiton*.

J. Macleod, junior, writes that *Sir H. Maclean* is some time ago arrived at that place, and is in the hands you mentioned in your last. I have also a long letter from *Sir H. Maclean's* tutor, saying they were never more united among themselves or readier to serve *the King's* interest, and in his own name and that of the rest of *Sir H. Maclean's* friends acknowledging *the King's* great goodness to *Sir H. Maclean* and at the same time how sensible they are of your friendship and kindness.

I have writ to *Brigadier Campbell* and made him your compliments in your own words. *Dillon* is not yet writ to about his wants but will be soon.

God be praised for *the King's* good health. He is infinitely good that's so mindful of his servants in these parts. He need have no uneasiness in *Barry's* misfortune, seeing *Brigadier Campbell* writes that several thereabouts will make up that loss. I made your compliments to *R. Gordon*.

As to the blind captain, you have put that affair on the best footing possible, and I am glad none of your friends are named in the order to examine into that affair. I have heard it often spoken of, and, if the captain be not much wronged by most of his countrymen in these parts, it will not be easy to acquit him honourably.

In my last to you I mentioned what was then writ to me about *the Earl Marischal* in relation to *Mar*. I have now a second letter on that subject from the same hand, and shall set down that paragraph in the very words. "Pray let me know, if there is anything in this story about *the Earl Marischal* and your friend *Mar*, for it makes a noise here, and I could wish there was nothing of it, but pray let me know, and what is become of your friend's servant, I mean Mr. P[aterson] that wrote for him." I cannot think this can be *the Earl Marischal's* first folly, that must be now too stale for a subject of discourse, nor can I imagine what he could be at in all this work or what this new intention can be. Indeed *Argyle* would soon become a fit leader for *the Whigs* and such wise men as this. His only quarrel at *John Paterson* can be no other than his being a faithful and exact servant to *Mar*.

I have writ to *J. Macleod, junior*, unless his own affairs oblige him, that he need not go from that place, till he has my further advice, which will only happen when I have your orders about it.

(Referring to Tullibardine's packet to John Paterson in answer to his last from him.) 6½ pages. *Enclosed*,

*J. MACLEOD, JUNIOR, to CAMPBELL OF
GLENDAULE.*

*Acknowledging his three letters of 28 Oct., 12 Nov. and
18 Dec.—As for what I acquainted you of some time ago*

in relation to Argyle you may depend on it as truth. How far he will act in consequence of what was then spoke is another question, and what I can't take on me to determine. Nothing is omitted that can tend to aggravate his maltreatment, whereof he is become most sensible. My correspondent writes that he has not yet ventured to make a direct proposal to him, that being a work of time, as to which the most proper opportunity must be embraced, and as my friend (note by Glendarule, I take to be Campbell [of Auchinbreck]) is a person of honour, prudence and great zeal for what may concern the King's welfare, I assure myself nothing will be wanting on his part, but this need not hinder you from taking your own methods.

I have done all in my power concerning Stuart of Appin, and been so successful that I have sunk his credit with all your friends; in short he's a most despicable creature. What contributes not a little to this is, that his project with Argyle has not answered expectation hitherto, and the greatest length that gentleman could be brought was that, in case Stuart of Appin could do him service, he was then to act to his children, according as those services merited, which he could not now determine, but added that he believed he was in no man's reverence. What effect this may have time must determine; however, so far Stuart of Appin seems dissatisfied that he's now falling on all the legal devices that can be contrived to secure himself against Argyle's diligence, so it seems he is already become diffident of any good from that corner. I think nothing could have happened more favourable to the King's affairs than the disagreements 'twixt King George and the Prince of Wales and you can scarce imagine to what a pitch that division is carried. I wish your money might be raised to save your poor family at this critical juncture, for you could never make an easier bargain nor blow up the sequestration with less difficulty.

You seem to approve of my going to the country, but I have no great anxiety for that journey unless your business require it, so let me know if it be necessary for your service and then I'll undertake it with pleasure, and your commands will determine me, which the sooner you impart, the better, for reasons that will easily occur to you, nor need I dwell long on what a pleasure it would afford me to see you there with a rich cargo of such commodities as you know our countrymen value most. Nothing could turn to better account than victual, if you could get it there or at any by-port, for bread was never more scarce in our parts, which with the loss of our cattle very much threatens our destruction.

Sir H. Maclean is at length arrived some 10 days ago and shall be cared for the best way we may. He's a pretty boy, but slender and of a very small growth. His friends

have been acquainted with the King's goodness to him, which they reckon the best office can be done them. They are more united than ever.

Campbell [of Auchinbreck] of whose so long absence you complained in many of your former letters has made sufficient atonement, being now married to a cousin of his, with whom he has got 7,000*l.* sterling. I had a line from him to-day. He will come home next spring. The lady is the eldest of two sisters; I leave you to conjecture her name. 5 [-16] Jan., 1718. 4 pages.

STEWART OF ARDSHIEL to CAMPBELL OF
GLENDARULE.

To-day I had yours of 20 Oct., which was most acceptable. I am heartily sorry for your account of Stuart of Appin, but, before yours came, upon his coming to the country, I, not understanding in what method he came, wrote to you, lest any prejudice might be sustained by want of true information. He says he came by allowance from the King and Mar and no man talks more of our former trade. As to my part, I can say little of my capacity, but can give you full assurance of my sincerity and endeavours under the conduct of such a wise captain and lieutenant (i.e. the King and Mar). Dec. 2[-13].

J. MENZIES to L. INESE.

1718, Monday, Feb. 17[-28].—Being still in the dark as to the fate of my late letters and having nothing from you since that of 28 Jan., I can only send you the public papers and occurrences. Besides the common prints, here is first some parts of a book writ lately by an M.P., who is pretty remarkable as well as well known, I mean Mr. Hu[t]chi[n]son, a great friend personally to the late D[uke] of Orm[onde] from whom he had received signal obligations. He has been all along a mighty man for the Government, but is at present a mal-content, for he was not enough considered, and so sides highly with the Prince. The greatest part of the book is showing and rectifying mistakes or abuses in the management of the affairs of the army and by right remarks and calculations to save money to the nation. Those minute calculations are quite out of the road of your use or curiosity, and therefore I send only his preface and his list of the present troops and regiments. The preface is a chief part of the design of the book.

By the other extraordinary paper, the Critic, you will see how plain and free a man may reason here on one side, and how, according to this author, the D[uke] of Arg[yle] stands.

I told you the Court carries everything in the House of Commons, though the struggle has been considerable and the majority small. To-morrow is to be the great trial of

skill in the House of Peers on the Mutiny Bill. For my own part, I have little doubt, but nothing here is certain except uncertainty. The Court is possessed of the sinews of war. There has been a report these two days that Mr. Walpole and, which is more, the Speaker are labouring for a reconciliation and to make the Pr[ince] submit, but a great many will not believe a word of this. To-morrow we shall know more.

JAMES MURRAY to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, Feb. 17[–28]. London.—*George Kelly* not being yet arrived, who, I hope, will explain some particulars necessary for your service, in the meantime I'll let you know that the uncertainties we are under as to *the Regent's* intentions at present has been a very great hindrance to what *the Parliament* might have done indirectly in favour of our friend, *the King*. I wrote you formerly that *King George* was about making up all matters with *the Regent* and would not in all appearance be in so strict a friendship with *the Emperor* as was expected or as he was bound by a former contract to be, and there is still no doubt but *King George* has made such offers, but I'm pretty well assured they are not as yet accepted, and that *the Regent* may be possibly got into other company. Now, supposing the first to be true, it could never be an act of friendship from *the Parliament* to *the King* to give *King George* a handle for not performing to *the Emperor* what he is bound by contract by censuring that contract, because in that case this measure would fall in with *King George's* own views. But, if the latter be the true state of these matters, nothing could have been so proper. The thing itself was practicable, but, by reason of the uncertainty above stated, the opportunity is lost, for *the Parliament* will soon be out of town. This instance, I hope, will be sufficient to convince you how necessary it is for *the King* to find some person who may be able to discover a little of what *the Regent* designs and not to leave us entirely to what search we can make here. I believe in some of my former letters I have hinted at this, and have now, I think, touched it fully. I will only add that you might have a certain prospect of success in your business, if *the Regent* would think any ways favourably of *the King*, provided he would so explain himself that *the Parliament* might fortify his measures and co-operate with him.

I had occasion t'other day amongst some women to hear a story of a picture and another in consequence of it, which last indeed has been commonly reported here these two months, but, having heard nothing of that kind from *Mar nor* from you, and being assured that *Ormonde* had never mentioned any such thing to any body living, I thought I was sufficiently warranted to discredit it. However, I wish it may prove true, though I was surprised to find it in such

hands, and you may believe this is one reason why we long to see your friend.

Our expectation is full of what will happen to-morrow, when the Lords are to debate on the number of the forces and the powers to be granted for governing them, both which points we had before carried in the Commons. I'm afraid this matter will run extremely near, for the party which opposes us is numerous and shows a more than ordinary spirit on this occasion. How the Prince will behave is as yet uncertain, but we comfort ourselves with this, that he is at present in such a situation, that, whether he comes to the House and votes in opposition to his Majesty or thinks fit to be absent, in either case it must give a good turn to the King's affairs. If he should come, the world will see what reason there is to keep a strict hand over him, and, if he should not, his own folks will soon leave him and the Jacobites will for the future give him no protection. We have every day a fresh parcel of villainous satires against the Government, but we hope in time to quell that spirit. I have sent you one, to show how impudent they are grown. *Over 3 pages.*

WARRANT.

[1718, Feb.]—For admitting John Hay to be one of the Grooms of the Bedchamber. Minute. *Entry Book 5, p. 75.*

APPENDIX.

The DUKE OF MAR to LIEUT.-GENERAL SHELDON.

[1716 ?].—I ordered Clephan to show you the plan and account of Sheriffmuir, which, I believe, he did. He has my journal from a little after the setting up the King's standard till his coming into France. If you have a mind to it, you may see it too.

When I was in Braemar waiting the King's orders, and had a good deal of spare time, for my amusement I wrote what I remembered of what passed from a little before Queen Anne's death, till the Scots elections, but that is in Scotland amongst my other papers, which by good luck are safe. When I came here first, and before we got our correspondences settled, you know I had idle time enough, part of which I employed by continuing the account I began in Braemar from the Scots elections till the setting up of the Standard, where my journal begins, but the first part of the journal, till, I think, 12 Oct., is also left in Scotland.

This last, which I wrote here, I give you for your perusal, but you must show it to nobody. I also give you copies of what was sent over by Charles Kinnaird from the Duke of Ormonde, myself, &c., to the King before we left London; by all which, I believe, you will know none of our late unlucky affairs than perhaps you could any other way, and there is nobody whose opinion and judgement I value more than yours in those things.

In all these papers I have endeavoured to be as impartial as I could, and contented myself with only telling bare matter of fact.

PAPER given to the KING by MR. DOWNS on his return from England.

1717, Jan. 6.—“The day after my coming to London I delivered the notes sent by the Dukes of Ormonde and Mar to Lord Arran, and related to him all the particulars with which I was charged, and had transcribed for my memory and direction. Being afterwards introduced to the Bishop, I repeated to him the same particulars, with all the circumstances and motives I could recollect; having kept no other papers but the little notes, which were as credentials.

“I acquainted them with the first memorandum, that a gentleman had been sent before me, with papers and advices of what was thought necessary, and that what I had to communicate was pursuant to those advices.

"I related to them the state of the King's health, which was the more acceptable because of the uncertainty they were in, and the different reports about it; and it was a general satisfaction to the King's friends that he was entirely out of danger.

"What had been communicated to me about the Triple Alliance, one article of which was the removal of the King from Avignon, was also related, and the substance of the Queen's letter about it. The resolution of not removing without necessity was approved. The most proper place for his retreat was considered. My Lord Arran mentioned Bavaria and Augsburg, if the protections and consent necessary could be obtained. The Bishop having advised upon it, was of opinion that it could be judged of best, and determined here; the transactions with princes and their dispositions not being known in England. The going into Italy was thought to be of no other consequence than that it was more remote from the ocean; and the Pope's territory could be no prejudice, because it would be imputed by all to necessity, not to choice.

"The raising money for the King's subsistence was likewise recommended: all his friends would think that to be absolutely necessary, but it was hoped the execution of the enterprise designed would put it out of the case; and, if it was not executed, the Bishop said that the persons he had conferred with, expected not that the money they had advanced should be repaid, but hoped it would be applied to the King's occasions.

"The demand of the Swedish ministers of 50,000*l.* was proposed, so great a sum was thought impracticable; the sum of 20,000*l.* was readily undertaken, and it was hoped would be soon collected. When it was begun, some objections and difficulties arose; it was desired to know what security could be had that the money should be employed as designed; and what reply was made by the King of Sweden to the King's answer to the articles proposed, and how far that Treaty had been carried. All I had heard was communicated, particularly the substance of the letter drawn by the Swedish ministers, and sent by General Dillon to the Duke of Ormonde, which seemed to give sufficient security, Baron Görtz having offered obligations in that King's name by virtue of the full powers granted for that purpose.

"The difficulties arose from apprehensions of danger, absence of many gentlemen, inability of some, and want of entire confidence between the principal persons entrusted. Ten days before I left London Lord Arran and the Bishop had no account of what was done by others. The last told me he had 5,000*l.* in his hands, was ready to pay it as soon as drawn for by Baron Görtz, and, when he had advice, would consign the money to Lord Arran, to be paid to Count Gyllenborg, the Swedish envoy at London. General Dillon desired Baron Spaar to write accordingly to Görtz, who promised to do it, and General

Dillon promised to send advice to Lord Arran and the Bishop. The Bishop could positively answer only for the 5,000*l.* he had, he hoped my Lord Shrewsbury and Lord Portmore might contribute largely. Mr. Cæsar hoped to raise 5,000*l.* more; my Lord Oxford had employed his friends in collecting, Mr. Menzies had undertaken to try some gentleman of the Roman religion: but what was actually done, the Bishop knew not. I was ordered by the Queen to speak to Mr. Ewer at Paris, and he promised to write to his trustees for 1,000*l.* to be returned for that purpose. This is all that hath been communicated to me about raising of money.

“I was directed to discourse with General Dillon, as I went, about returning of money; I desired him to consult Baron Spaar, who was then indisposed: several ways were mentioned at London, the safest was thought to be by drawing on Count Gyllenborg, the envoy there, this is meant only of the 5,000*l.* collected by the Bishop. How other sums are or will be returned I know not.

“The Czar’s dissatisfaction with the Elector, and what had been wrote of his resentment was also mentioned; good effects might be hoped if a peace were made between the Czar and the King of Sweden, otherwise the King’s friends could not discern of what advantage that resentment might be to the King, who in case of success would be obliged to assist Sweden against Muscovy.

“I discoursed, as I was ordered, with the chief of the non-juring clergy, whom I could see, and some gentlemen of the same opinion, about the controversy of schism, the books published about it, and the prejudice it might bring to the King’s affairs: they have suffered many years for the King’s cause, have the same zeal for his service; there seemed to be a disposition in the people to follow them, and those who have joined in their assemblies they think to be good subjects gained; their chief design is to oppose usurpation in Church and State, and to maintain the Christian doctrine of non-resistance to sovereign powers which are lawful. What hath been published they think hath done service to the King; but, since urging the dispute is thought prejudicial to his interest, they were willing, as far as they were able, to silence it for some time at least, though they could not prevent the publishing of papers that might be printed without their knowledge or consent: they think the dispute of schism to be matter of duty and conscience, but esteem themselves as much obliged to obey his Majesty’s orders as if he were actually on the throne in England.”

These are the particulars in the short notes I transcribed. If any thing be omitted I may be able to give some account of it. My endeavour was to follow orders, and I hope nothing has been forgotten. I proposed, as I was ordered, to return in 6 weeks, and pressed to be dispatched, but was desired to stay till positive assurance could be given of the 20,000*l.* When

I found this affair did not advance or I could have no account of it, and was informed that Lord Oxford advised my return, I resolved to go, and gave Lord Arran and the Bishop notice and waited on both.

The inclination of the people of England to restore the King and their hatred of the present government was represented as greater than ever, increased by cruel and arbitrary proceedings, by the violation of all laws and oppression of the nation by soldiers ; factions and divisions were forming in their own party, and it was thought they could hardly rely on their own Parliament, packed and purged as it is, the next sessions. A government so much divided and so generally hated is not likely to stand long, but some force there must be to overthrow it, and without such force to encourage the nation their inclination, though greater than it was, will be, as it has been, ineffectual.

Of all foreign assistance, that of the Swedes would be most acceptable, and, if it could be procured, the King's friends are persuaded there is great probability of succeeding. The forces proposed were thought sufficient, the greatest difficulty to be in transporting them, which, if it can be done suddenly without giving time for opposition, may be happily effected.

It was mentioned that it might be necessary to send some sea officers, who knew the English coast, to assist and advise in their transportation. The Bishop said a good officer had promised to go to Sweden when there was occasion.

As to the place of landing, they must land as they can, anywhere from the north coast of England to the Thames, as wind and weather, a fleet sent against them or other accidents may make it necessary, but the nearer they could land to London, the better, the affair would be sooner ended, the nation would follow the example, wealth, fortune of that city, which with the country about it, is at least as favourable as any other part of England.

Supposing them landed, money would be raised by several ways, and the King's bills might be made current as ready money, which, besides the present supply, would strengthen his interest.

It was thought the event would depend much on the first action, though in itself of small importance ; the least success at the beginning would encourage the troops to revolt, and the city and country to declare openly.

The strongest opposition was apprehended from the Dutch. If means could be found to divert them from interposing, all other opposition would be more easily mastered.

It was thought requisite, if possible, that the King should be in the debarkment ; his presence would be an army, would prevent jealousy of strangers, animate the enterprise and satisfy the nation. Whether such a journey is practicable, and how it can be performed in present circumstances can be

only judged of where they are known ; his Majesty's friends in England could not determine it.

It has been advised that descents should be made in different and distant places, forts seized and insurrections contrived in several counties. Others thought it dangerous to undertake so many designs ; some would be defeated before others ; some might be unseasonably discovered and defeat the chief design, and, if the chief enterprise succeeds, forts, towns and counties and the whole kingdom will follow.

In this enterprise of the Swedes there was hope of success, and, there being no view of any other at present, none was mentioned, and, if any other design was proposed, I had no information of it.

If the Swedish project fail, time and Providence will offer other occasions. The present government seems to have many diseases, of which every one may prove mortal. There are so many examples in history, in our own especially, of governments ill-founded, that have been overthrown by unforeseen events, that we may reasonably hope, if one enterprise fails, another will succeed. *5½ pages. Endorsed, "The paper given the King by Mr. Downs on his return from England at Avignon, Jan. 6, 1717."*

INSTRUCTIONS to MAJOR MACPHERSON.

1717, Jan. 13.—You are to make all the expedition you can by post to Paris, and are to observe if you meet Mr. Dillon. If you do, you are to deliver him the letter for him, and any other of the letters you carry that he shall call for. If you do not, you are to go straight to Mr. Gordon's at Paris, but as privately as you can, who will find out Mr. Dillon for you, and you are to wait for Mr. Dillon's dispatching you.

As soon as he does, you are to go, as soon as you can, to Brussels, where you are to inquire for Mr. Thomas Bruce, who passes under the name of Bonner, and give him the letter for him. He is to give you directions whether to continue there with him or to proceed to Holland with the rest of your letters. If you go to Holland, when you have delivered your letters to Sir H. Paterson and Mr. Jerningham, you are to follow Mr. Jerningham's directions as to your staying there or returning hither. If Mr. Bruce keeps you at Brussels, you are to give him the other letters, which he is to send to Holland. The letters addressed for the Queen or Paris you are to deliver to Mr. Gordon, and all the time you stay in Paris, Brussels or Holland you are to keep yourself as private as you can, and own to nobody, save those you are addressed to, your having come from Avignon. If you miss Mr. Dillon, both on the road and at Paris, you are to deliver the letter for him to Mr. Gordon, to be sent by him to Mr. Inese, and proceed to Brussels, but, if Mr. Dillon chance to be at St. Germain's, when you get to Paris, you are to go there to him. *In Mar's hand,*

JAMES III to JOHN WALKINGSHAW.

1717, Jan. 16.—Full power to treat, &c. (Calendared in *Vol. III*, p. 455.)

MEMOIR.

1717, Jan. 26.—By one who wishes an accommodation betwixt the Czar and the King of Sweden on the King of Great Britain's account. Arguing that it would be that King's interest to make peace on the Czar's terms, viz., his consent to the King's recovering his territories in Germany, which from the united forces of Prussia and Hanover seems otherwise impracticable, and to his getting Royal Pomerania, the Czar's keeping Livonia, Riga being made a free town, and the restoration of the Duke of Holstein to his country. The Czar's willingness to make up matters with the King of Sweden is chiefly due to his prepossession of the King of Sweden's intentions to assist the King of Great Britain in recovering his just rights, and, as there is hope the Czar's good wishes that way may increase, so it is undoubtedly the interest of Sweden that so great and good a work may be brought to perfection, for, while the Elector continues in the unjust possession of his power in England, it is obvious he will use it only to aggrandize himself in the Empire. His seizing the Duchy of Bremen without the least shadow of justice and his joining the English fleet to the enemies of Sweden contrary to the faith of treaties is sufficient proof of what is advanced. By this it appears how much the restoration of the King is inseparable from the interest of Sweden, since by that Hanover will be forced at once to restore his unjust possessions, while at the same time England, from an enemy, becomes an ally, and undoubtedly will support Sweden against all its enemies. *2½ pages.*

NOTES by the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Jan. 29.—About various patents of nobility and about powers to Mr. Dillon, such as were given to Mr. Jerningham.

The VICE-LEGATE AT LUCERNE to JAMES III.

1717, Jan.—Memoir.—Mr. Carnegy has delivered me your letter, as, since the departure of M. Caraccioli, I am in charge of the affairs of this nunciature.—Enumerating the objections against various of the Catholic cantons as a residence for the King, as in Mr. Carnegy's letter of 18 Dec., 1716, calendared *Vol. III*, p. 323. Bellinzona and Sion are the only places that he considers might possibly be suitable. *French. 4 pages.*

LISTS.

1717, Jan.—Of the King's subjects that are to go to Italy, and of those that are to stay in France or Flanders.

JAMES III.

1717, Feb. 1.—Patents creating Gen. Dillon and Lord Tullibardine peers. (Both calendared in *Vol. III*, p. 497.) *Copies*.

JAMES III.

1717, Feb. 4. Avignon.—Warrant for creating the Comte de Castelblanco a peer. (Calendared in *Vol. III*, p. 514.) *Copy*.

PAPER given by LOCHIEL to the DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Feb. 5.—Describing the fort of Fort William or Inverlochy, with plans for reducing it, and showing that, if that place and Inverness were taken, it would cause a complete rising of the whole of the north and west of the Highlands, Annexed is a pencil plan of the fort. 3 *pages*.

WALKINGSHAW OF BARROWFIELD to [the DUKE OF MAR].

1717, Feb. 25. Vienna.—I wrote to you twice since the arrival of the courier, and am very much concerned I have been obliged to detain him so long, considering the pressing circumstances I am persuaded *the King* is in. I had indeed very good hopes, and on solid reasons, being received everywhere with great civility, and on the contrary *the English envoy at Vienna* entirely neglected and by everybody pointed out for a *spy*, and I thought delays were rather favourable than otherwise, but, time being precious, I wrote *Prince Eugene* the three enclosed letters, on which he desired me to be with him at 7 yesterday morning, when he told me he had several times discoursed *the Emperor* in relation to *the King*, and that *the Emperor* was of opinion that in the present situation of affairs it would prejudice the mutual interest of both, if he should appear for him, that he was concerned in a considerable affair of *war* against *the Turks* and that all the world would think it strange if he should likewise disoblige *France, England and Holland*, that he wished all prosperity to *the King*, and that no *prince* nor *state* receiving him should be any way disagreeable to him, and that he was a *prince* of more firmness than to alter, and that no solicitation whatever should oblige him to make instances on that account. At the same time he told me he was afraid that my being here, if it were publicly known, might do harm both to *the Emperor's* and *the King's* affairs, with an insinuation that it would be agreeable if I left soon. My answer was, that my coming here was by order, that as to *England*, *the King's* friends there were not only numerous and powerful, but also able to disappoint the bad consequences that might ensue from *the treaty*, that *the Regent's* scandalous desertion of *the King* would raise him many enemies in *France*, that we did not want friends in *Holland*, and that I was of opinion that nothing could contribute more to *the Emperor's* interest than the immediate countenancing of us,

that I was ready to remove, but hoped it would not be disagreeable to *the Emperor*, if I continued here, till I acquainted my master, which I was to do by express. He answered I might do so.

Prince Eugene's answer was most surprising to me, and I believe the turn has been sudden, and I can attribute it to nothing so much as to some late agreement made in *Holland* betwixt Mr. Enster (? the Imperial minister in Holland) and *King George*, wherein the last has obliged himself by force to turn the tods (? troops) of *the Czar* out of *the Empire*, *the Emperor* not being in a condition to do it himself and *the King of Prussia* having refused to concern himself in that affair, which certainly was the occasion of the difference betwixt *King George* and him, and on the whole I cannot say, if their sincerity can be trusted to, I do not think the answer so ill, for they seem to say that, if the affair of *the Turks* were over, they are satisfied of the justice of our suit and will stand our friends. As to what you wrote me in relation to *the Czar*, it cannot be so much as mentioned here and, for the offer of tods, *the Emperor* is resolved to make use of none but his own. I sent you in my last my reasons. I still design to push my audience and deliver the *King's* letter to *the Emperor*, and am resolved to make use of the *Nuncio* for that effect. He is a person I am extremely obliged to, of great virtue and learning, of the family of Spinola at Genoa. He told me yesterday he was ready to serve *the King* not only with his power, but his blood, and I should think on *the King's* ordering me to retire from hence, I not being further serviceable here, and it being a place of great expense, he will prevail with the *Pope* to write to his minister here, who, I am persuaded, will serve him with zeal and honesty.

I send likewise a memorial from Mr. Busi, an Italian, a man of good sense, who has served me honestly. If *the King* thinks fit to employ him, I shall answer for his capacity, and his correspondence may be useful, for he is very well versed in the intrigues of affairs and does not want interest.

Bishop Leslie has been no way useful to me, but on the contrary, and, to cover his knavery, I am told he is to write to *the King* against me. I am not convinced that any step I made since my being here was wrong but the delaying my business so long for him, and that I should have been an instrument that *the King* did him the honour to write to him. The bearer will give you some account of the story, and I delay the rest till I see you, it being very long.

I have been several times with the gentleman Mr. Dillon recommended me to. I believe him a well-wisher, but he gave me the same answer I received from most of the rest, which was that, till they knew what answer *Prince Eugene* would give, they could be of no service to me.

It is still believed here that the peace of the North is as good as concluded by the *Emperor's* means. The *King of Poland*

is dangerously ill and, it is thought, cannot recover. There are great preparations for the campaign, and the armies will be soon in the field. There are already magazines of hay for six weeks for 15,000 horse, and in all probability they will begin the campaign with the siege of Belgrade, but it is thought the Turks will fight before they allow it to be taken.

There is reason to believe that *the Emperor* is very ill pleased with *King George*, for he told *the English envoy at Vienna* that he never would go into any measures with him, till he had a full explanation of the affair of *the treaty*, and even before that affair, he refused to go into any measures, first with *Cobham*, after that with *Stanhope*, then with *Cad[o]gan*, and now with *the English envoy at Vienna*. The reason was, he said, that *England* was fickle, and that, their *parliament* changing so frequently, there was no solid foundation of friendship to be laid down with them. I cannot see that that could be the real reason, but rather believe that his virtue and piety, which he is possessed of to a great degree, could not allow his countenancing so unjust an usurpation.

The young prince of Bavaria is expected here soon, and it is believed here he is to marry one of the Emperor Joseph's daughters. Both these ladies are pretty.

I had a discourse the other day with one of the *ministers* here. We talked first of *the King*, being obliged to leave Mr. Carse (Avignon). He was positive that he should not leave it till the last extremity, and that nothing but force should compel him, and that, if *the Regent* marched force against him, it was an affair so horrid, that the whole world would be against him. I answered, I did not know how far a man that had so dishonourably deserted him, if he should be obliged to make use of force, might make a step further to endanger the security of his person. He began the discourse again in relation to *the King's marrying*, which he said was the only way to raise him a considerable interest with *England* and at the same time the sole protection for his friends. I told him I did not question but he was resolved upon it, and that I was persuaded that, provided that *the Emperor* would countenance him, he would show himself so good a *German*, that he would agree with *the Emperor's* choice, and desired he would take a proper way to let *the Emperor* know the same.

I long to hear of *Mr. Dillon's* message and *the King's* answer, and what route *the King* is to take. He will certainly find protection with *Venice*, it being fundamental of their republic so to do, and their minister here says that, before they part with that part of their liberty, they will part with all.

The gentleman you sent me has been obliged to stay beyond his inclination and mine, and so could not miss to spend some money. I have advanced 26 *ducats* and 50 *pistoles* to carry him on his journey. I must have credit for it here before I leave, for I received credit only for 3,000 *livres*, and this is near the third of it. I was obliged to give money to several

people here, so I expect you will order credit to me as soon as possible. 8 pages. *Enclosed,*

WALKINGSHAW OF BARROWFIELD to PRINCE EUGENE.
Enclosing by his Master's orders a memorial, by which he hopes his Highness will be fully persuaded of the very sincere intentions which his Master and his adherents have always entertained and will preserve for his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, from whom the writer flatters himself they may by the powerful influence of his Highness hope for a resolution consoling to the King. 6 Feb., 1717.

The SAME to the SAME.

The pressing circumstances in which my King finds himself, who is forced to leave Avignon, oblige me to renew my application on his behalf. If he cannot obtain at present the asylum he desires as a private person in the Austrian Netherlands, he would be inclined to retire to Venice, provided that his Imperial and Catholic Majesty regarded such a retreat with an indifferent eye, and even would honour him with his support with the said republic. I hope, by means of your Highness, to have a reply. The sooner it comes, the more agreeable it will be to my Master. 14 Feb., 1717.

The SAME to the SAME.

The affairs of the King, my master, are in a very pressing condition. I have already spoken of them to your Highness, and have importuned you by two letters. I have an express from his Majesty, who is waiting for a positive reply, that he may take his measures accordingly, being much pressed by the King of France to leave Avignon. This is the reason that I repeat most pressing supplications on the part of my Master that your Highness will employ your credit with the Emperor, to obtain from him a positive answer. I shall not fail to inform my Master of your diligence on his behalf, who will, on a proper opportunity, know how to show his gratitude to you and your august house. 21 Feb., 1717. Vienna. French. Copies.

*CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to WALKINGSHAW
 OF BARROWFIELD.*

Suggesting that he should be employed by his Britannic Majesty as his secret agent at the Court of Vienna, for which he is qualified since, being an Italian, he belongs to that, till the neutral nation, with reasons to show that it will be to their advantage to employ him in that capacity. It is still believed. 1717. Vienna. French. 6 pages.
as concluded by v.

DIRECTIONS by CLANRANALD for making TARGES.

1717, Feb.—With a piece of paper inside as a pattern of a targe.

GEORGE FLINT.

1717, Feb.—“The British Tory’s Address to the British Army,” written in Newgate, when the late King of Sweden was expected in Great Britain, for which the author, to avoid death, escaped out of Newgate in March, 1717. Arguments to induce the Army to espouse the cause of King James. 16 *pages*.

W. DICCONSON.

1717, March 8.—The King’s account for January and February given to the Duke of Mar at Paris on that day.

INSTRUCTIONS from the EARL OF OXFORD to ELIZABETH SWIFT or MRS. OGILVIE.

1717, March 16[–27].—You are to remember that the match with the Princess of Hesse be carried on, if possible, at any rate, and, if that can’t be effected, let it be any sovereign prince’s daughter, provided she be young and handsome, for, if she is not, it may be as of dismal consequence as it was to Charles II. Could an alliance be found with any prince’s family that could be of use to him and forward his restoration, it were well, but, if that fail, let it be any prince’s daughter, though he be not sovereign, for James V. married the Duke of Guise’s daughter and was very happy, but I can never advise him to marry a subject of his own, for there are few or none in England but what the blood is adulterated by matching with citizens, merchants, lawyers or worse, which would bring the royal family into contempt and make those here believe his spirit is not what I would have them think. It is very proper he were married, nay absolutely necessary, but, rather than he should match where he may repent, it’s better to trust to Providence a little longer, but, so far as I to have him married, that, could a subject be found, that’s truly descended of a noble family on both sides, and she young and beautiful, I shall heartily enter into it, rather than he should defer any longer.

I have often wished our friends would give over sending so many messengers here, for that does more mischief than they are aware of, for, if his Majesty gives but half a word to those pragmatic people, vanity or folly prompts them to make a large commission of it, and they pretend to be at the bottom of everything by what they conjecture from the least verbal message they receive from the other side and by what they can pump from some here. One contradicts another, and so they put all into confusion. There is no necessity of sending those busy prying people, since there is a packet-boat settled, and

besides, none that ever came over ever brought anything material or satisfactory except *Capt. Ogilvie*, whom, I dare say, nobody has complained of, for I never knew him strain his commission, nor ask to know more than renders him useful. I am not fond of risking his life any more, without an absolute necessity; I can see none, the packet-boat being settled and Mr. Menzies on this side to deliver papers. He is a careful, discreet man and very fit for that purpose. Therefore let me advise our friends abroad to keep their priests of all sorts to themselves and put an end to the little factions at Court, for those officious, empty wretches are only capable to create misunderstandings and ought never be encouraged.

We can't well tell what to say as to the landing, the last discovery having made a great alteration in affairs, though it's next to a miracle that our enemies know no more. They are still much in the dark and frightened at their own shadows. The son made a speech some days ago, which I would have our friends know, because it lets us see that neither father nor son has conduct enough to create themselves friends of the English nation by confiding in them, for his Highness, on a demur in the House of Commons concerning the heavy taxes to keep up the fleet and army, was heard to say "We are brought to a fine pass; I find it's not only the Swedes from Swedeland, but the Swedes at Westminster we are in danger of; we see what we have to trust to."

I wish now we could know a little from the other side, for it's very probable that, after the alarm they have had here, the proper places for landing will be guarded. Therefore they must land where they can and, if we did but know the place, we should have people in readiness to march that way quickly, horse I mean. They must have a press for printing and a vast many declarations ready to disperse on their landing, a great many blank commissions to be given when landed. What else relates to those things, the Duke of Mar will judge. I have written a little of it to him in my letter. You must cause who has made out the K[ing] that all wise and solid men, particularly obliged to, think themselves happy in the choice him actor in his aff. Duke of Mar, and I think myself dare answer a wrong st. God for inspiring the King to make He has all that can be wis. I, that know his capacity well, faithful friend, a man of I I, that know his capacity well, never fall out through his fault.

Tell *Capt. Ogilvie* to the Queen; as He is a sincere, just, steady, compliment to the Queen; as full of resolution. hearty and grateful acknowledg- I letter and make my me by Mr. St. Amand. and the her I return my most opportunities to consult her, if possible the honour she did relates to the King's affairs, as far as the honour she did trusted, for all good subjects will be proud of all communicate to the King's mother all very thing that honour to be duty to to know.

I doubt not that she will do me the justice to believe that, were it not for my present circumstances which restrain me, I would have given the most ample assurances I am capable of under my own hand of the extraordinary veneration I owe her. She will pardon my making use of another to write for me at so critical a juncture and, if there is anything she wants to know concerning affairs some time ago, *Capt. Ogilvie* is very well instructed in them, and will give a just account. I am so unwilling to accuse others that I have often shunned that office, when most people would have judged it very necessary. However, rather than vindicate myself at the charge of others, I have left time to decide those matters, and in some particulars they have been already decided in my favour.

Desire *Capt. Ogilvie* to make my compliment to Mr. Inese. Though I have not the good fortune to be acquainted with him, I am no stranger to his character, and esteem him very much.

Capt. Ogilvie must tell the Duke of Mar another thing, that, if they come to a field battle there be always two or three hundred horse, chosen men that are hardy and bold, some of them whose relations have been put to death, if such can be found. Let those be still hovering on the wings till a proper time, and then let them pierce furiously where George is, and their orders must be to give quarter to no great man, especially to the noted ones, for, if the King be victor, this project will save him trials, which even in the most just cause are sure to create ill blood ; for the worst man has some friends, and consequently a clamour ensues on those occasions, for, though the king should leave them to the Parliament, that would not stop their revenge, whereas, if they are killed in open rebellion, it is not minded, but, what is of the last consequence, be sure to have a guard of chosen men about the King for fear of some desperate attempt on his person.

Let *Capt. Ogilvie* tell the Duke of Mar the fatigue I undergo, in the first place to persuade those persons I have to deal with to come to me, and, when they have got over the fear of visiting me, I am necessitated to put myself in a hundred different shapes to please all their different tempers and to keep them steady. If my circumstances would allow me to take a coach and go among them, I could do more in a month than has been done this twelvemonth.

I am at a loss to know the minds of our friends on the other side, for I scarce ever know what their letters contain unless from a third hand, and then I receive it with all the turn and descant the party pleases to put on it. For the future, when the Duke of Mar writes to *Mr. Menzies*, let there always be a note to me of the substance of what it contains, and that will enable me to take right measures. Let it be given to *Anne Ogilthorpe* by *Menzies*, and it will come safe to me.
 3 pages. In *Mrs. Ogilvie's* hand. Endorsed as received at
 St. Mandé, 16 April.

OBSERVATIONS on the above MEMORIAL.

1. I perceive there are not two different opinions as to the King's marrying; all on this as well as the other side think it absolutely necessary. The Princess he mentions is now disposed of, and such a subject as he would allow of, I fear, is not to be found. It remains, therefore, to seek for a princess well born, and his making no exception will justify the choice of a Roman Catholic.

2. As to messengers, he may be in the right for aught I know, and that for the reasons he mentions none ought to be sent but on extraordinary occasions, as lately for *the declaration*.

3. The landing-place must be somewhere from whence he may safely join those that are there before him. If he goes alone, they must appoint the place and secure it for him.

4. I am glad he and others are so well satisfied with *Mar*, though his aversion to *Bolingbroke* may perchance have contributed to it.

5. I am also very glad that he has no objection against *Queen Mary's* being informed of what relates to *the King* and, if what he says be true, there is good reason to believe the former distrust they pretended to have of *Queen Mary* proceeded more from others than from him, and came perchance from this side the water.

6. If it comes to a battle, 300 chosen men cannot well be spared out of the lines. Such private orders as he mentions might be given to a very small number but to so many it would draw more odium on the King than if they lost their heads on a scaffold. *Endorsed*, "Mr. Sheldon. Memorial," *and in his handwriting*.

MRS. OGILVIE to CAPT. OGILVIE.

[1717], Friday morning [? April 2]. Calais.—I am got safe to Calais. I have a country-man of ours with me, who was pinned on me by our friends in London. I was ordered to put him into your hands, and I long for an opportunity to get him off my own. I don't know if he was designed for my guide, but I found myself under a necessity of being his, for, take him out of his wooden world, he knows no more of travelling than a child of six. He is in a prodigious hurry to be at Dunkirk before Saturday. I wish to God he may be so soon wanted. He is in such haste that I was forced to go halves with him in hiring a packet-boat at the rate of 5*l.* on purpose to be almost "drowned" or, what was very near as extravagant a reason, to humour my fellow traveller, for we came over in so prodigious a storm, that nothing but our light heads could have kept us from the bottom. I begin to think that "drowning" is not the way ordained for my exit.

I told you in my last I knew something concerning *Lord Oxford* that would please you. George sent a person of quality

to him, assuring him that he would not only wish to gain, but even to save a man of such vast parts as he, and that, if he would but ask his enlargement after any decent manner, and promise to retire to the country and not meddle in politics, he should have the same favour shown him that Lord Lansdown met with. *Lord Oxford* clapped on his hat and said, My Lord, you see the cock of my hat on this side. I am not much accustomed to swearing, but, by God, if the Court would but ask me to turn my hat to the other side, and assure me I should have my liberty for it, I would not do it. I shall, with the grace of God, stand my trial. Too much depends on that for me to sneak from it, and I have had time enough to prepare myself. You shall find I have the constitution of England and the administration of the late Queen to vindicate. This was brave and like himself, but I tremble for fear of the consequences, for they begin again to talk of attainting him. However, God is still stronger than the Devil.

If my guardian, the captain, will allow it, we shall stay here for you. Dont forget to bring the Duchess of Mar's letter with you, if the packet be come. Father Græme came to see me here.

I heard our friend, Mr. Sayer, relate a very comical adventure of himself. A clergyman, Mr. Howell, was condemned to be whipped and his gown torn off by the hangman. Sayer, after his blunt, abrupt way, came quite out of breath to the Bishop of Rochester to solicit him for a brother in affliction. The bishop had never seen him, nor did he bring any to introduce him, nor the least credential, but a good honest face. The bishop came up with a very grave aspect and was thus accosted by him. My lord, some months ago I was sent to you on an affair and, though I did not see you then, I hope I acquitted myself to your satisfaction.

The poor bishop, very much surprised even then, but much more before the farce ended, asked him whence was it? Sayer answered, from France. The bishop, in a panic, asked from whom there? Says my friend, from the Duke of Ormonde. The bishop asked what was the message. Says Sayer, I brought it in writing. Very well, says the bishop, I think I remember something of it; it was writ with lemonjuice, which is a white ink. Sayer, staring at him, told him, no, it was writ on white silk. It's very true, says the bishop, I think you brought it in a hollow cane. No, says Sayer, I brought it stitched in between my coat and the lining. Pray, says the bishop, who wrote it? to which Mercury boldly answered, myself. On which, when the bishop found himself right, and that Sayer really was the man, he was extremely kind to him, and promised him all the friendship in his power, but I reckon the bishop was sufficiently alarmed. I leave you to judge of their conduct, that will send such light-headed messengers to people in fear of their lives. Had Mr. Sayer been sent from France at that time by a Scotsman, the bishop

would not have approved ont so well, but, since it was from his infallible Duke of Ormonde, no fault was found. (*See Vol. III, pp. 178, 189.*) 2½ pages. Probably enclosed in *Capt. Ogilvie's letter calendared in Vol. IV, p. 177.*

PROPOSITIONS of MR. LEATHES, Resident at the Hague, in a Conference with the DEPUTIES OF THE STATES GENERAL.

1717, April 6.—1. He has orders from his master to persist in the demand of his memorial of 27 March, viz., that their High Mightinesses might conjunctly with his Majesty prohibit all commerce with Sweden, and that they may hasten the answer of the provinces as to that point, and in the meantime his Majesty hopes they will consent to the expedient proposed by the Resident to hinder provisionally the transport of corn and salt from the United Provinces to Sweden without loss of time, either openly or secretly, as they shall judge most convenient.

2. As the magistrates of Arnheim are very desirous to be freed from guarding Baron Görtz, the Resident proposes by his master's order that their High Mightinesses may agree with him about a convenient place for the retention of the said Baron, Mr. Stambken and Mr. Gyllenborg, either in the Province of Holland or any other place in the jurisdiction of the Generality, where they will judge most convenient, and where they may be guarded securely without any danger of their escaping, and where there may be no access to them, and they may have no manner of commerce by letters or otherwise. *Copy. Enclosed in Sir H. Paterson's letter calendared in Vol. IV, p. 193.*

SKETCH of the MESSAGE sent to the TWO GENTLEMEN (the DUKE OF ARGYLE and the EARL OF ILAY).

1717, April 16.—(Printed in *Vol. IV, p. 270.*) *Draft in Mar's hand.*

SIR WILLIAM ELLIS to JAMES III.

1717, April 27.—Acknowledging that he has that day received of Signor Belloni, on the King's account, 25,000 Bologna *livres* in 5,102 *filippi* and 4 *baiocchi* for value of 5,000 Roman *crowns* due to his Majesty from the Pope for April, May and June last year, which were repaid to the Vice-Legate of Avignon, and for January, February and March of this year; for which the writer has drawn two bills on Cardinal Gualterio, the one of 2,500 *crowns*, which the Cardinal has received and the other of 2,500 *crowns*, payable when he shall have received them.

F. to WILLIAM DICCONSON.

1717, April 29.—(Calendared in *Vol. IV, p. 563.*) *Original and copy, with note on the former by Queen Mary. "This comes from a correspondent in Holland to Mr. Dicconson."*

G. FLINT to ———.

1717, May 11.—Subjoined is a list of all the Tories I can remember. I have given you a pretty large list for Newcastle, because the army to the number of 14 or 15,000 lies thereabouts. I cannot recollect the name of the Secretary to the Admiralty, but you will easily learn it. His Christian name is Joseph or Josiah. You may also learn from Mr. Sunderland, the coffee-man in Warwick Lane, to procure a list of all ships of war and captains in the Baltic, to each of which you may first send one, as also to the Admirals. Then see if you can enquire which of them are suspected to be Toryish and write to the Admiral and to each of those that they are suspected and others are to be sent in their stead. Write as from the Secretary, for, to the best of my remembrance, your hand is like his. It may do good, and can do no harm.

(Then follows a long list of persons in London, York and Newcastle.)

Enquire of everybody you can, and get a good large list. Yourself must know a great many, and you may write to your friends to gather you a list and let no great town be missed. I shall shortly send you the second letter and you may, if you please, print them both together, entitling it Two Letters, &c.

Yesterday I wrote to Mr. Dicconson, because I am at my wits' end, so, if you can, pray also write to him about me. I also gave him to understand what I had already sent you, and intended further to send you. I do not doubt this method duly carried on, will produce extraordinary effects. *Endorsed*, "List of Tories for dispersing of papers." 3 pages.

MEMORIAL touching the present state of affairs in ENGLAND brought over by SIR REDMOND EVERARD.

1717, May 22. [Received at Paris].—All correspondence between his Majesty's subjects of this side of the water and his servants of the other seems at present interrupted, so that it is not known here how to direct to those concerned in the management of his affairs, nor have we for two months received any advices but at second or third hand, which have been so various and have so often contradicted one another, that they have distracted people to the last degree.

"If this proceeds from a principle not to communicate a secret here, before we can have any share in the execution of it, it may be a good one, but, if it is owing to any other cause, it will doubtless prove of ill consequence to the King's affairs, which ought therefore to be put in another method.

"Having occasion of this bearer, faithful servants of the King's thought it their duty to lay before his Majesty the state of affairs in this country, being assured in this conjuncture, it must be of service to him to be truly informed of some things which are not universally known, nor understood.

"Tis then to be observed in the first place, that the discontented Whigs, consisting of the ancient nobility, and the men of sense of that party, laid down their employments with a certain prospect (as they thought then) of being replaced in a week, and that by the means of the Tories, who, they imagined, would blindly come in to support them in all their measures against the Court, and, if the Tories had answered their expectation, there can be no doubt, but we should soon have seen the present ministers in the Tower, and the others in full possession of the government of the kingdom, but the Tories, wisely considering the discontented Whigs (though out of power), more to be feared than the present ministers, who are a set of desperate madmen, and will certainly throw the nation into a confusion, resolved to take the first opportunity to crush the discontented Whigs, and baulk their prospects of getting into power, this they effected by leaving the House one day when the discontented Whigs here got into very warm speeches against the Germans and the Court, which has made the two Whig parties irreconcilable and at the same time disappointed the outed party of the strength by which they proposed immediately to have conquered the other.

"This measure has laid a foundation for promoting the King's affairs in a parliamentary way, which was a thing pretty much despaired of, considering the temper of this Parliament.

"The division amongst the Whigs is vastly deeper than a quarrel between ministers about power, for the Elector of Hanover is at the head of the Court party, and his son at the head of the other; things have gone that length that the father has sent messages to lords desiring them to enable him to curb the insolence of his son, and the son has sent to the same persons begging their assistance against his enemies, who design to disappoint his succession.

"In this ticklish conjuncture of affairs, it is easy to be imagined, that all possible court is made to the Tories, who have the balance in their hands, and that no offers have been neglected of either side.

"It cannot but be a great pleasure to the King to know that the Tories despise the offers of both parties, and are resolved by their proceedings to show the world that they neither will support the father or the son, but pursue an interest separate from both, which can be no other but his service.

"In consequence of this resolution they have deliberately thought of some things to be done, in a Parliamentary way, which they think will be of very immediate service to the King, and yet will not be refused by the discontented party in the heat they are now in against the Court.

"They have already in a good measure agreed to address against any foreign war, which address may, as it is hoped, produce a good effect; we are also in hopes to bring them into a measure to break the army, which would be an apparent service; in short the Tories are resolved to do everything

to increase the discontents of the people at home, and to satisfy those abroad that they have the King's interest sincerely at heart, and are proof against all temptations to divert them from it. In order to this, every body is writ to to come up, and it is thought there will be the fullest meeting in Parliament the 6th of May that has ever been known in England.

"We are utter strangers to what prospects the king may have at present from abroad, and have been in that matter of a long time left to our own conjectures, but all the world must believe that, when the present situation of affairs in England is rightly represented, it must very much forward the execution of any designs for the King's service, or, if things be not come that length, it will strengthen the King's applications in order to form them. This is all the light that can be possibly given at present in this matter; as soon as the Parliament meets, there will be something new every day, if one knew how to send it.

"There is another particular which may be worthy of consideration, which is that there are two Scotch regiments just now disbanded in Holland, and the officers turned a starving, they have refused them half pay here, because they say they are Jacobites, now might not those people be engaged under some pretence or other so as to be in a readiness upon any occasion?

"It will be proper in due time to let the King know the particular persons he is obliged to for carrying on these measures with spirit in Parliament; in the mean time if it were known certainly where or how long he is to stay, proper persons might from time to time be sent." 1½ page. 2 copies.

Sketch of the MESSAGE to be sent by GEORGE KELLY to ENGLAND.

1717, June 2.—The reason of not writing so often of late was that all letters from England "strictly forbid writing by the post and there was no other way of sending but one, which was not neglected, for there was a person sent that way with all the accounts known here to be given to J[ohn] M[enzies] and by him to be communicated to other friends. It is presumed J. M[enzies] did not neglect communicating to friends what was sent to him; but if he did, let us be informed of it.

"These accounts were not much indeed, though all that was there known, because no accounts were come from Charles (XII).

"There is now another person fitly qualified and furnished with what is necessary from all hands just now going to be sent by the first safe conveyance. *The King* is very well and still at P[esar]a; but was ready to come from thence upon the first advertisement. James (*i.e.* Ormonde) and John (*i.e.* Mar) are just now in F[rance] where one of them has been a considerable time, and the other for some time

expecting with impatience something to happen in which they could have been of use, and, though they cannot stay much longer there, they think of putting off their going to *the King* for some time until they hear from Charles (XII) and see what they can otherwise do for the service, I[tal]ly being at such a distance that 'tis almost out of the world for business on this side of it, and Mr. D[illon] at Paris will always know where they are to be found.

"As soon as the person above-mentioned returns from Charles (XII), sends accounts, or anything else material happens on this side, friends of the other shall be acquainted with it, and anything that happens there in the meantime let an account of it be sent to Mr. D[illo]n, who will inform us of it.

"John (Mar) some time ago by Mr. E[vans] as well as James (Ormonde) now received the message from *the Bishop of Rochester* concerning the money he had sent, we believe it is all come safe, but the accounts of that and other money sent is not yet fully cleared, so no particular account of it can be sent till the accounts be settled, which will be soon, and shall then.

"We are just now informed by a good hand that Charles (XII) has refused the offers sent him from George by Rank, and said that he would rather perish, so that, in all appearances, James (Ormonde) will go there very soon and carry offers from *the King*." *Endorsed*, "Sketch of the message to be sent by Mr. Johnson (Kelly) into England." 2½ pages.

Heads for the KING'S LETTER to the KING OF SWEDEN.

1717, June 4.—(These appear sufficiently from the letter itself, calendared *post*, p. 553.) *Two copies*.

INSTRUCTIONS for MR. JERNINGHAM from the DUKES OF ORMONDE and MAR.

1717, June 5.—You are forthwith to proceed to the King of Sweden's Court in the ship prepared for you at Boulogne in the most secret way you can contrive and deliver to him the letter you are entrusted with from our Master.

You are to communicate to him and such of his ministers as he appoints your full powers from the King.

You are to inform him and his above-mentioned ministers that the Duke of Ormonde is on his way towards Sweden with full powers and a commission from our Master to his Swedish Majesty and also from the Czar.

If the Duke chance to be longer by the way than expected, you are to inform them that it is occasioned by the reason contained in the King's letter and the difficulty of the passage.

PRIVATE INSTRUCTIONS for MR. JERNINGHAM from the DUKES OF ORMONDE and MAR.

Till the Duke's arrival you are to do your utmost endeavours to enforce all the different heads of the King's letter, of which

you have a copy, particularly to encourage his Swedish Majesty's going on in his good intentions for the King and his undertaking against the Elector of Hanover, the dispossessing him of his Majesty's throne and the restoring of his Majesty.

To do this, you are to do your endeavours for inclining his Swedish Majesty to make up the differences betwixt him and the Czar, to get him to accept of our Master's mediation and the bringing these three princes into a confederacy together, offensive and defensive.

In case of the Duke's being stopped, or his coming into Sweden being prevented by any accident, you are to propose to his Swedish Majesty entering into a league with him, in the name of our Master conjointly with the Czar ; but, in case of the King of Sweden's refusing or delaying that with the Czar, you are to press it with the King of Sweden alone, by which he must acknowledge our King's just right and title and should engage himself to do what in him lies to restore him to the full possession of his dominions, and that he shall never make peace without the said condition, our Master to be obliged on the other hand to furnish him with a certain sum for enabling him to make an attempt in Britain for his restoration, the troops he shall transport thither to be paid by our King after their landing, and on his restoration a certain sum to be paid to the King of Sweden on account of the charge he may have been put to for equipping his fleet and making the descent, and also for transporting back to Sweden the said troops, which he is to be obliged to do on our King's requisition.

Our Master to be obliged, after his restoration, to assist the King of Sweden with certain sums, troops and ships to recover all his dominions taken from him during the war, except such as shall be agreed to be ceded by him to the Czar at the mediation of his Britannic Majesty, for which he and the Czar are to assist his Swedish Majesty in getting an equivalent from the King of Denmark and the Elector of Hanover, and the said King of Britain to be obliged never to make peace with the enemies of Sweden, till his Swedish Majesty get full satisfaction as above.

Other princes and states to be invited to come into this confederacy, particularly the Kings of Prussia and Poland, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Dukes of Holstein and Mecklenburg and a certain share to be determined for each of them of the dominions of Hanover and Denmark.

You are to take the most prudent way you can in proposing a match betwixt our Master and Princess Emelia, daughter to the Landgrave of Hesse, to be solemnized as soon as possible.

You are to ratify all former treaties betwixt any of the Kings of England and Sweden, and to make a strict friendship and alliance betwixt their Majesties for all time coming.

You are to propose and press the King of Sweden's agreeing to our Master's coming immediately into Sweden, and all his

subjects whom he orders to follow him thither, and that the manner of his reception and living there shall be agreed on.

You are to propose and get stipulated that such of his Britannic Majesty's subjects as shall come into Sweden shall be taken into the King's service in the same stations they had in Britain, France or Ireland and be paid by him, except when they are employed on any expedition against the Elector of Hanover in Britain or Ireland, and this for those who serve by land as well as those who serve by sea. 6 pages.
Draft.

ANSWER to the MEMORIAL sent over from S[IR] R. E[VERARD] promised in a message since sent him.

1717, June 8.—The reason of correspondence and accounts not being so frequent of late from the King's servants on this side to his friends on the other was, "that all the letters from the ordinary correspondents in England these three months past have earnestly desired that nothing should be writ over by the post, and that the former addresses and ciphers should be altered, when it should be safe for correspondence to begin again.

"There was no other way than the post of sending from this but one which was not neglected, all the accounts being sent that way to J. M[enzies] that could be then given; but the person by whom they were sent, was unluckily put back by storms and contrary winds, but got over at last, and accounts are come of their being arrived and quickly to return.

"It is presumed that J. M[enzies] would communicate to the rest of the King's friends (as always desired) the accounts brought by that express, as well as those formerly, in which, if there has been any failure, information of it should be sent.

"The reason that expresses were not of late more frequently sent, was by there being little to say that could give any light in affairs, and waiting with daily expectation of some accounts from Sweden to afford something more, but there are no accounts as yet come from thence to any of the King's people or to the King of Sweden's own.

"This could not be well imagined in England to be the case; but now, when it is known, [it] will, it's supposed, account for the silence that has been of late from hence.

"The King's going into Italy at the time he did was thought a lucky thing to disguise the King of Sweden's design upon Britain and upon that account he would have choosed it, had he not been obliged to it. When his Majesty left France, he gave the necessary orders to General Dillon for the right disposing of his people, who remained on this side the Alps, against the attempt by the King of Sweden should be made, and likewise gave him powers and instructions for acting what should be necessary for his service there.

“The Duke of Mar went for Paris and carried with him letters and orders from the King to be sent to his friends in England by a safe conveyance, giving account of the whole concert for the attempt. The way of the Duke of Mar’s joining his Majesty again upon his going for England was concerted. But, upon his arrival at Paris, he found the whole design was discovered, Count Gyllenborg taken up at London, and a little thereafter Baron Görtz in Holland.

“This put a stop to all these measures, and there were messages sent immediately upon it by the King’s Resident in Holland into Sweden by two different persons ; one of whom, who carried also a commission from the Czar, was long of getting his journey made but got through at last, though there be no direct message or answer come from him for the King or any of his servants as yet. The other messenger could not get through and was forced to return to Holland after going a great part of the journey.

“The Duke of Ormonde went along with his Majesty and was to have set out for Sweden through Germany upon the King’s arrival at Bologna, with full powers from his Majesty ; and the King himself was to be ready to set out at the time, and by the route he should be advised by the Swedish Minister in France.

“It was thought for some time after the discovery by Baron Sparre and the King’s servants in France that the King of Sweden, finding himself prevented in his design before his being fully prepared for the enterprise, had given over thoughts of pursuing it further at this time ; but, hearing nothing from him afterwards, and of his having arrested the English Resident, and refusing the first message sent to him by the Elector of Hanover, they thought it reasonable to believe that the King of Sweden was still going on with his design, hoping that he might be able to make the attempt before the English fleet could put to sea ; upon which the King’s servants in France fell about doing all in their power to prepare things to second the enterprise when it should happen.

“The Duke of Ormonde was wrote for from Italy to come and be near at hand to go and meet the King of Sweden in Britain upon the first news of his arriving there.

“The Duke of Mar being in France was ready to have gone thither to have waited on him from the King, in case of the King of Sweden’s coming sooner there than the Duke of Ormonde from Italy, and had ships at different places waiting to carry him over and the Duke of Ormonde when he should arrive.

“The King himself was to be ready to set out upon the first advertisement ; and Lord Tullibardine was sent from Italy to Bordeaux, whereabout the clans were, to be ready to set out for Scotland with some necessaries that were preparing there, upon the first news of the King of Sweden’s landing. Some others of the King’s people set out from Italy, and

had orders to go to such places as was thought most convenient to wait hearing further.

“About this time news came of the English fleet’s having got into the Sound and joined that of Denmark and that the greatest part of the Swedish fleet was still at Carls Crown, so it was plain that it would not be in the King of Sweden’s power to make his attempt on Britain this season, which put a stop to all that the King’s servants were projecting here, but they went on in doing what they could to make things succeed at another time.

“When the Czar arrived in France, Lord Mar had several meetings with Dr. Erskine, who negotiated betwixt him and his Czarian Majesty. The Czar still continues in his good disposition towards the King and for making up with the King of Sweden. Upon the accounts we have of the King of Sweden’s having refused the offers of accommodation sent him by General Rank from the Elector of Hanover, and saying that he would rather perish than have anything to do with him, the Czar is now to give passports to the Duke of Ormonde, who is come into France some time ago, for going into Sweden and also to send proposals by him for an accommodation and peace with the King of Sweden, but that the noise of the Duke of Ormonde’s going may give no handle to the Government of England for delaying the reduction of the army, he is to go as privately as possibly he can, and to stop at convenient places by the way until the disbanding be over ; and, that nothing may be lost by his delay of going there, a proper person is to be sent to the King of Sweden immediately the most expeditious way to inform him of the Duke of Ormonde’s coming, and, in case the Duke should be too long stopped on his road, this man carries a letter from the King to the King of Sweden with full powers and fully instructed.

“The Duke of Mar is afraid he will not be allowed to stay long in France ; but he’ll endeavour to stay as long as he can, to be in the way of doing all in his power for the King’s service, and, though he shall be obliged to go from about Paris, will endeavour to stay for some time on this side the Alps till he see how things are like to go, and be more certain of the King’s continuing or removing from Italy.

“It is hoped that the King of Sweden will agree to the King’s going there, as he has earnestly desired, but he cannot set out for that till we receive answers from thence.

“This being the state of affairs here, we must have patience till we hear further from Sweden, and until then ’tis not much more light that can be given into affairs from hence ; but, for the satisfaction of the King’s friends in Britain, they shall now have a view of what appears to his servants here with regard to his Majesty’s affairs.

“Though the late design from Sweden seems to be prevented for this time, yet, if the King of Sweden be so wise for himself

as well as for us [as] to make up with the Czar, which the last is so desirous of, and of joining with him for the King's restoration, it may soon come about again and with greater probability of success, nay even almost to a certainty. This we are doing all we can to compass, and it seems so reasonable a project for the first as well as for the interest of the last that it can hardly be thought he will act so against his own interest as to refuse it.

"Should things so happen, it is not to be supposed that France will join in opposing us, but rather assist so far as is consistent with the cautious way that their low circumstances and other reasons make them now act in.

"There is good reason to think that means will be found to make the King of Prussia join in the project, and it will be in his power to make Holland sit still, who is already too low to give much assistance to our opposites.

"The Emperor's hands are too full at present to give much assistance either way ; but there is reason to think his and his minister's inclinations good towards us, and, were his hands once free, there is little doubt of countenance and assistance from him : and most of the Princes of the Empire will for their own sake and out of emulation to our opposers look favourably towards us ; and there are ways to make some of them very hearty.

"The King of Spain wishes well ; but there cannot be much assistance expected from him in his present situation, save in our being supplied thence with some necessaries, which will be wanting.

"The King of Sicily's mediate concern should make it be thought that he would exert himself in our behalf ; but his cautious way, and the situation he is in, with regard to his new acquisition, will, it is believed, keep him from meddling until he see it a sure game, or some of his great neighbours joined openly in the affair before him. He though is at so great a distance, that he can't be of very great use to either side, unless he would act a more venturing game than ever he is likely to do in that quarrel, unless it comes to be more immediately his own.

"Should most of all this fail by the King of Sweden's declining to make up with the Czar, and make up with George, which is not very probable, either from the temper or interest of that King ; then the measures to be pursued must be expected from the King's friends in Britain. By their wise conduct the Government has been obliged to disband some part of the army, and it is likely that they may get it further reduced, which if compassed, ways may be laid and concerted for an attempt, even without an invasion from abroad, with great probability of success in the temper the nations are in at present and the distractions and divisions the Government is fallen into, out of which it is not easy to see how it can extricate itself.

“The account the Memorial gives of the Tories, their prudence in their late proceedings in Parliament, the measures they intend to follow, and their attachment to the King’s interest is very agreeable, and what his Majesty will be extremely pleased with. Their going on in these ways can scarce fail in time the bringing about the King’s Restoration and relieving their country. It is to be wished that the Tory party may not only continue in a good agreement amongst themselves, but to endeavour to bring as many of the Whigs over to them and to the King’s interest as possible, which the divisions amongst that party at this time may make more practicable than at another, and it would very much advance the interest.

“The King, on his part, will be ready to do what he shall be advised to by his friends from England, and, because his Majesty and his immediate servants may, for some time, be at a great distance, what informations and advices are to be given from England may be sent to Mr. Dillon at Paris, who is fully instructed and empowered by the King, and will inform him of them from time to time, and return the necessary answers.

“All the stories of his Majesty being in a bad state of health are false, and, since it appears that his friends are desirous that he should think of marriage, he is resolved to set about it immediately.

“By reason of the bad situation of his affairs some attempts that have been made that way for one suitable to his own quality, have failed, so that the delay of his doing a thing so much for his and his people’s interest, has been none of his fault. There are proposals now a-making for his Majesty with the Princess of Hesse, which, ’tis hoped, may succeed ; but that will depend, in a great measure, on the turn affairs take in Sweden. And, should that miscarry, his Majesty is resolved to delay no longer upon account of a suitable match to his quality not offering ; but, if none such be to be had soon, will lose no time in looking out for one, though of lower quality, who may be had and likely to bring children to secure to his people means for their relief one time or other, if God should not be pleased to bring that about in his own time.

“This may show and convince his people how much his Majesty has at heart their happiness ; for, with regard to himself and his own satisfaction, marriage to one in his situation cannot seem so agreeable as otherwise it might.

“There is one thing that is essential for the King’s friends to think seriously of, and take some measures in. No attempt can be made for his Majesty’s restoration without money, nor is it reasonable to think that any foreign power, from whom assistance can be now expected, will come into measures for that end without seeing a certainty of being supplied with it to enable them to go on with an undertaking of that kind, when that is not provided till just wanted, the getting of it does not only lose the opportunity, but can scarce

fail of making a discovery, and so disappoint all that has been projected; therefore his Majesty's friends in Britain and Ireland should lose no time in getting a considerable sum of money together and ready for such purposes, lodged in several places abroad, and they may depend on it that it shall not be applied to any other use."

Endorsed, "Answer to the memorial lately sent over by S[ir] R. E[verard], June 8th, sent for England June 12th in cipher by Mr. W[edde]le." 11 pages. 2 copies.

JAMES III to the KING OF SWEDEN.

1717, [June 21.]—"Si la genereuse resolution que vostre Majesté a prise pour soutenir la justice de ma cause n'avoit esté trop tôt découverte par nos ennemis communs, il y a tout lieu de croire que j'auroit esté à mon tour en estat presentement de vous donner des preuves effectives de ma reconnaissance en joignant mes forces aux vostres pour l'entier recouvrement de vos justes droits; mais le temps marqué par le divine Providence pour l'exécution d'un projet qui doit estre un jour si glorieux pour V. M. et si avantageux tant pour elle que pour moy, n'estoit pas encore venu; il y a cependant tout lieu de croire que, vostre Majesté persistante dans une résolution si digne d'elle, ce temps n'est pas fort éloigné: le retardement même a produit de très bons effets; car depuis la decouverte de ce projet le nombre des bien intentionnés est extrêmement augmenté. Le ministère de ce pais là est entièrement divisé et plusieurs de ceux, qui estoient le plus attachés au Duc D'Hanover, se sont ouvertement déclarés contre sa conduite: ils ont même trouvé le moien de mettre son propre fils à la teste d'un parti considerable contre luy et, suivant toutes les apparences, ils obligeront ce Prince de casser une bonne partie de son armée, ce qui seroit extremement à souhaiter pour nos interets communs, et c'est aussi pour ne pas donner un pretexte pour tenir toujours toutes les troupes sur pié que je n'ay pas crû devoir me mettre en chemin pour m'approcher de V. M.: mais en partant pour l'Italie j'ay ordonné à mon cousin, le Duc de Mar, de rester secrètement en France pour vous joindre aussitôt, en cas que vous eussiez pû faire une descente en Angleterre, et j'envoie à present mon cousin, le Duc d'Ormond, avec tous les pleins pouvoirs necessaires pour aller de ma part joindre V. M. par tout où elle sera, pour prendre avec elle les mesures necessaires sur nos communs interets. Le nom du Duc d'Ormond ne peut pas estre inconnu à V. M. et tout ce qu'on pourrait dire sur son sujet n'ajouterait rien à la réputation qu'il s'est acquise et que est justement deüe à son merite. Je prie donc V. M. de donner entière croiance à tout ce qu'il luy dira de ma part. J'ai aussi donné de pleins pouvoirs au Sieur Jernegan, qui doit recevoir des instructions de mes cousins, les Ducs d'Ormond et de Mar, et je prie V. M. de luy donner

entière créance, et même de traiter avec luy sur tout ce qui peut regarder nos interests communs, en cas que par quelque accident le Duc d'Ormond ne puisse pas arriver auprès de V. M.

“ Nous avons jusqu'icy raison, Vostre Majesté et moy, d'estre satisfaits de la conduite du Czar, qu'on attend incessamment en France, en ce qu'il n'a rien entrepris cette campagne pour empêcher V. M. d'exécuter ses bonnes intentions en ma faveur : il semble que rien ne pourroit en empêcher le succès si la paix estoit une fois faite entre vostre Majesté et ce Prince qui paroît, à ce que j'apprens, y estre assez porté de son costé. J'ay donné mes ordres au Duc d'Ormond et de Mar de se servir de toutes les raisons les plus pressantes pour persuader au Czar de moderer ses demandes et de l'engager, si cela se peut, de charger le Duc d'Ormond de quelque commission envers V. M. qui luy puisse paroistre raisonnable sur les differens en question.

“ Au reste, je prie Vostre Majesté d'estre persuadée que je ne souhaite rien tant que de me rendre auprès d'elle pour soutenir et avancer nos interests communs.”

(*This is the draft sent by Mar to the King on 21 June (see Vol. IV, p. 373) and mentioned in his letter of 8 July calendared in Vol. IV, p. 437, and contains the correction about the Czar, mentioned in that letter. The letter is ante-dated April 21. Pesaro.*) 3 pages.

MEMORIAL brought by MRS. OGILVIE.

1717, June 27. [Received by Lord Mar.]—*Lord Oxford* desired me to assure the Queen that he shall never lose any opportunity of testifying his sincerity. He is attached to her own particular interest, besides being very sensible how much duty obliges him to serve with the utmost zeal the mother of his King. He desired me likewise to acquaint her that giving in a petition for his trial at this time has had the success he wished for. He knew he must run a very great risk by exasperating them, just when an Act of Indemnity was coming out, for it was contemning to the highest degree their pretended mercy, but he will never put his own safety in competition with the King's interest, and really thinks it was a piece of the best service that could be done at present to fling divisions among the Parliament and oblige them to prorogue, rather than venture his trial, but, if they should try him and it should prove fatal to himself, he shall have the satisfaction of making more work for them than they are aware of, and even in that shall be able, in some measure, to serve the King. He gave me the petition to show the Queen.

I am likewise desired by him to let Mr. Inese know his true esteem for him and that he hopes a time may come when they will be better known to one another.

I am also desired to let *Mar* know what trouble *Lord Oxford* has to keep the *Bishop of Rochester* in temper, not that he

thinks him so valuable of himself, for his interest is nothing further than the character that attends a gown and band, nor is he at any extraordinary pains to propagate *the King's* interest further than he thinks it may tend to *Ormonde's* grandeur, for whom and whose friends he would sacrifice all the world. For an instance, when *Ormonde* wrote he was soon to leave *the King* and go to a colder climate to render *him* some service, when *the Bishop* heard of this, he was much out of humour and said it was very odd *Ormonde* could not see through his being imposed on, for it was a very cunning stratagem of *Mar* and *Oxford* to send *Ormonde* away from *the King*, it not being so easy to lessen his interest while he was about *the King's* person, but that *he* ought to have had the resolution to decline that proposal, since his most sincere friends had advised him quite contrary, insomuch that, let the good or bad success of that cause depend ever so much on it, *Ormonde* must never leave *the King*, and this, says *the Bishop* was, as I thought, agreed on, but both *Ormonde* and we are made bubbles of by *Mar*, *Oxford* and those they employ, which is *Menzies* and *Capt. Ogilvie*, who are entirely devoted to the interest of *the Queen*, *Oxford* and *Mar* and that set, and so we are kept in the mist, but, says *the Bishop*, I'll find a way to counterplot them. In order to this he came some days ago to *Lord Oxford* and, pretending to be in much better humour than ordinary, desired he would discard *Menzies* and *Capt Ogilvie*, for reasons he would give afterwards; but *Lord Oxford* importuned him to know his reasons. He gave very insignificant ones, saying that *Menzies* and *Capt. Ogilvie* had used him and his friends barbarously, but he mistook by putting the plural for the singular, for by what *Lord Oxford* could learn his friends consisted only of Mr. Downs. *Lord Oxford*, being very much piqued at so unfriendly a proposal, told him he had forgot that not long ago he said that he could not but rejoice as well as admire at his good choice in his friends as well as good luck, for there must be a great deal of both that, in spite of all the confusion in the nation, your name has never come in the least above board. Said *Lord Oxford*, If you remember, I answered it was to be imputed to my having to do with as few as possible, and those I deal with are to my knowledge men of integrity and honour, and would die for the King's interest, and likewise I told you that, if you were in the hands of those people, you would have the same good luck. I am surprised you should advise me to lay them aside, especially *Capt. Ogilvie*, of whose fidelity and courage I have had such undeniable proofs, and besides, I know no man I could put in his place. *The Bishop* begged pardon and said he did not know *Capt. Ogilvie* personally, but that *Lord Oxford* must needs be judge of his fidelity, but, for his part, he knew he had been very ill used both by *Menzies* and *Capt. Ogilvie*. *Lord Oxford* said he must certainly be mistaken of *Menzies* too, for he was really a

worthy, honest, serviceable man and entirely devoted to *the King's* interest.

Lord Oxford charged me to tell *Mar* to trust no letters, no papers of any kind nor even verbal messages to him by any mortal but *Capt. Ogilvie*, or, if anything happen that's not fit to be writ at all, it's but sending *Mrs. Ogilvie* with it by word of mouth. He also desired me to tell *Mar* never to put *Lord Oxford's* life in the hands of more than needs, for, since Mr. Downs went over, his name has been very much made use of among the little underlings at Avignon, which vexes him not a little, for, till Downs went over, he was never named ; therefore he begs that no Macnamaras nor none of those people may know of any thing that relates to him, because he has got acquainted with Sir R. Everard and his friends.

As to *Lord Orford*, he has now sent for the letter he refused before, and *the King's* friends are in good hopes of gaining him, which they are hopeful may have an influence on Sir George Byng. I am ordered to impart only to *Mar* another affair concerning Sir George Byng.

Lord Oxford begs that *the King's* picture may be got immediately for Mr. Cæsar's lady. He would not for anything in the world have it neglected, they are so very earnest to have it and are people of that consequence that ought to be encouraged to the greatest degree, for there are few in England so useful in *the King's* affairs ; he spares neither money nor pains in anything that relates to his interest. *Lord Oxford* told me a great many instances of it, which I shall acquaint *Mar* of.

Lord Oxford bids me tell his friend that there are some words in the Declaration he would have altered, when occasions offer, particularly "the intolerable burden." He says that must be "the extreme calamities." He likewise says that concerning the Dissenters or Church of Scotland of what communion soever the word "communion" must be left out, they being of no communion with any church. He also would have something added about the seamen, they not being mentioned at all.

He also begs that *the Queen* and *Mar* may write a compliment to Mr. Cæsar on his being taken up lately, for he says they must not be slighted. She is almost out of her wits for this picture ; therefore *Lord Oxford* begs that *Mar* may not fail to cause to get it ready to send over with *Mrs. Ogilvie*. It must be a little pocket picture, like one Madam Meazor (*Mezières*) has.

Lord Oxford desires that *Mar* may let Sir R. Everard be trusted in nothing that concerns either himself or *Mar*, for whatever *Ormonde* or his other friends may think of him, *Lord Oxford* judges him too young and captious to be trusted in business of any importance. To the best of my memory, what's above is exactly every word as I received them from *Lord Oxford*. 5 pages.

LIST.

1717, June.—List of 21 books presented in that month by the Pope to James III, being illustrated books about the buildings, antiquities, statues and pictures at Rome and also of three books given him by the Jesuits.

MEMORIAL from JAMES MURRAY by the BISHOP OF ROCHESTER's direction.

1717, July [3–14].—"The division between George and his son and the disagreement amongst the Whigs which is grafted on it, having been fully represented in the last memorial, we can only at present inform with regard to this matter that these misunderstandings increase daily and that in consequence to this it is thought the son's servants will be dismissed, all of them having by their master's orders voted against Cadogan, whose interest George espoused with the utmost zeal. As to this attack upon Cadogan it was a measure undertaken by the discontented Whigs, and not by the Tories, who only came into it because, the matter being plain upon him, they thought in justice to themselves and their country they could do no less, and, as their scheme is to make the Government impracticable to the present Ministers, but not to go so far as to force it into stronger hands, in all appearance it is more for the King's service that this matter was not carried against Cadogan than if it had.

"Next to the unexpected divisions amongst the Whigs, the prosecution of Hoadly and the proroguing the Convocation upon it is the most remarkable thing which has of late happened, and may possibly be of greater consequence than is apprehended abroad, as to which matter, without entering into any details of the privileges of the clergy in Convocation assembled, it may be expedient to know that, though there are instances of prorogations by the Crown, when the clergy have been warm in disputes with one another, yet when both Houses of Convocation were proceeding with unanimity to censure blasphemous doctrines preached and published in the most remarkable manner, to prorogue them in this case was to espouse the cause of blasphemy, and therefore it may be easily believed that this proceeding has not only given great distaste to the body of the clergy, but likewise to all those who have a regard for religion. It may not be improper with regard to the inclinations of the bishops and clergy, to inform, that, though by much the greater part of the clergy wish well to the King's interest, it is quite otherwise amongst the bishops, for, though there are a few who use all endeavours to serve him and some who would not be displeased to see him succeed, yet the greatest part are inveterate enemies to his cause, and their obstinacy in this way is certainly one of the most considerable obstacles to his restoration, and the non-jurors have entirely dropped their unseasonable disputes, which is very much for the King's service.

"It is necessary the King should know that, as much as the Tory party are in his interest, and more particularly those who have the direction of them, yet for want of proper information some people of great consequence have been of late in danger of running into new schemes destructive to the King's service, believing there was no reasonable prospect of succeeding in it, and those of the King's friends, in whom they placed their confidence, have been kept so much in the dark, that they were not able to give them such hints as were necessary upon this occasion; all the King's friends could do in this situation without any light to direct them was to manage things in both Houses of Parliament so as thoroughly to divide the Whigs, and to prevent an union betwixt the Tories and any part of them, in order to form a new administration, in which they have hitherto succeeded, and it ought to be known that Mr. *Shippen's* services in this matter in the House of Commons can never be sufficiently acknowledged.

"It is certain the management of this Ministry has been such that they could not have pursued measures more for the King's interest, if they had been in a direct design to serve him. They cannot probably stand the meeting of this Parliament another year, and, if they call a new one, there must be a new Ministry of course, so that they have no reasonable prospect of maintaining their power even under the father, but from the son, whom they have so highly incensed, they have nothing to expect, and expect nothing but destruction.

"They are men of vast ambition and no principles, one may therefore think it would be no unreasonable measure for them to serve the King, and thereby at once to secure themselves and gratify their ambition. In this situation 'tis submitted whether an application from the King to them might not be for his service. This application might be introduced by telling them that the King believes they have for some time meant his service, and assuring them, that, next to the universal inclinations of his people, his hopes and dependence is upon them, which may be also a means to cover the other design, if nothing shall have made it public before that time; the time and method of making this application is left to the judgement of friends on the other side, though, if George should go to Hanover, that may not be possibly the most improper, because they may be then under a stronger conviction of their inability to carry on the Government. We cannot positively say whether he will go or not, but we may venture to affirm upon good grounds that at present he intends it, on the other hand his Ministers are unanimous in their opinion against his going, and will therefore do everything in their power to prevent it.

"The proceeding at present in the Lord Oxford's trial which will employ the Parliament for two months, is perhaps in some measure calculated for that purpose, but what other

effects it will produce, or what confusion may ensue upon it, time can only determine ; however, if George should go to Hanover, it is thought a Regency will be left exclusive of his son.

“ Two reports have been of late propagated here with great industry, that the King of Sweden had offered to come into terms with this Court, and that the Czar had consented at the desire of the Regent of France to remove his troops out of the Empire ; both which are most surprising to us, being so contradictory to the accounts we have received. For the first there is no other foundation than an odd paper annexed to this memorial, and as for the second they pretend to have received an express from France to that effect, both which matters should be cleared as soon as possible, for these things may be contrived to persuade the people that the King’s cause is desperate, with a view to engage some in new schemes, however ’tis most certain that the inclinations of the people are as strong as ever for the King, though being intimidated by ill usage and discouraged for want of prospect of any relief, they for that reason continue quiet. With regard to the state of the army since the reduction, it is necessary to represent that, though the Ministry according to the public appearance have broke ten thousand men, yet the army is not much above five weaker, because the regiments which are entirely broke do not exceed that number. As to the rest they are either invalids, or a small number of men reduced out of each company, the first of which could not have been of any use, and the second can be made up in a few days, if occasion should require, however there is no reason to doubt but the division amongst the Whigs has extended itself to the army, which may produce a good effect in time.

“ Having now endeavoured to give a state of matters as they stand at present, we will only presume farther to recommend that, where matters require the utmost secrecy, it may not be amiss to write them on a paper apart, to prevent any jealousy from the concealment of them.

“ The above memorial having been drawn for some time, and the bearer detained by some accidents, it may be of use to add what follows to the contents of it. The gentleman himself being able to give the best account of the Earl of Oxford’s trial, without touching on that matter we’ll proceed to inform the King that in all appearance George will not go abroad this year, which resolution is lately occasioned by the behaviour and proceeding of his son in opposition to his measures. In order to represent truly the state of that matter, and to show the King how his interest is advanced by their divisions in proportion as they increase, it may be of service to give him an account of a discourse which lately happened between one of the persons now in power and a considerable man of the Tory party, with whom he has had a long friendship and acquaintance :—after frankly owning to him that the Government was in the utmost distress, which he said it was

in vain for him to attempt to conceal, and saying a great many strong things against George's son, and of the cruelties they had reason to expect from him, he proceeded in the following manner; he said that George was a man of as much honour and good nature as any one living, that he was so far from having a passion for the Crown of England that he would have thrown it back before this time, had not he thought such a behaviour would appear simple in the eyes of the world, that he resolved to govern this kingdom as long as he lived, if he could, but, if he could not, he was determined that none of his should govern it after him. This discourse, which could not have been by chance, may serve to show not only the thoughts of the Ministry but of their master." *Endorsed*, "as brought by Kelly and received at M[ouchy], 29 July, the day the Bishop's letter of 3-14 July was." 3 pages. *Annexed*,

The KING OF SWEDEN'S DECLARATION to the COUNT DE LA MARQUE, Ambassador from France, as Mons^r. Petkum and Mons^r. Mandhler received it from Holland.

He declares that he had no account of what his ministers are accused of; that he never thought of sending any troops against the King and the British nations; that such a design never entered into his imagination, and that even a suspicion of that kind is injurious to him; that the King of Great Britain ought to send home his minister for him to examine into his conduct, and that he would punish him, if he had done anything more than was consistent with his character; that he would then send back Mr. Jackson, the minister of Great Britain. As to the ships his privateers had taken, especially those in the Channel, let the accounts of them be given in with the necessary proofs, and he would then give such satisfaction as justice and equity required. Two copies.

NARRATIVE.

1717, [After July 3-14].—Narrative of the trial and acquittal of Lord Oxford, which fully appear from Tindal, *History of England*, Vol. II, pp. 541-545. With a list of the peers who voted for and against proceeding first on the Articles for High Treason.

HEADS by LORD M[AR] of some things for B[ARON] S[PARRE] on the alterations in affairs since the former proposals and agreement.

1717, July 25.—The affair cannot now well be done by surprise as was then designed, but the Czar's good intentions for the King of England and his willingness and desire of making peace with his Swedish Majesty were not then known as now, which makes any design of their Majesties against the Elector of Hanover more practicable,

More money can be now promised on the King's account with more certainty and without so much hazard of making a discovery by raising it than then. It evidently appears that the King's interest in England and the divisions and weakness of the present Government there increase daily.

There will be soon 10,000 of the army there less than then.

If the King of Sweden makes peace with the Czar, the latter, 'tis believed, will gladly enter into a confederacy with him and the King for having justice done to each by the Elector and the King of Denmark and it is not impossible, it is thought, to bring the King of Prussia into that confederacy, or at least to be neuter, in which case the Elector might be attacked on the Continent at the time the King of Sweden makes his descent on Britain, which could not fail of making a sure game.

Were this confederacy once made, how far France and the Emperor would approve of it or come into those measures. B[aron] S[parre] can better judge than I; but it is thought that it would be for the interests of neither to oppose them, if not for their interests to join in, or connive at them and continue neuter.

If the King of Prussia be in the confederacy, it would be in his power to make Holland sit still, but without that, their circumstances are not such that they could give much assistance to the Elector, nor do they seem now so forward for assisting him as they were, when they sent the 6,000 men to Britain and seized Baron Görtz.

It is thought the Landgrave of Hesse could be brought into the confederacy on account of the advantage that might be proposed to him by it, and it is reasonable to think the other princes of the Empire do not like to see the Elector so much aggrandized and have so disproportionable a force to theirs as he must always have, so long as he is in possession of the British throne, so it is believed they would be far from opposing what this confederacy could with so much appearance of success, undertake against him.

There is ground to believe the Czar will be found more easy in an agreement with his Swedish Majesty, if he will go on in his good intentions for the King of Great Britain, but, if that agreement cannot be compassed, the King is desirous of entering into measures with his Majesty of Sweden, if he will undertake his restoration alone, and to grant him suitable terms and assistance on the success of that affair for the recovery of his dominions, which have been taken by others in the late war.

The time for the descent must now be in winter or very early in the spring, when the English fleet cannot be in the Baltic or North Seas, and the nearer it be to London the better.

If no more than 12,000 can be transported, then all of them ought to be sent to England and to the same place there, but,

if 3 or 4,000 more could be sent at the same time to the North of Scotland, it would make the work much more easy, quick and sure.

If things come to an open rupture between the King of Sweden and the Elector, it is presumed his Swedish Majesty would think it for the interest in general that the King should come to Sweden, which he is mighty desirous to do. It would draw a great number of his subjects there, who might be of good service, especially for the descent, and it's hoped, not without grounds, that it might bring over some of the English fleet.

If the King of Sweden continue in his design of assisting the King, it is reasonable to expect he will enter into a treaty with him and not have things left so loose as was last time ; for that end his Majesty has empowered some to enter into such treaties and agreements with him as shall be thought for their mutual advantage, and also with what other princes can be brought to join with their Majesties and those so empowered will be in the way of waiting on the King of Sweden as soon as he pleases to receive them.

If it was the King of Sweden's interest to undertake this before, as it certainly was, it is more so now and more likely to succeed and doing what is to be with reason expected of so great a King for the affronts put upon him by the Elector in the persons of his ministers, and it is thought with submission he cannot do anything for his own interest on making up with the Elector so much as by joining with the King, besides the glory of the action and keeping up the character he has always had of supporting oppressed justice, and it would make him for ever famous with the far greatest part of the oppressed Protestant Church of England, who by the Elector and his Whiggish advisers are not only threatened with destruction every day, but their rights actually invaded, so that they see no hopes of relief but in the restoration, for which they long with impatience, and the King of Sweden's being the instrument of that great and good work would make them look on him as their deliverer and consequently the preserver of that Church, the bulwark of the Protestant religion. (*This is the paper mentioned in Mar's letter of 26 July, calendared in Vol. IV, p. 471.*) 7 pages. Draft and copy.

THOMAS HEYWOOD to QUEEN MARY.

1717, July 26.—An unfortunate affair has happened, which being concerned in, I think it my duty to lay the truth of it before your Majesty as briefly as I can.

After 10 last Saturday night the commissary came to my lodging to inquire after Dr. Taylor, having, he said, orders to send him out of town early next morning on information the prior received of an assembly he held at my apartment

of 20 and 30 persons at a time since his arrival in town about a week ago, and that next day, being St. James' Day, there was to be a communion there. As to the first charge I bade my daughter assure him it was no such matter, but as to the meeting next day I was silent. The commissary was very civil and asked pardon for the trouble he had given my family and so retired.

I aver that, since his last coming here, there has not been any assembly of our opinion at my lodgings, but, for the next day's communion, it was certainly our intention with no more than three besides my own family, to receive the Body and Blood of our Saviour, which blessing I intend on all occasions to make use of, when it is to be had without offence to the Government I am now under.

I presume to make this short observation, that the prior's proceedings were both violent and inconsiderate in applying to the Archbishop of Paris before he had made known the matter to your Lord Chamberlain, who would have silently put a stop to our intentions without noise or public notice of it.

SIR WILLIAM ELLIS to JAMES III.

1717, July 31.—Acknowledging to have received that day on the King's account from Capt. Booth 4 bags supposed to contain 5,980 Spanish *pistoles*, making in all 100,165 Bologna *livres*, and also a bill on Genoa of 28,000 Genoa *livres*, with a detailed account of the contents of the said 4 bags, by which it appears the total contents were 5,969½ *pistoles* and 25 *livres*, 15 *sols* in silver, total 100,014 17 6 Bologna *livres*. It is supposed the 14*liv.* 17*sol.* 6*den.* above the 100,000 *livres* which 20,000 crowns would yield, is to make up the value of the light gold.

PAPER.

1717, July.—Attacking the administration of the Regent and suggesting as remedies that the nobility should form a confederation and elect a chief considerable by his birth and more so by resolution, sense and courage, and resolve not to hearken to any proposition till the States General are convoked, that they should invite the first order to join with the second and instruct the third of the meritorious and happy end they propose and exhort them to come into the same confederation, that they should obtain the liberty of the gentlemen at Vincennes and the Bastille and that they should have a particular care in the three orders to choose those capable of constancy, capacity and courage, that the excessive taxes be diminished and an account be given of the dissipation of the finances, that commerce be encouraged, the laws against duels be enforced, and in short a stop put to the disorders that render this once powerful kingdom a prey to

unworthy favourites, to ministers without experience, capacity or judgement and very little religion and to women that have abandoned themselves to incest and the most infamous prostitutions. 4½ pages. *Endorsed by Lord Mar*, "Translation of the libel, July, 1717."

ANSWER to the SECOND MEMORIAL sent over by JAMES MURRAY by the BISHOP OF ROCHESTER's directions.

1717, Aug. 1.—The ill-luck, which attended the answer to the first memorial, has occasioned there being seeming cause for some complaints in this last one, which otherwise that answer would have prevented. Such accidents cannot sometimes be helped in our present circumstances, but it is hoped that before this the answer to that memorial is safely arrived, which, it is presumed, will give satisfaction and leaves not so much to say in answer to this last memorial.

Soon after the last memorial came to the King's servants here, it was forwarded to him, "to whom it will, no doubt, give great satisfaction as it did to us, his servants, and, as soon as his answer to it is returned, it shall be sent over to his friends on that side, but, because of the delay, which the unlucky distance his Majesty's hard circumstances obliges him to be at may occasion in that, his servants here will now give an account of what has passed in relation to the King's affairs since the answer to the former memorial and the letters which were sent over with the last copy of it, and also presume to give their opinion in what is said in the memorial which was last sent hither.

"The Duke of Ormonde is now actually a good way advanced on his journey towards Sweden, fully empowered and instructed by the King, after having been with the Czar at Spa, and receiving passports from him and commissions to the King of Sweden for an accommodation betwixt them.

"Baron Sparre is now ready and just a-setting out for Sweden, with all the passports necessary for his speedy journey, and he is so much a friend to the King and his affairs, and in perfect understanding and concert with his servants here, that it is hoped (together with proposals he is charged with to his master, not at all interfering with, but rather of advantage to the King's interest, from other Princes) that his being with his master so instructed and empowered against, or before, the Duke of Ormonde's arrival, may, it is reasonably hoped, very much contribute to the success of his Majesty's affairs with that prince.

"Since the departure of the Duke of Ormonde we have certain information that Monsieur Poniatowski, who went to Sweden upon Baron Görtz being taken up, and after his having talked with one sent to him by the Czar, and with the King's Resident at the Hague, is returned with full powers from the King of Sweden, to treat and accommodate matters betwixt his Czarien and Swedish Majesties, and we hope he

is also instructed by his master in relation to the King's affairs. By the letter Poniatowski, or those by his orders, have wrote from Hesse, where he now is, it appears that he is so earnest to have the Czar make up with the King of Sweden (which his Czarish Majesty is fully as desirous of) that it can scarce be doubted but an accommodation and peace will soon be concluded betwixt them. They are now concerting a proper place for the ministers of those two princes to meet and treat in, and the Czar has sent by two of the King's people to Poniatowski to desire that the place of meeting may be somewhere betwixt Wesel and Berlin in the King of Prussia's territories, who he will have included in any agreement that's made betwixt him and Sweden. The Czar has likewise upon Poniatowski's desire put a stop to the march of his troops, which he had ordered to retire from Mecklenburg, and had begun their march upon his being so long of hearing from Sweden, that he almost despaired of an answer, and thought it unreasonable to break with some powers who pressed him so hard to this march of his troops, which he must have done, had he not complied with their desire ; but these orders now sent will reach his troops before they can be many days march from Mecklenburg, where they are ordered positively to halt, and, since it is the King of Sweden's desire to have them continue in or near that place, it looks as there were little doubt of an accommodation betwixt them, and that he intends the Czar and he should in time coming act a joint part together, which is what we have been so much wishing and desiring.

"We have new instances of the King of Prussia's dislike of and dissatisfaction with the Elector of Hanover, and grounds to make us believe, as well as by the consequence of that, of its not being impossible to bring him into the King's interest, in which all pains shall be taken to improve it.

"All proper measures are taken for the King's interest against the meeting of the Czar and King of Sweden's ministers, where there is to be one upon the King's account, and, though they should find difficulty in the King's being a party in that treaty (as it is feared they in the present circumstances of affairs will, though that point has been pressed) it is hoped that things may be so ordered, that it will have much the same effect as if he were ; and for that end Lord Mar is now a-going nearer those parts where the treaty is like to be, that he may be in a more ready way of giving what advice and assistance he can to the person who's to be there upon the King's account.

"We are as uncertain here as with you of any steps the King of Sweden may have taken or seemed to take with the Court of England ; but his endeavours to make up with the Czar looks not like his having a great mind to make up with it.

"To get his ministers set at liberty and to ward off any hurt that Court was threatening him with, may very probably have occasioned his making some steps to soften and blind it, till he should prepare himself better by some confederacies

against it and those who join with it against him, which is all the light we can yet give you in it.

“ Now as to the last memorial. The measures taken by the King’s friends represented in it for dividing the Whigs and improving the differences ’twixt the father and son for the King’s advantage, seem to us to have been very prudent and artful, as we doubt not but the effects will show the longer the more ; and the King will certainly be very thankful to those who are mentioned to have been so useful in that matter, and he will hope that the Tories will go on in their way of serving him, which by God’s assistance can scarce fail of succeeding at last, and he can never be forgetful of their zealous and indefatigable services and will still hope and expect that they will resist all offers that can be made them to bring them into the Government, which would only serve to wreath their slavery about their necks for a little short temporary gain, which he believes them incapable of. It is hoped too that this dispute amongst some of the bishops, who were formerly thought Whigs, and the odd behaviour of the Court upon all that affair of Hoadly’s may not a little contribute to the King’s service, by the further use that may be made of it by his friends there, and particularly by those of the clergy who wish him well, and who he has so much confidence in.

“ The divisions likewise that the affair of the Earl of Oxford’s trial must have made amongst the Whigs, and his coming off in spite of the Court, will, it is presumed, be of good consequence, and it is not doubted but so good an opportunity will be improved for the King’s interest, as also the lameness and defects of the indemnity so much valued by the Court, and which has now, when it is come out at last, scarce anything of an indemnity, but the name ; and cannot fail of enraging and disquieting in place of quieting the minds of the people if rightly improved, as we doubt not it will.

“ We can hardly determine ourselves here whether the Elector’s not going home this year be an advantage to the King’s affairs or not ; but, as it happens, let us endeavour to make the best use of it we can.

“ It seems reasonable to expect in the present high divisions betwixt the father and the son that one or other of their parties, at least a considerable number of them, may be gained and brought over to the King’s interest. That of the son’s appears to be the strongest and best worth gaining, if it can be done, and those out of power are commonly more easily gained than those in the immediate possession of it ; but the King’s friends on the place are best judge of all this, both as to the manner of doing it, and the persons to be applied to.

“ It is so too as to what is proposed in the memorial with relation to those now in the present possession of the power and administration under George. Some of us has been long of the same opinion of him which that minister of his seemed to be of, in the conversation mentioned in the memorial, but, if

he continue to govern, though with a reluctance to it, the effects as to the King will be the same. The present managers seem to be in so great distress that they should naturally think they cannot hold it long as they stand now, so that the proposal of their being tried upon the King's account seems to be reasonably grounded.

"We have no doubt of the King's doing in this what he shall be advised to by his friends on that side; but it is impossible he can do anything in this, till they give him further light and advice in it, the persons of that kind to be applied to, as well as the manner and time of his doing of it; so there ought to be full advice sent over upon this soon, and in the meantime the King's friends, who are of this opinion, may be preparing the way with such folks against the King's letters come for them.

"*If these ministers have such power with George as by all his actions it seems they have, and likewise be brought to have a view towards the King, it may not be impossible that they may get him one way or other to contribute to the advantage of the King's affairs. His hatred to the prince may make him the less solicitous about holding of it during his own time, and, if he comes to find that his new dominions are like to draw on him a powerful confederacy that may endanger his old, his former thoughts of throwing back his possession of the new to those who gave it him, may return, and it is not impossible that he may find the effects of this confederacy this way ere long.*

"We want to know who are the chief or principal of those now employed by George, and to which of them 'tis thought the King should make his applications. We have heard lately that Lords Marlborough and Cadogan are fallen out, and that Cadogan and Stanhope are not so well together as the generality of the world believes. By George's so zealously espousing Cadogan's cause it would appear that he is much in his favour and confidence; but he and Stanhope have all along showed so much inveteracy to the King and his cause that it is scarce hoped here that all the differences and distractions amongst them can produce in those two any good intentions for his Majesty, and that it would be difficult to persuade them that they could find their own interest in endeavouring to serve him.

"If Lord Marlborough be the person who is thought should be applied to of those folks, he has been in so long and continued a track of dealing with the King or some upon his account and deceiving them, that it is hard for his Majesty to give trust to what he may say in time coming upon that score, and it could not but give the world an odd opinion of the King and those employed by him to be deceived by him again, after near thirty years experience of his ways and professions without any effectual performance, but quite otherwise.

"Lord Sunderland, who, in appearance, is now the first man of the Ministry, is not thought to be of weight enough to undertake for them all, though, notwithstanding of all may be said against him, some of us would have more trust in what he would say, if he was to be dealt with, than any of those before named.

"It seems to be highly necessary for the King's friends there to be very active in improving the divisions that is now amongst the Whigs, amongst those of the army; for, until they be divided, it is not much that can be effectually done for the King without foreign help, and the fleet is what should be particularly thought of, with that view on which much will depend.

"There is another thing which we want much to be informed in, which is in relation to the funds given this last session of Parliament, for by the accounts we have on this side it does not appear to us that there are near funds enough found for raising the money voted by Parliament for this year's service, beside for the deficiency of the last, unless the Government take that given for lessening the national debts, which, 'tis thought, it will scarce venture on, and how they can maintain the Government, Army and Fleet without funds, seems inconceivable and must evidently reduce it and George to the utmost straits and difficulties.

"There was one essential thing mentioned in the answer to the former memorial, and recommended to the King's friends there, which was the providing a sufficient stock of money against an occasion should offer for undertaking something for his Majesty's service, and there's more need now of pressing this point by the treaty 'twixt the Czar and Sweden being like so soon to exist; and to be sure, if either, or both of those princes, can be brought to do anything for the King's behoof, money is what they will principally want and expect from his Majesty, which is now the only way he can be assisting to them, and without that it is not to be supposed that they can be in a condition to undertake anything upon his account.

"The King being now in a manner quite alone at Urbino, as to those with whom he used to advise in his affairs, has called Lord Mar to him sooner than he proposed to go when he wrote his last letters sent with the last copy of the answer to the former memorial; and the affair he is now going about will not detain him long, so that, if the King's friends in England have any commands for him before he go for Italy or any messages or word to send by him to his Majesty, they would send it to him soon, else it will come too late, it not being in his power to wait long for it."

Postscript.—Aug. 12.—Since writing the above, we understand that the treaty betwixt the Czar and the King of Sweden is to be at Amsterdam, whither the Czar is gone, and Dr. Erskine has told Poniatowski from the Czar that the King's

affairs should be taken care in any agreement betwixt them and the doctor does not at all apprehend any agreement betwixt his master and the Elector of Hanover, notwithstanding the former having consented to one coming from the Elector to meet him in Holland, as we hear Norris now is, which makes the King's servants here the easier on that head. It is to be remarked that, when the Czar agreed to the persons coming to him from the Elector, he had then heard nothing from the King of Sweden, as he since has, and upon which, as is told above, he has put a stop to the further march of his troops from Mecklenburg.

"It is designed that this treaty betwixt the Czar and the King of Sweden at Amsterdam should be as secret as possible and care must be taken that nothing of it come out from the King's friends.

"Poniato[w]ski came to the Czar at Spa from Hesse and is now gone to Holland to attend the Czar's coming there, where he will be safe by the credit he has from the King of Sweden. He told the Czar that the King of Sweden was positively resolved to have no dealing with the Elector of Hanover and of the great desire he had to accommodate matters with his Czarian Majesty so that we are in great hopes of the success of the treaty betwixt them.

"It is not Poniato[w]ski who is empowered by the King of Sweden to treat with the Czar, but General Rank, and the Resident at the Hague, Monsr. Price."

Lord Mar is to set out in two or three days towards Liége to be nearer to the place of the treaty and some of the King's people are gone to Amsterdam to inform him of what passes there.

Baron Sparre is to part from Paris in a very few days and goes first to Amsterdam. As soon as we learn anything which passes in the treaty, one shall be sent over to inform the King's friends of it and, if they have anything to say to Lord Mar, it must be sent to Liége, where Mr. Kinnaird will know where to send it him, and it's wished that, if there be any such thing, it may be sent soon, for Lord Mar's stay thereabouts is not likely to be long, he being to go to attend the King, as soon as he sees the success of the treaty at Amsterdam. *Draft in Mar's hand and 2 copies. Over 12 pages. The passage between asterisks is printed in the Stuart Papers, p. 12, note.*

SEVERAL OF CAPT. GEORGE'S CREW to [? W. DICCONSON].

1717, Aug. 2. Bordeaux.—Entreating him to lay before the Queen the very bad treatment they and all aboard Capt. George's ship had met with by him during 21 months and 9 days they were in the service, first on the *Speedwell* and then on the *Bonaccord*, with particulars of how they had been starved and not paid their wages.

SIR WILLIAM ELLIS to JAMES III.

1717, Aug. 11.—Acknowledging to have that day received on his account of Mr. Panzacchi by Mr. Belloni 51,617 Bologna *livres*, 18 *sols*, 8 *deniers*.

MRS. OGILVIE to [CAPT. OGILVIE].

1717, Thursday, August 12, 9 p.m.—I am very glad I was but very few days in town before the boat arrived here, for I was teased to death by some people who expected a full account from me of all that was contained in the papers. I don't mean *Lord Oxford*, for he has too good sense to think it possible to know anything of that kind from me. Everything is sold that I had to dispose of here and the marchands seem very well pleased, though they had been bought for some time and consequently not quite so fashionable as if they had come immediately when we had them from *Mar*, but, that being entirely our misfortune and not our fault, we can't be blamed, but a small piece of China has come to Mr. *Menzies*, which has been latelier printed than any I brought. Tell *Mar* the lady likes it mightily. *Lord Oxford* goes a week hence to Mr. *Cæsar's* country house, and he tells me he will pay for the goods before Saturday next, so I hope to see *Capt. Ogilvie* very quickly.

(Describing her grief at the accident to Lord Erskine, who is almost recovered.) Pray tell his father I have been to see him and I obeyed his instructions punctually as to delivering his letter. The child was almost afraid at first to take it, but, after recollecting himself a little, was overjoyed.

Lord Oxford called for me just now, for it's at his house I am writing, and bade me thank you for your letter. All shall be done that's enjoined as to the law plea, but he is afraid the money matter will be difficult. *Mar* shall have a full answer in a few days to everything and you likewise to your own letter. Tell *Lady Mar* her sister was gone out of town, before I came, which I am sorry for, but I hear all the family is very well and particularly the young lady. *Over 2 pages.*
Enclosed in Capt. Ogilvie's letter calendared in Vol. IV, p. 540.

————— to STUART OF INVERNITIE.

1717, Aug. 16. Paris.—I thought myself obliged to advise you that for two days we have been all alarmed for the safety of our King. You know that for a long time his rival has sought to destroy him also by the most infamous means, and in fact two days ago the Queen Mother was assured from England by a person of undoubted credit that an unworthy peer of that realm, yet famous as being capable of any desperate enterprise, named Lord Peterborough, for the sum or reward formerly promised for the life of his Majesty, had undertaken to assassinate him, founded on the hope of finding bandits and desperadoes by whose means he has designed to affect his black and impious purpose, and in fact this infamous

assassin has already arrived in these parts resolved to proceed very soon to those parts in order to carry out his sacrilegious enterprise. For this reason the Queen has to-night dispatched an express to his Majesty in order that he may be well guarded against all such attempts. I suppose a courier has also been sent to Cardinal Gualterio, but notwithstanding, as an additional precaution, I deem it necessary that you should advise his Eminence of it, not knowing what accidents may happen to the expresses sent by the Queen, in order that by means of his Eminence his Holiness may be informed in time to take proper measures of prevention. Here it is believed as certain that another assassin, who passes under the name of Count Douglas, has already proceeded towards those parts, who is believed to be an accomplice in the same enterprise. *Italian.*

OPINION of SIR EDWARD NORTHEY, ATTORNEY-GENERAL, on
the ACT OF INDEMNITY.

1717, Aug. 24.—Query. Whether the first exception in the Act of all persons on 6 May, 1717, employed by or in the service of the Pretender reaches any person other than such as had an office under him or such as had commissions or warrants to execute his orders, and if persons residing in the same town with him or travelling with him without any character, office, pension, or commission since 6 May, may not, by leaving him, entitle themselves to pardon?

It is not material to answer this question, for the Act does not pardon any offence committed on or after 6 May, 1717; therefore, if any person not within the exceptions were resident with the Pretender or travelled with him on or after that day, he is within the Statute of 13 and 14 King William in keeping correspondence with the Pretender and is guilty of High Treason not pardoned thereby and cannot return safely even with the King's licence, but may be prosecuted for that treason without a new pardon.

Query. Whether persons who escaped out of prison and were never attainted or under prosecution for High Treason are not acquitted of the crime of breaking prison as well as of the Treason by this Act?

I am of opinion they are.

Query. Whether persons who levied taxes by the authority of the rebels are subject to any action for the restitution of the money so levied at the suit of any private persons, who paid such taxes, and, if any such private persons have obtained payment of the taxes so levied out of the estate of the person employed in levying them, whether such person, when indemnified by the Act, may not sue for the payments he has been obliged to make out of his private estate?

I am of opinion that a civil action lies for the money levied by virtue of a tax imposed by the rebels, the money being unlawfully taken from a private person, for such unlawful

takings are not pardoned, though a criminal prosecution for such taking is.

Query. Whether persons acting as justices, lieutenants of counties, magistrates, or in an ecclesiastic capacity praying or preaching for the Pretender, against whom no prosecution has hitherto been, are not entirely indemnified, whether at home or abroad, and, if abroad, whether there is any necessity of asking a licence, which by the Act seems limited to that species of treason of levying war?

I am of opinion that, if such persons are and have been at home, they are pardoned the crimes stated, not having been prosecuted, unless they have offices and have been guilty of the rebellion. If abroad, the offence of levying war by them, if they return without licence, is excepted, and therefore it is not advisable for such persons to return without a licence, for it will depend on evidence whether their actings will not make them parties in the rebellion, which the bare praying or preaching will not. *Copy. On the back is an extract from the said statute of King William, making it treason to correspond with the Pretender.*

JAMES III. to CARDINAL ORIGO.

1717, Aug. 29.—(Calendared in *Vol. IV*, p. 547.) *French. Copy.*

PAPER given to the KING by an unknown COURIER.

1717, Sept. 2.—I have just been informed that there is a plot to make an attempt on the life of the Pretender, that Lord Peterborough has been charged with it for the recompense of 100,000 pieces, and that that lord is to make this design succeed by means of some monk, who will know how to facilitate the means of approaching the Pretender, and that that lord himself on the journey he is going to make in Italy will endeavour to get into the Pretender's court under the pretence of communicating to him some negotiations which he will pretend to have carried on in England for his interests. *French. Original and copy.*

NOTE about LORD PETERBOROUGH sent by the GRAND DUKE [? of PARMA].

1717, Sept. 4.—People believe that Lord Peterborough, if what is written from Genoa is the fact, that he, having arrived there, set out on the road to Parma, may be gone by orders from his Court to remonstrate with the Grand Duke and to make him to consider the engagement, under which Spain is placed, with its movements against the peace and neutrality of Italy. Further information is being sought, and, if found, it will not fail to be communicated. *Italian.*

SIR JOHN O'BRIEN.

1717, Sept. 4.—Remarks on Lord Peterborough's journey from 21 Aug., when he left Paris, to Monday, the 30th, when he embarked at Genoa.

At Lyons he only went to one Philibert, a banker, on whom he had a letter of credit for 1,400*l.* sterling, and told him, when he stopped in Italy, he would send him instructions how to remit him the value of it. It should be noticed he passed at Lyons as Lord Mordaunt.

Arriving at Turin the 27th, he slept at a poor tavern. Next day he dined with the Governor, and went in the afternoon to pay his respects to Madame Royale, and did not see the King, who had come that day from Rivoli, which shows that his pretended negotiation with that prince was only the better to conceal his design. He settled his accounts with his banker without taking any money, and left him an order to address his letters to Reggio of Modena, and to his host, where he lodged, to send him some wine to the same place. He left Turin the morning of the 29th.

He told the Governor and the French Ambassador he would pass by Alessandria, Piacenza and Reggio. However, on arriving at the first place, where he had ordered two of his saddle-horses to be, he used them to ride at full speed to Novi, and thence went in a post-chaise to Genoa, where he arrived on Monday afternoon, the 30th, and the French courier coming from Rome assures me he embarked the same evening, it is not known for what place. When he left Alessandria, he sent one of his men with his post-chaise by the Piacenza road with orders to wait for him at Parma, where he arrived at midnight 2 Sept. without any news of his master.

It should be remarked that the person ordered his horses to be at Alessandria, and that, if he only wished to avoid the Emperor's dominions (in the greatest heat of the day), he might as well have gone in his chaise and with post-horses. Besides, it would not have taken him two days at most to make the round by Genoa, instead of which at midnight on the 4th he had not yet arrived at Parma. *French. Two copies.*

SIR WILLIAM ELLIS to JAMES III.

1717, Sept. 7.—Acknowledging to have received on his account from Signor Belloni, in part of the value of the bill of 28,000 Genoa *livres*, 1,960 *filippi*, which make 9,800 Bologna *livres*, and 300 Roman *crowns*, which make 1,500 Bologna *livres*, making together 11,300 Bologna *livres*.

LETTER from a PRIVATE PERSON at PARMA.

1717, Sept. 7.—After dinner Peterborough went to see the very beautiful garden of Colorno and returned in the evening. Next morning he proceeded on his journey to Modena, perhaps to have an interview with his Serene Highness, saying he

was going to Bologna, where he has a lady he esteems highly. Be it pretence or reality, he is a crafty fellow, who is playing the fool, but he has been often employed in English secret affairs. *Italian. Copy.*

DAVID NAIRNE to [SIR JOHN O'BRIEN].

1717, Sept. 10. Urbino.—“ Your express came just before the King sat down to dinner, and, as soon as he had done, the enclosed letter to the Legate was ready for him to sign. I send it to you open that you may see what the King writes, and the apostille he has added in his own hand, upon which I hope the Legate will make no more difficulty to secure the person mentioned. You'll recommend that it be done with as little *éclat* as possible, but the essential thing is to get all his people, his trustees, his bravoës, and even his mistress, if it be thought convenient, secured. He may have had the weakness to discover his secret to her, and fear will make a woman squeak sooner than a man.

“ In fine, since the main step is thought advisable, we must not stick at anything that can clear us in this matter, for that were doing things by halves. And whatever is done in point of search and examination must be done quickly, not to give time to the guilty to escape. The King depends much upon your zeal, diligence and prudence in this matter. I do not write to Mr. Cockburne, not to lose time; you'll communicate this to him.”

ACCOUNT of what LORD PETERBOROUGH said to Little (*i.e.* COL.) O'BRIEN, when he accompanied him from Bologna to Fort Urbano, with some REMARKS, the whole of which was sent to the Cardinal in French.

1717, Sept. 11.—He said : 1. There can be no reason to suspect his having any design against the King but that he supped with George and his Hanover ladies two or three times. He was offered the greatest employments in England, and they really pressed him to accept them, which he refused, and on his refusal he did not think it proper to stay in England, which occasioned his coming back so suddenly.

Remark.—He admits himself the public marks of friendship he received from George, as he calls him, but what he adds of the offers to him and his refusal has not the least probability, for it is well known that he is extremely ambitious and that he has descended even to mean actions in order to be employed by the Government but without success. His character and his extraordinary conduct are sufficiently well known, so nothing of them is said here, but, as it is plain from the past that this Government has never wished to entrust him with any public charge, there is strong reason to presume that his sudden reconciliation with the Court and the civilities he has received have been the consequence of the secret project, of which he is accused by advices from a good source in England.

2. He brought his two grandsons with him to Paris, and resolved, when he had settled some affairs at Venice and Reggio, to take Madam along with him back and live with her and his children till he saw better times.

Remark.—No reflections are worth making on what he says of Madam, as he calls his mistress, and his grandsons.

3. He brought bills but for 600*l.* sterling into Italy.

Remark.—By the last account of the other Mr. O'Brien he had much more money, bills of exchange and letters of credit, which he does not avow here, and it is notorious that before his last journey to England his extravagance had so exhausted him that it was with difficulty he got credit for 1,000 *livres*. This is very strong evidence against him.

4. He was so far from having any design against the King that several of his Majesty's friends know him to be in his interest, though he never had any correspondence with his Majesty or his mother, and that for fear of being discovered, as all those, he says, have been that ever had any commerce with the Court of St. Germain, and it is on suspicion of his being in their interest that he was affronted and put out of all employments by the Elector and forbid his Court.

Remark.—It is very true he never had any correspondence with the King or the Queen, but that he was put out of his employments on that suspicion is highly improbable, for he could not have had good intentions for the King without having given some sign of them to some of his Majesty's friends in England, and not one of them has ever written to his Majesty that Peterborough was in his interest.

5. He swears that King George has more honesty in him than to think of touching the King's blood, for to his certain knowledge he is very weary of the Crown, but he would not answer so far for his son. He says he is a whipster and a villain.

Remark.—His protestations about King George are very natural in his present condition, but what he adds of his son is remarkable.

6. The night before he left London he received a penny post letter in French like a woman's character, mentioning that his dark designs were discovered and bidding him take care or he would repent his journey. He was not to be frightened by a penny post letter, and he believed it was sent by some of the Germans about that Court to prevent his coming to Italy, but he still believes that it is by the contrivance of some Italian princes or the Court of Vienna that he is arrested, for he looks on our reasons to be very ridiculous and imaginary, nor will he believe what we told him to be more than a pretence. He knows that several of the Italians are jealous of his expedition to England, thinking he is to have some command in the Spanish invasion.

Remark.—This letter may well have been sent by some zealous friend of the King, wishing to dissuade him from his

journey and his evil design, of which something had been discovered before his departure from England, but, far from destroying the proofs, this letter increases them, for so many warnings and advices could not be without some foundation. As to his being persuaded that some princes of Italy and the Court of Vienna have had some share in his arrest, this is much more frivolous and imaginary than the true reason for his arrest. This shows that there is not much reason to fear that foreign princes would interest themselves for his release, and there is cause even to doubt greatly that the Court of Hanover will be very eager to interest themselves for him in so odious an affair as that of which he is suspected.

7. The reason he went from Turin to Genoa to embark there and land at Sestri was to avoid the Emperor's dominions, which he had reason to do, as appears by Mr. Addison's letter to him.

Remark.—His reason for having taken that route is good, but not for having taken it in so mysterious a manner.

8. He gave me a letter to be sent to Mr. Cantillon at Paris.

Remark.—Cantillon is a banker on whom he has at present letters of credit, but it is known his credit on the Paris bankers, before he went to England, was entirely lost.

9. If it be his fate to be kept prisoner, provided he is allowed to have his lady along with him in any other garrison more convenient or nearer a market-town and three of his servants are allowed him, he prays God may damn him, if he desires to be released, till the world mends. He added: But your Prince is very unfortunate; he has the finest game in the world to play at present, had he anyone he could confide in to manage it, but his council always betray him and themselves.

Remark.—This confirms that he has no public affair to negotiate, and that there is no inconvenience in keeping him in prison, which he declares he does not wish to leave, till affairs are changed, provided he has his lady and his other conveniences. What he adds of the fine game the King has to play are political insinuations in accordance with his mysterious character and want explanation. He may open himself more to Mr. Sheldon, but it would be very dangerous to trust him. The reproaches that the King is betrayed by his council are common places without foundation. *Original and copy of the Account, with a French translation accompanied by the remarks. Annexed,*

JOSEPH ADDISON TO LORD PETERBOROUGH.

- * *His Majesty having received complaints from the Court of Vienna* that, in your travels through Italy, you talked very much against the Emperor's interests, and spoke of his person in a reflecting manner, his Majesty thinks such a way of talking very improper, especially in the country*

where you are at present, since you know very well he is in good friendship and alliance with the Emperor. He *is further of opinion that you should not go into any of the Emperor's dominions in Italy*, lest any misfortune should befall you on that account or any occasion be given for a new complaint. 1717, May 6 [- 17]. Whitehall.

Remark.—This letter proves Lord Peterborough's indiscretion and the Emperor's reasons for complaint against him and lets it be seen at the same time that he has no character here and cannot be charged with any public or state business. This last head is confirmed by another letter from Mr. Davenant, an English envoy, found among his papers. French. The passages between asterisks are quoted in Lord Peterborough's paper calendared post, p. 592.

LORD PETERBOROUGH to DOMINICK SHELDON.

[1717, Sept. 11.]—Your character, as a man of honour and good sense, is the reason of my writing to you. What Mr. O'Brien has told me is very extraordinary. If you really have such ideas at your Court, I see no reason why they should not be satisfied I should have the pleasure of an interview with you. I see no inconvenience in it, and perhaps it would be useful. I am sure they have perfect confidence in you, and am persuaded you will be inclined to give me this pleasure. I have often spoken of you with your friends, Lord Lucan and Mr. Dorington. I beg of you to let me know if you will kindly make this journey. If you are indisposed, the one I know best by reputation is Lord Panmure. I cannot imagine that they are not equitable enough to give me some reason for this proceeding, and to be willing to hear me. French. 3 copies.

Remark.—There is no remark on this letter, except that he says his interview with Mr. Sheldon might be useful. The originals of all these papers were brought by Col. O'Brien to Urbino, 14 Sept.

MEMORIAL.

[1717, Sept. 11.]—In Lord Peterborough's hand and found among his papers when he was arrested at Bologna on that day.

It seems there are but two courses to take. In both I shall follow the inclinations of your Royal Highness, and* for that purpose I have preserved my freedom, not having wished to enter into any engagement, and regretting greatly not to be able at present to have an interview with your Royal Highness.*

Either your Royal Highness will take the measures necessary for preventing any beginning of disorder in Europe, and for maintaining, if possible, the settlements on the basis of the Treaty of Utrecht, proposing as your principal object relieving France, discharging the public debts, and, by peace, restoring trade and plenty, or else *you will desire to profit by the

favourable situation, making yourself arbiter of Europe by the union which can be made of the forces and wealth of France, Spain, the King of Sicily and the other Italian States, which will be able to unite and place themselves under a good leadership or rather under yours, induced by having the same things to fear and by the reciprocal advantages. That power, united and acting in concert, will be superior to all the efforts of the other powers.* What then will be the power of that league, when everything that can oppose it is embarrassed, disunited and otherwise employed, the Emperor being engaged in the Turkish war, the English ministers being in such a situation that they can maintain themselves only by peace, and the Dutch being under an obligation to avoid war.

As to the first course, if your Highness will permit me to declare my sentiments, it must be seen if it can be made practicable, if it is preferable to the other. The true interests of France and of your Royal Highness must be considered and the measures to be taken to secure them. The first idea is founded on the principle that nothing better suits the interests of the Duke of Orleans than that the House of Hanover pledges itself to support them on the basis of the last treaties, as also that the friendship of the Duke is very, or rather absolutely, necessary to maintain that House in its possession of the kingdoms of England. The treaties, recently made between those who govern the two nations, must also be considered, and whether they have solid foundations.

As to the treaties, I shall only say that, since that with France, one has been made with the Emperor. The English ministers make no secret of it. It is difficult to conceive that these two treaties can be favourable to one another, and it appears reasonable to believe that, if matters remain in their present condition, the English ministers will have pretexts to favour one or other of them according to events, so that these treaties, to say the least, are sufficiently exposed to accidents.

Another reflection is to be made on these treaties, namely, whether the English ministers will have the authority to maintain them, supposing they have the will. Another and no small consideration is how long the present ministry will last, and whether their successors will not be inclined to reverse all the plans of the others. I will say further that the English ministers are fortunate or clever, if they can persuade persons of opposite interests that they are really friends to both of them. I should doubt, were I in their place, whether by seeking so many friends, I should not find none at all.

If the treaties are found stable enough, what can be done with the ministers of a country where everything is so uncertain? At least, one should avail oneself of the present occasion to obtain all possible security, clear explanations and positive engagements. I believe the conjuncture is favourable, and

that France will be able to insist on everything it shall find reasonable and obtain some declarations and securities even contrary to the natural inclination they will always have for the House of Austria.

If your Royal Highness absolutely decides to take that course, I shall take mine, and feel from the favourable disposition of the King and the ministers towards me that it will be easy to settle everything that regards my interests, and I shall perhaps be in a condition not to be altogether useless. It will not be difficult for me to make those ministers understand that they are not in a condition to fall out with the Regent.

On the same ideas, it may be reasonably maintained that it is far more preferable to have nothing to fight about, than to be well supported for the quarrel. It seems to me that the Regent would be able to make sure of all his present and future pretensions, and without risk, to pursue very glorious ideas without infringing good faith or the obligation of the treaties, at the same time maintaining his interests and the reputation of France.

If his Royal Highness could secure on a more certain footing his own interests and pretensions, if he could establish a durable union and correspondence between all the branches of the House of Bourbon, if he could reduce within just limits the vanity, ambition and pretensions of the Emperor, if he could prevent the Italians falling into the hands of the Germans and consequently the Court of Rome being obliged on all occasions to take the opposite side to that of France, if the measures to be taken are such as can prevent that war, which could be only dangerous to the French monarchy, and in following that action, your Highness shall appear only to be pursuing the public interest, it seems to me that it cannot be doubted what course is to be taken, if it is possible at the same time to behave so as not to infringe the treaties that have been concluded, and further if it can be proved that, by other measures, war would be inevitable and that it would shortly be necessary to carry it on under disadvantages, which might be avoided at present.

The pride and haughtiness of the House of Austria is the cause of a great error in their conduct. It is almost evident that they would have made sure of Italy, if they would have chosen to enter into a treaty with King Philip, and give up their vain pretensions on Spain, but, in order to have the pleasure of giving Spanish titles to their princes and the power to make grandees of Spain, they have left the King of Spain at liberty to undertake everything against them, when the opportunity should be favourable, and to all other princes to assist him publicly or secretly at their convenience. Their folly was the greater because, however powerful the Emperor might be, he is not in a condition to undertake anything against Spain for want of a naval force.

The condition of Italian affairs is reserved for separate consideration. The particular point is to make appear what could be undertaken here legitimately and honourably, since nothing is so easy as to assure success under present conditions, if the expulsion of the Germans from Italy is undertaken.

(Arguing that the late treaty between England and France does not prevent making a treaty between France and Spain, as it did not prevent the English making a treaty with the Court of Vienna, and the Regent is not bound by that treaty to sacrifice Italy to the Germans.) France could, by the words and by the spirit of that treaty, take on herself to procure a certain peace for Europe by the most efficacious engagements that can be taken to secure the neutrality of Italy and to prevent a war, when the Emperor shall find himself free from that in which he is engaged against the Turks, and in a condition to dispose of Italy as he pleases, if the necessary precautions are not taken in time.

This is enough for all that should be asked of France, and for all that France should grant. It will be proposed only to those who may have other opinions, if war will not be inevitable in Italy, and consequently renewed in Europe, on the first claim the Emperor may have, whether by the extinction of the Medici family or otherwise, if the greatest precautions are not taken to prevent it at the present conjuncture, or the Germans obliged to leave Italy. *French. 4 pages. The passages between asterisks are quoted in Lord Peterborough's paper calendared post, p. 592.*

NOTE.

[1717, Sept. 11.]—Monseigneur, my lord is very much obliged to you. If he had received such a letter, that makes no change in what his Royal Highness has told you. *French. Noted,* as found without date, signature, or address among Lord Peterborough's papers, when he was arrested.

SIR JOHN O'BRIEN.

1717, Sept. 13.—Lord Peterborough has been at Bologna since Monday, the 6th, till Saturday, when he was arrested. He went out very little and sometimes dressed as a woman. A Venetian came to join him at Bologna, and had his meals with him.

His surprise was very great at seeing himself arrested, and, when he was told it was on the King's part, he said he did not even know where he was. This last remark appeared suspicious, it being impossible he could be ignorant of it.

When they spoke to him of the sums he had brought from England, he swore he had not 600*l.* sterling in the world. It is known, however, he has 1,400*l.* sterling in the hands of a banker at Lyons, and besides there has been found among his papers a letter of credit on the same banker for 400*l.* sterling,

which he did not present when passing through that place, another for 300*l.* sterling on Venice, another for 1,000 and as many *crowns* on Reggio, without counting 3 or 4 thousand French *livres*, which he sent to his banker at Venice since his arrival in this country, and several persons have assured me that he has sent to Venice bills of exchange for 40,000 *crowns* since his arrival at Bologna. Amongst the papers of his mistress was found a bill of exchange for more than 1,000 *crowns*, which he had given her, as it is said, a few days ago.

From what follows the current report that he had come over on some negotiation is plainly unfounded.

Among his papers were found no instructions from the Elector of Hanover, no letter of credence, no cipher and nothing in writing which appeared to have any relation to negotiations. He passed through Turin, Parma and Genoa, without speaking of business to the princes or their ministers. His servants told a person sent to his house at Bologna to watch him that on his return to England he was to be Commander-in-Chief of all the forces, that he would be made prince, and that he would have as much revenue as the Grand Duke.

When he saw himself arrested and closely guarded, he said that, if he was brought to the King, that would appear suspicious in England, and that he had had himself arrested expressly to have a pretext to speak to the King, and treat with him on other business, but, if the King would send him Mr. Sheldon, he would give him satisfaction on the whole matter, and would tell him what had given rise to it, an evident proof that the information given to the King was well founded.

He was to have set out for Venice on Monday, the 13th. *French. 2½ pages. Draft and 2 copies.*

JAMES III. to CARDINAL GUALTERIO.

1717, Sept. 13.—Memorial on Lord Peterborough's business. "Les loix et la pratique de toutes les nations autorisent l'arrest de toute personne contre qui il y a des forts soupçons d'un crime, ou d'un attentat considerable. Et quoyque les sujets en Angleterre jouissent plus que d'autres de grands privileges en faveur de leur libertés, cependant rien n'y est plus ordinaire que de pareils arrêts et, malgré tous les efforts des Parlemens contre les prerogatives de la Couronne, ils n'ont jamais osé attaquer ouvertement celuy la, quoyqu'ils l'ayent entamé par l'acte d'Habeas Corpus, fait uniquement pour empêcher des personnes innocentes de languir trop long tems en prison, ce qui n'empêche point les arrêts pour les soupçons, mais simplement met le prisonnier en droit de demander d'être jugé après un terme de quelques mois.

"Par tout pays generalement le Gouvernement est en droit de se saisir des personnes de ceux qu'on soupçonne fortement de trainer quelque chose de considerable contre le repos, ou les loix du pays.

“ Or, posant ce que dessus pour principe, faisons l'application à l'affaire en question.

“ Quel crime plus noir que celui dont est accusé le Comte de Peterborough ?

“ Quels soupçons plus forts que des avis positives de bonne main des desseins de ce Milord, qui les a luy même confirmé par sa venue en France, par les billets qu'il y a apportés, et puis par son voyage en Italie et par la conduite misterieuse qu'il y a tenuë.

“ Le caractere qu'il a dans le monde, et son embarras en se voyant arrêter joint à ce qu'il a nié d'avoir autant d'argent qu'on sçait positivement qu'il a, et de n'avoir trouvé ni chiffre ni aucun papier auprès de luy ni dans sa cassette qui designent, sur quelle négociation il est employé, quoy-qu'on ait si publiquement appris qu'il est chargé de quelque affaire importante, et qu'on ne voit pas quel autre sujet puisse le rammener si tôt dans ce pays ci ; sont des indices si forts que sa Sainteté ne pouvoit se dispenser de le faire arrêter, à moins de se dedire de l'azyle qu'elle a donné au Roy d'Angleterre, et aucune puissance n'y pourra trouver à redire à moins de refuser à sa Sainteté le droit qu'ont tous les autres souverains, et d'autorizer indirectement le crime en ne voulant pas qu'il soit examiné.

“ C'est tout ce qu'on propose, et peu de tems éclaircira surement toute l'affaire. Jusqu'alors ce n'est que suivre la coutume ordinaire que de garder l'accusé jusqu'à ce que son innocence soit prouvée, ou son crime confirmé.” *Holograph draft and copy.*

*To the last is added :—*I added the following by order :—As the above is only a sketch which his Majesty has made hastily of his first thoughts about Lord Peterborough's arrest, he commits it to the prudence and discretion of Cardinal Gualterio to make what use of it he shall think suitable by communicating it to his Holiness or his ministers as he shall think convenient. *French.*

SIR WILLIAM ELLIS to JAMES III.

1717, Sept. 14.—Acknowledging the receipt that day on his account from Signor Belloni in further part value of the bill for 28,000 Genoa *livres*, of 540 *filippi*, making 2,646 Bologna *livres*, and also from Mr. Sheridan 94 *livres*, which are to be paid to his order by Mr. Dicconson.

LORD PETERBOROUGH to CARDINAL ORIGO.

1717, Sept. 17.—I confess that it appeared to me to be my duty to express in no other form but silence such horrid and such unjust suspicions, saying in a word that they could not be true and that they are most contrary to my well-known character of a gentleman, and I protest before God that I certainly believed they were pretexts and that such an

idea could not have been conceived against me. On all sides one sees the absurdity of the idea, the impossibility of execution, and the evident danger, that there is not in this world a reward for such an infamy, the punishments that may be inflicted for it in another ;—but thank God it is more than impossible that the Earl of Peterborough should be capable of being wanting to his own honour and of sacrificing that of his nation by so dishonourable an enterprise. I commit my reasons to the hands of your Eminence without communicating them to other persons at the Court of Rome, who know the honourable proceedings of my whole life, hoping that your Eminence with the evidence of the fact will be able to disperse these shades as ill grounded and imaginary, and confessing myself under obligation to you till death for the politeness and civility shown to me on this occasion. *Italian.*

PROPOSED PLACARD.

1717, Sept. [18].—Commanding in the name of Cardinal Origo all persons whatever who have any knowledge of the emissaries charged to attempt the life of King James III. or their accomplices to give information thereof by letter to the Cardinal or the Auditor and promising a reward. *Italian. Draft.*

LIEUT.-GENERAL DOMINICK SHELDON to MR. O'BRIEN at Bologna.

1717, Sept. 22. Urbino.—“ I do not wonder the Cardinal Legate makes difficulty in publishing a placard in relation to the business you are about, and I question very much whether the Pope will do it, who is hitherto come to no resolution in that affair, which is what detains me here. In the meantime I must tell you that, since the King has seen Mr. Cockburne's last letter to Mr. Nairne, his Majesty is of opinion the persons he there mentions need not be confined any longer, but may have leave to go to my Lord Peterborough in case he wants them, that is to say, his menial servants. Mr. Nairne tells me there is some mistake as to the noble Venetian you mention, which Signor Belloni can best rectify. As to Douglas, I saw a letter from Venice this morning which says they can hear no tidings of him there, but he has several names and can pass for a Frenchman when he pleases. The Lombardy post of yesterday brought no English letters, but those that came by the Roman post continue to give the same informations and cautions.

“ When I go, the King has ordered Mr. Nairne to give me all my Lord Peterborough's papers sealed up in order to return him them again.

“ They were all in a great fright at Paris when the last letters came away. The King had been two days much out of order, and they did not know well what to think of his

distemper. You know the temper of the people there better than [I] and can best judge in what a lamentable condition that kingdom would be in, should it please God to call that Prince out of the world."

DAVID NAIRNE to Mr. O'BRIEN, Captain in Dillon's Regiment (*i.e.* SIR JOHN O'BRIEN).

1717, Sept. 24. Urbino.—Both your letters of the 18th were showed to the King, as well as your letter to Mr. Sheldon and the model of the paper you gave the Legate about promising a reward, which the King thinks very well worded; but the question is whether it will be approved at Rome, so, till we hear from thence, we can neither fix the reward nor do anything more. The King thought to have sent you Mr. Sheldon this week, but last post from Rome brought us no answer concerning Lord P[eterborough], and till then he cannot go; but to-morrow's post will certainly bring us account of the Pope's intentions, and I reckon Mr. Sheldon may set out next Monday. The King is resolved to send back by him all my lord's papers. Mr. Sheldon writes to you.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DOMINICK SHELDON to [SIR JOHN O'BRIEN].

1717, Sept. 27. Urbino.—I perceive by the letters from Rome that the noise Lord Peterborough's confinement has made there, to which even the Emperor's Ambassador contributes all he can, has so frightened the Pope, that Cardinal Gualterio had much ado to persuade him to defer his release for some time. This has made the King resolve to send me to him, but not till Thursday next, that he may see what light the next letters from Paris will give him. For my part, I expect none, and, without better proof than any we have yet against him, I am sure they will not keep him there, which is only to yourself.

SIR WILLIAM ELLIS to JAMES III.

1717, Sept. 27.—Acknowledging the receipt that day on the King's account in further part value of the bill of 28,000 Genoa *livres*, 840 *filippi*, making 4,200 Bologna *livres*.

The DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Sept. 28.—Heads of business to be transacted, and notes of things to be got and done at Paris.

MEMORANDUM by THOMAS BRUCE.

1717, Sept.—Suggesting what he thinks should be done in Scotland with regard to patents of honour and grants and erections of burghs given since the Revolution, and the laws passed since that time, the mode of election to the first Parliament, and the alterations made in the constitution and magistracy of the burghs since the revolution. 2 *pages*.

MEMORIAL by JAMES III. for Mr. SHELDON on his going to the Earl of Peterborough.

1717, Oct. [1].—*“The knowledge he hath of Lord Peterborough* and his own sense and prudence, will be sufficient guides to him on this occasion, however, to help his memory, the following heads are put down :—

*“To avoid above all things anything of personal reflection, whether as to manners, or his character in the world.

“To lay before him the solid reasons we had to suspect his designs, not only from the authentic informations I had received, but from his own conduct which did but too much reinforce them.*

“To show him that it is his business now to justify himself, and how little probable what he says of Hanover seems to us to be.

“To enter into details about his money, and his denying to have so much as we know he hath.

“To let him understand that his dealings with the present Duke of Gordon are full well known to me, and that neither by any third person or fact I could ever discover he wished well to me.

“To insist chiefly on giving the satisfaction he promised to Mr. Sheldon as to the fact in question, after which he can not plead ignorance in it.

“To leave him in the dark as to his suspicions in relation to the Emperor, but to question him about any dealings he may have had with the Regent.

“To press him to inform me of what fine game I have now to play.

“And lastly, to show him that no injury hath been done him, or is designed him, and that the mild usage he hath received ought sufficiently to convince him that I should be glad he could prove his innocence, and have done nothing in relation to him but what the law of England in particular as well as that of all nations doth sufficiently authorize.

“Mr. Sheldon’s infirmity gives a fair handle to make him put what he hath to say in writing, and to make Dillon O’Brien be by when he speaks to him, to avoid all mistakes, though, if he agrees to the first, there will be no need of insisting on t’other if he shows a great reluctancy to it.” *The passages between asterisks are printed in the Stuart Papers, p. 17, note.*

DAVID NAIRNE to SIR JOHN O’BRIEN.

1717, Oct. 1. Urbino.—The Lombardy post did not arrive till yesterday. It brought me yours of the 25th, with the copy of the Earl’s reflections, all which I communicated to the King, who orders me to tell you that Mr. Sheldon, who could not well post hence till the rains were over and the ways dried a little, is to part to-morrow, so from him you’ll know all. In the meantime, his Majesty approves extremely what

you represented to the Legate in relation to Mr. Rangoni, and desires you'll thank him in his name for his compliance in that matter.

ACCOUNT of MR. SHERIDAN by ANNE O[GLETHOR]PE.

1717, Oct. 4.—Mr. Sheridan speaks French, Italian and Latin extremely well, is a person of great honour, very good understanding, knows the constitution of England as well as most men. He was bred abroad at Paris and Rome till about 8 years before the Queen's (Queen Anne's) death, when he went to England and studied law. At her death, he went to France. He is of no party or faction, a faithful subject, is very well acquainted with the parties and the characters of the principal persons in England, and may be depended on entirely. On discourse with him, his abilities will be better discovered than by any character at a distance, which may be thought to be given by a partial friend. *Endorsed*, "Received by Lord M[ar] at Paris, Oct. 4th, from Mrs. Ogilvie."

SIR WILLIAM ELLIS to JAMES III.

1717, Oct. 5.—Acknowledging the receipt that day on his account, in further part of the value of the bill of 28,000 Genoa *livres*, of 600 *filippi*, making 3,000 Bologna *livres*.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DOMINICK SHELDON.

1717, Oct. [5].—Account of his journey to Bologna and Fort Urbano, and of what passed between Lord Peterborough and himself. I arrived at Bologna the 4th, early, and sent Mr. Cockburne immediately to the Cardinal to know when I might wait on him, who appointed 3 p.m., it being the patron's day of the town and he having all the magistrates about him, to accompany him to the great church. "Mr. O'Brien told me the Duke of Parma had writ to the Cardinal for leave to send one of his ministers to my Lord Peterborough, and that the Cardinal had said he believed there would be no danger in that, the said Duke being in the King's interest. Upon this I immediately, that being the post day, sent Mr. Cockburne back to the Cardinal's, to let him or his secretary know that I had a positive order from the King to desire his Eminence not to let anybody go to my Lord Peterborough without his Majesty's leave, and that, if any such leave had been given the Duke of Parma, it should be recalled. Mr. Cockburne brought me word, leave had been given, but that another letter should be sent by the same post to recall it. Signior Belloni, who dined with me at the posthouse, told me he had letters every post from the same Duke, desiring to be informed all that related to my Lord Peterborough, and that he had answered he knew no more of that matter than what he was told at first.

“Mr. O’Brien informed me that the auditor had been a second time with my Lord Peterborough, and that he desired to see me before I went to him myself. It appears to us the said auditor is entirely in my lord’s interest, and, I believe, endeavours to persuade the Cardinal to report the matter so to the Pope as may easily incline his Holiness to set him at liberty, but, more of this, when I have seen the Cardinal and the auditor. Mr. O’Brien has made some remarks in writing on what the auditor said to him, which, if it be all he has to say to me, will save me some labour.

“I waited on the Cardinal at the time appointed, delivered him the King’s letter, and made him his compliments.

“His Eminence was very civil, gave me his letter to the governor of the fort, but upon the whole matter said little in objection to what I told him, only that he feared the keeping my Lord Peterborough long in confinement might prove prejudicial to the King’s interest, that there were two points principal to be considered in this matter, the first the security of his Majesty’s person, the other how to chastise him without farther proofs. As to the first, he seemed to be of opinion that his present confinement, having made a noise and put the King on his guard, was sufficient to deter all people from attempting anything on his person. As to the other he said little, but seemed to be of opinion that a capital punishment would do the King more harm than good.

“Upon this I took my leave, assuring his Eminence I would not fail to give him an account of what my Lord Peterborough should say to me at my return from the Fort Urbano.

“The auditor gave me a paper in Italian in my lord’s own hand on promise that, when I had showed it to him, I would return it again. I am assured there is nothing of more weight in it than what we have already seen of that kind. However, I have got Mr. Belloni to take a copy of it, which I intend to keep by me. To this paper the auditor adds as from my Lord Peterborough what follows. 1st. That my lord hoped the Regent of France would speak to the Queen concerning his being arrested, nobody knowing better than he did what brought him into Italy. 2nd. That, to let the auditor see how far he was from having any design on the King’s person, when he was at Rome he had several private conferences with the Cardinal Gualterio relating to the King’s interest. 3rd. My Lord Peterborough proposes to give for sureties of his behaviour the King of Sicily and the Dukes of Parma and Modena, provided he may have his liberty to look after his own concerns. 4th. That the King and Queen should be the two last persons that should know his intentions whenever he designed to serve them, and that, had the Regent of France given the 7,000 men demanded, when the King was in Scotland, he was ready to have joined them.

“The 5th I arrived at the Fort Urbano. My Lord Peterborough, who was walking in the court, led me immediately

to his apartment, and, after some compliments on the score of the trouble I had given myself in coming so far at his request, asked me whether I would promise him on my word and honour never to discover some things he would impart to me, that would convince me he never had any design contrary to the King's service. To this I made answer I could conceal nothing he should say to me from the King, since he had sent me hither to give him an account of what his lordship had to say. 'Why then,' replied my lord, 'I must alter my discourse.' I answered that his lordship might do as he thought fit, and at the same time bethought myself I had not given him back his papers, which I immediately gave him, telling him that the King told me there was nothing in them that related to himself, [and] had sent him them back sealed up, that he might see his Majesty would make no use of them to his disadvantage where the business did not concern himself.

"He seemed well pleased with this act of generosity, as he called it, and told me it would oblige him to be more free with me than he intended, and told me the paper in his own hand, rightly understood, would convince me his intentions never had been to disserve the King. Upon this he began to explain several passages in it, but I told him I should never be able to remember all he had to say on that subject, and therefore desired his lordship to set his thoughts down in writing, and, if he were unwilling to trust me with the originals, I would content myself with a copy. He told me he would, if I would stay there all night, and that he would write it as observations of my own on what he had said to me. After this he said he had one favour to desire of me, which was to certify at the bottom of 4 of those papers that I had returned them to him, which, being very true, I readily consented to without enquiring into the reason he had for it.

"Then he told me, the air of that place being judged unwholesome, if he could be removed to a house in Bologna or some other town with two or more men to guard him he would give his word and honour to the Cardinal Legate not to stir from thence till the King and Queen were fully satisfied of his innocence from persons they could not but credit, and then named the Regent of France, the Dukes of Parma, Modena, and Aumont. I told him I could do nothing in that, and that I was confident the Legate would not consent to it without the King's leave, and therefore begged he would have patience till I returned to Urbino.

"He mentioned to me the speeches he had made in Parliament against the barbarous price, as he called it, that was put on the King's head, and on their hunting of him out of Lorraine. I told him we never had heard anything of them, nor himself once named as a person inclined to serve the King. He said the latter was very true, that it had been the misfortune of our court to be always betrayed, and that he had always,

when he spoke to the King's friends of his concerns, obliged them upon honour not to mention him to any that had any relation to our court, named the Marquis de Mezières as a man he trusted, Lord Bolingbroke as one he distrusted, and offered to refer himself to the Cardinal Gualterio in all things, who, he knew, was the King's friend and a wise man.

"When he showed me the paper he had writ, a copy of which your Majesty will find here in Mr. O'Brien's hand, I asked him whether that was all his lordship had to say to me. He told me he thought that was sufficient to prove he came not into Italy on any design against the King, and that, having been here 3 several times since the death of the Princess of Denmark, it was no wonder if he came here again. Then he fell into a passion and protestations of his innocence, threw himself on his knees, and wished Almighty God might destroy him, his family and country, if he would not have stabbed any man that should have made such a proposition to him.

"That his visiting my Lord Marlborough was to save the life and estate of my Lord Huntly, his son-in-law, whose estate the Duke of Argyle aimed at, had he been condemned.

"Then I put him in mind of the fine game he had said the King had to play. His answer to that was, that, when he was a free man, the King should know more of that matter than was fit for him to say at present, and before he was sure he was satisfied of his innocence. I told him that, after all the protestations he had made of it, I was forced to beg leave to tell him that, should it prove hereafter to have been otherwise, he could not but be the worst man in the world, which I should be extreme unwilling to believe of a man of his quality and family.

"I mentioned the great offers he pretended had been made him, but he only owned to me that after the change in the ministry offers of service had been made him, which he had refused, as Lords Pembroke and Carlisle had done.

"I had once hinted his giving me something under his own hand to the King, upon which, at my taking my leave, he gave me the paper your Majesty will find with this.

"At my return to Bologna I waited on the Cardinal and gave him some account of what I had done, with which he seemed well pleased and desired me to assure your Majesty he would do nothing in this affair without your order, but added they were very impatient at Rome to see an end of it." *Original, copy and French translation. 6 pages. Enclosed,*

DECLARATION by the EARL OF PETERBOROUGH of his Innocence.

(Printed in the Stuart Papers, p. 17, note.) Original and two copies.

PAPER of the EARL OF PETERBOROUGH, written before Mr. Sheldon's arrival.

When he was arrested at Bologna, two Irish officers from Urbino declared it was by the orders of King James, who had received information that he was come to Italy to make an attempt on his person.

They gave as reasons for their suspicion that that lord had avoided the usual roads, that he had passed by the mountains of Genoa and Parma with armed men, that he had remitted to Venice a large sum received from King George before his departure for Italy with remarkable caresses, and that the Queen Mother had repeatedly advised that care should be taken of the King's person.

These officers, having taken all his letters and papers and examined all his servants, have declared they have found nothing to cause the least suspicion. It is true he did not pass by Tortona and the Milanese, because the Emperor's ministers had obtained an order sent him from the Secretary of State that he was not to pass by their States, and he could not pass by the mountains without an escort of three or four armed men.

If the ignominy and danger of such an action is considered, and if one reflects on the character and circumstances of that lord, he must agree that these ideas are contrary to all probability. He has had no motive of resentment, no private grudge against that prince, his fortune does not demand a desperate blow for its restoration and never in such a conjuncture have the reasons which might be opposed to it had so much force.

It is very extraordinary that one person could at the same time give occasions of jealousy to two opposite interests. It is known to all Europe that that lord has lost all his employments in England and has been banished the Court, and the reasons alleged were that he had spoken contemptuously of King George in France and with a partiality for his rival's interests, and now, quite the opposite, people would have it supposed that this lord was capable of a vile and rash action for those who have ill-treated him against a young prince, who has never offended him and whom he has never seen.

It should be considered that that lord has since Queen Anne's death been four times in Italy, before that prince was in that country, or that it could have been imagined he was to leave France. Why is it surprising that he has come there the fifth time? He has always come in the same manner by post and with the same rapidity.

But there are remarkable circumstances in this journey all opposed to such unjust imaginations. He has had and still has in his service an Italian secretary, who accompanied him in his other journeys to Italy, but this time he has left him at Paris with his two grandsons, the only ones

left of his family, whom he had just brought from England, so that he finds himself alone in this country without any companion or any servant of consequence, with five common servants, four of whom are Roman Catholics and all foreigners. That lord is indeed in a condition to carry out such an enterprise. Such an equipage ought to give rise to jealousy and principally, when it must be known that he did not go out of his lodgings and conversed with no one at Bologna.

That lord was with this small household, because he was leaving Italy, and this time many of the princes and great lords at Rome and throughout Italy knew before his departure the exact time of his return, as did all his tradesmen, his friends and relations in France and England, and his return to Italy was declared to so many persons, before he could know how King George would receive him in England. It is therefore with great appearance of truth that people try to make out that a correspondence with King George was the motive of this journey, which was decided on and known to so many people, before that lord had the least familiarity with that Court or knew how he would be treated in England.

If that lord was well received at Court, the reasons are very plain. He had in no ways deserved ill usage, but it is known that, at the time of his arrival in England, the Court, startled at so many lords and high officers giving up their employments, treated with great civilities all persons of any distinction not belonging to the Cabal of those who had abandoned the Court.

But that lord has remitted much money to Italy and has sold property. Of this one part is true and the other false. But, were he capable of an infamous action, if what he would undertake, permitted him not to live in any other place, he ought to have his money in England and not in other countries. If he was in such favour with King George and wished to serve that Court in every way, it seems he ought rather buy than sell property. He is satisfied that all these false reports should pass for true, if he has at present or has remitted to Italy any other sum than 600 pistoles, and that all the money or credit he can have is in France, which he will prove, if necessary. Almost always what is necessary to maintain the truth is discovered, as on the present occasion. This time this lord brought with him and left at Paris his two grandsons, in a word all his family, in a Catholic country, where that Queen is, whom he is so barbarously to offend, putting the whole human race against him. Is it credible that he would wish at the same time to sacrifice his honour and his whole family to a just vengeance? French. Over 3 pages. Original and copy.

PAPER by LORD PETERBOROUGH.

What I have thought proper to write as the most essential things in my conversation with Lord Peterborough to assist my memory, besides another paper that lord had prepared before my arrival written in his own hand, to show the improbability of what he was charged with.

[Marginal note: Here my lord makes Mr. Sheldon speak.]

The Earl seemed much touched by the King's civility in sending back all the papers seized when he was arrested.

First, he desires attention should be paid to the contents of these papers, where there are considerable particulars for his justification. He declares at the beginning of his letter to the Regent (calendared ante, p. 577) that he did not desire any employment at the English Court. (Quoting the passage.)

Secondly, the chief view of that paper is to persuade the Regent to enter into an alliance with Spain, the King of Sicily and the Italian States. (Quoting the passage.)

In another place he represents to the Regent that he could not place great reliance on the treaties with England. (Quoting the passage.)

In another place he postpones to another time writing more particularly on the affairs of Italy, which shows with what ideas he has come to Italy. (Quoting the passage.)

That lord has begged me to reflect that it may be seen clearly from the contents of that paper what he was wishing to do, which was to unite France, Spain, the King of Sicily and the princes of Italy, which could be done only in Italy and by the Duke of Parma's assistance, from which prince a letter has been found written to the Earl. This important affair he is engaged in is far removed from working against the interests of King James, since nothing would be more favourable for him than the union of these Catholic princes.

Also from the letter of the English secretary may be seen the reasons which obliged him not to travel by the ordinary roads, avoiding the Milanese. (Quoting the passage.)

In conclusion, with much respect for your Majesty, that lord makes this proposal, which will be agreeable to him and which, even in the present circumstances, he will take as a favour and a mark of your Majesty's kindness.

He would not wish to leave Italy, even if he could do so for the sake of his reputation, till your Majesty and also the Queen were entirely satisfied, desiring nothing so much as that which can put a complete stop to these suspicions.

He proposes to give his word of honour not to leave the Papal States or the place which shall be assigned him, without leave from Rome and your Majesty's consent, in order to give the time necessary for convincing explanations.

He will even take it as an obligation that your Majesty will trust his word, which he has always kept inviolably. He is content that no security be taken, provided he be in his house, being assured that nothing will be so evident as his innocence, for which, as well as for his word, several princes, friends of your Majesty, will answer. He even says that, when your Majesty shall be convinced of the truth, he is sure you will be content with having acted in this manner. French. 3 pages. 3 copies. Endorsed, "Paper written by Lord Peterborough and given to Mr. Sheldon at Fort Urbano to be copied in his presence, which was done word for word by Mr. O'Brien."*

ACCOUNT by MR. DICCONSON how the 50,000 *livres* which the Queen receives monthly is employed.

1717, Oct. 6.—Paid monthly to the King's <i>liv.</i>	<i>sol.</i>	<i>den.</i>
and Queen's servants in France about ..	30,500	0 0
The Queen's standing expense for her table, stables, &c., monthly, about	7,500	0 0
The new list of pensions is	<i>liv.</i>	<i>sol. den.</i>
monthly	13,237	9 0
Deducting those paid by Sir W. Ellis, those who have not yet called for their pensions and those gone or dead	3,485	2 10
		9,752 6 2
So there remains for extraordinary expenses only	2,247	13 10

50,000 0 0

which is a small fund for what the extraordinary expenses generally amount to.

Our accounts stood thus when I sent them last to the King.

<i>Credit.</i>	<i>liv.</i>	<i>sol. den.</i>
Paid to B[aron] G[ö]rtz at 3 payments ..	175,000	0 0
Paid in pensions and extraordinaries in 6 months	156,336	10 9
	331,336	10 9

<i>Debit.</i>	<i>liv.</i>	<i>sol. den.</i>
Balance due to the King by the account sent January, 1717	97,677	0 6
Received from Mr. Innes what was remitted him from England, being the value of 3,856 <i>l.</i> sterling	57,672	10 0
Received from Mr. Southcott 121,250 <i>livres</i> , but I returned value of 2,000 <i>l.</i> sterling, which made it but	89,695	0 0

* Reading "Content" for "Contant" which, however, is the word in all three copies.

	<i>liv.</i>	<i>sol.</i>	<i>den.</i>
Received from Mr. Flanagan the price of the <i>Mary Magdalen</i> , sold to Sir P. Sherlock	12,000	0	0
Received from Maurice Murray 90 old <i>louis d'ors</i> , which made at the Mint only	1,154	14	0
Received from Capt. David George for the remainder of the provisions he sold	2,177	10	3
For some odd payments received	3,206	15	0
From a particular friend for the King's use 1,000 <i>l</i> , which made	14,600	0	0
	<hr/>		
	278,203	9	9
So I disbursed more than I received in the accounts sent for the first 6 months of the year	53,133	1	0
	<hr/>		
	331,336	10	9
	<hr/>		

As to our present situation, I have borrowed 15,000 *livres* from Mr. Gordon, which I must repay out of the first money I receive, so the soonest I can give him any more money towards pensions or anything else must be the next time but one that I receive the monthly money, and therefore his payments must cease till then. It is to be hoped the gentlemen will have credit in their quarters, though they should be a month or two in arrear, since we at St. Germain's are 9 months in arrear already.

As for the 15,433 *livres* and the 580*l*. sterling I am to repay to Mr. Jerningham and Mr. Hughs, I hope to do it out of the 1,700*l*. left in the hands of Mr. Arthur, of London, 2 years ago for a particular use, but I suppose it will not be needed now for that.

Besides the present debts, it appears that there is nothing near a sufficient fund for paying the extraordinaries, which in the first six months of this year amounted to above 100,000 *livres*, besides what was paid to B[aron] G[örtz], and I have paid already at least 40,000 *livres* since, besides the pensions and what must be repaid to Mr. Jerningham and Mr. Hughs, so that the 2,247 *livres*, 13 *sols* 10 *deniers* per month, the only fund for them, will not probably be a quarter sufficient. If the King should call again for his 12,000 a month, then there will be no possibility of paying either the new pensions or the extraordinaries.

For these reasons it seemed proper to lessen the list by those who may go home, and by that means the fund would hold out longer for those who cannot, but that I submit to the judgement of those who are better able to determine. All I can do, is to pay when I have wherewithal and to represent my inability when I have not.

I am ordered to put two or three particular accounts by themselves.

Mr. Southcott.

Debtor.

	<i>liv.</i>	<i>sol.</i>	<i>den.</i>
Paid back of this already value of 2,000 <i>l.</i> sterling	21,555	0	0
What I must repay more to Mr. Jerminham 580 <i>l.</i> sterling to make up what he received short of the 8,000 <i>l.</i> he advanced	10,280	0	0
What I am to pay Mr. Hughes	15,433	14	9
For what Mr. Southcott retained of the said money	2,250	0	0
For what I paid him myself here, value 350 <i>l.</i> sterling	5,105	0	0
	54,623	14	9
So all I received clear from him was but ..	66,626	5	3
	121,250	0	0

Creditor.

Received from him at several payments by .. *liv.*
 what he gave to B[aron] G [örtz] &c., .. 121,250
 which is little more than 3,000*l.* instead of 30,000*l.* that was
 promised, and besides Mr. Jerminham claims 530*l.* more for
 what he paid to Mr. Menzies, and for charges about the said
 money and advancing it, viz.,

	<i>l.</i>
To Mr. Menzies	100
For his charges	80
For advancing 8,000 <i>l.</i>	350
	530

which, if it is to be repaid, will reduce the sum so much lower,
 so that of the 5,420*l.* which Mr. *Menzies* collected in
 England very near one half has been spent in collecting
 and remitting it, if the above 530*l.* be made good to
 Mr. Jerminham.

Mr. Morgan engaged to furnish two ships at his own expense,
 but, they not being used, he took on himself the provisions to
 be disposed of, but required the seamen's wages, &c., and I
 paid him accordingly the sum agreed, 6,374 *livres* 4 *sols*.

The money remitted to Mr. Inese out of England was only
 the 3,856*l.* sterling mentioned in the account, so that all I
 received out of England towards the payments to B[aron]
 G[örtz] was not in the whole 7,000*l.*, whereas what I paid
 him amounted to near 12,000*l.*

Query, what method must be taken as to those who demand
 pensions hereafter (giving the names of some that do so).

Query, concerning the orders sent me by Sir W. Ellis.
 7 pages.

DAVID NAIRNE to SIR JOHN O'BRIEN, or in his absence to
MAJOR COCKBURN.

1717, Oct. 7. Urbino.—I had last post yours of the 2nd with your reflections on Lord Peterborough's paper all which I read to the King, who has ordered me to send your remarks to Cardinal Gualterio, they being in French. His impatience to be at liberty I do not wonder at, but that they should be as impatient at Rome to set him at liberty is a little odd. However, when Mr. Sheldon and you come back, the King will take his resolution one way or other. I believe this will hardly find you at Bologna, and Mr. Cockburne will receive this in your absence.

JAMES III. to POPE CLEMENT XI.

1717, Oct. 12.—I have waited for Mr. Sheldon's return to render to your Holiness my most humble thanks for your letter of the 15th of last month in order not to trouble you to no purpose and to be able to join with knowledge of the case my reflections and resolutions with regard to Lord Peterborough. I can never sufficiently declare my gratitude for all your acts of kindness, and particularly for having deigned to style yourself my counsellor, and for having communicated to me with so much frankness your sentiments on this occasion, and I would have believed I was not going beyond the bounds of respect by freely declaring to you my own. But at present the business has taken another aspect and my lord, without making complaints or blaming the conduct towards him, contents himself with asking for his release on parole, till his innocence be made clear.

As this demand is in itself an evidence of it, and as I have no positive proof against him, I have thought it proper to comply with his request, and I have already written to that effect to the Cardinal Legate at Bologna, feeling sure of the approbation of your Holiness. I have not thought that by this indulgence I am throwing doubts on my first behaviour, but rather am supporting it by making it in every thing conform to the usages of my country, so well known to the accused himself that he is the first to wish they should be observed with regard to him, as more honourable for himself than a hurried discharge without solid grounds for it. I refer for details to Cardinal Gualterio. *French. 2 pages. Copy.*

JAMES III. to CARDINAL GUALTERIO.

1717, Oct. 12.—During Mr. Sheldon's absence I have written some papers on the subject of the Earl of Peterborough, and, though that affair has now assumed another aspect, I do not fail to send them to you, for it is just and useful you should know the whole course of my reflections thereon. You will see I was already sufficiently inclined of myself to enter into the proposal you made me in your letter, which I only received

since, and I am charmed by its frankness, zeal and well-grounded reasoning. I, however, avow naturally that I doubt if I could have brought myself to ask simply my lord's freedom. A point of honour carried perhaps a little too far, and the just fear I had of causing anxiety and trouble to the Pope, put me into a strange embarrassment, but I am now freed from it, and the request of my lord himself enables me to preserve my decorum completely and at the same time to deliver the Pope from his anxieties and to show my indulgence with regard to my lord. To do things with dignity and good grace, I thought I ought to write of it to the Pope as a thing done and done by myself. I hope my letter will be to his taste, though I do not multiply compliments in it, and though I feel as I ought the resistance he has hitherto made both to the solicitations of others and to his own fears. However, as all that was not very favourable to me, and may be perhaps followed by some slight feeling of shame, I thought, after having been the cause of the evil, it was more prudent to be silent about the rest, and to confine myself to general expressions of thanks and to support my past conduct by the favour of a conclusion, which could not be but agreeable.

Nairne sends you all the papers about this affair. I attach little importance to all that has passed between my lord and Sheldon except the proposal about his release, which is in effect an evidence of innocence.

I thought it necessary to grant it with even less restrictions than he proposed, for, if his parole does not keep him, two or three guards will do so still less, and in these cases a certain air of indulgence can never do any harm. The choice of the neighbourhood of Reggio seemed to me preferable to the Papal States and especially to Bologna. His parole will bind him there equally and the Pope will have no more anxiety about it.

The precautions taken with regard to him seemed necessary for a man of his character, and, if he does not keep his parole, it will be a manifest proof against him. Only you can explain what he said passed between you and him and, if he can find princes to answer for him, apparently they will do so soon, and then he will be honourably cleared. However it may be, this affair having become notorious by other means than mine, and my conduct having been according to the most exact rules of justice and, I believe, of prudence, it seems to me it could not have any bad effect for me, and might even have a good one. "*Enfin je puis la conter finie, et je vous avoue que j'en suis ravi, car elle me devenoit bien a charge, elle l'etoit encore plus a vous, et, si elle a eu le tems d'avoir une bonne fin, c'est a vos soins et a votre zele qui je la dois, et pour lesquels je ne scaurois jamais assez vous remercier.*"

I say nothing on the audience you are to ask of the Pope. Your own prudence will dictate what ought to be said or not on the contents of this dispatch but, on delivering my letter,

you ought not to be sparing of all flattering expressions, which are more proper to be said than written.

This affair being thus finished, I flatter myself that there will be no further delay in your journey here, but the mutual satisfaction we promise ourselves must be sacrificed to your health, if that is an obstacle. It surely will be the only one, and it is that which makes me desire doubly to have you here, where it is by no means cold, and where you will have a good warm room on the same floor as my own and adjoining the chapel. Do not think, I beg you, of taking any other way but that of Loretto and Pesaro. That of Aqualagna here is impracticable, and I fear that from Pesaro here the roads are a little bad for a berline. Mine, however, went that way, but the season is more advanced and the roads are worse. *French.* 3½ pages. *Copy.*

LIEUT.-GENERAL DOMINICK SHELDON to LORD
[PETERBOROUGH].

1717, Oct. [12].—I hope that the orders the King sends with this letter to the Cardinal Legate will convince you how desirous he is to contribute to the clearing yourself of the accusation you lie under, since he is willing to grant you more than you proposed by contenting himself with your promising the Cardinal Legate on your word and honour not to leave Reggio or your house near it, after you have been a day or two at Bologna, before you have given his Majesty, and the Queen the satisfaction you promised should convince them of your innocency. When I saw you, you seemed as much persuaded of the necessity of this as I was, not only for their satisfaction, but your own reputation, which will undoubtedly suffer in the opinion of the world, till you have given them such proofs of your innocency as cannot reasonably be rejected. I wish with all my heart I could contribute more to it than I have. 2 pages. *Copy and a French translation.*

DAVID NAIRNE to SIR JOHN O'BRIEN.

1717, Oct. 19. Urbino.—Mr. Sheldon writes to you about something which it is thought fit you should say to the Legate, and which is not mentioned in the King's letter to him. His Majesty has further ordered me to tell you that he thinks it proper you should wait on the Duke of Parma at Plaisance (Piacenza) as you pass, telling him you have the King's orders to assure him that he "had very strong and good grounds to have my Lord Peterborough arrested (which grounds you'll explain to him), that he finds by his last letters from France that his conduct in this matter is very far from being disapproved, and that my lord will very probably be disappointed in the expectations he flattered himself with of having some persons he mentioned to answer for his innocence; that the chicane which my lord makes now (which you'll explain to

the Duke) does not look very favourable for him, and is a thing the King could not in prudence consent to, viz., that he should remain in Italy without confining himself to any particular place, and without the King's knowing where he is, and that in fine, in consideration of his Highness, his Majesty has continued still to leave my lord his choice either to be in Bologna, or in the State of Parma upon his parole till things be further cleared, but in the meantime the King, having a true kindness and regard for the Duke, thought he could do no less than inform him by your means of the whole matter, that he may be upon his guard and not engage further for my lord than he shall think he may safely do, after the information you have given him of the fact.

"I send you here copies of Comte Gazzola's letter to me, and my answer to him, that you may be *au fait* how far this Prince has thought fit to concern himself for my lord.

The letter and answer you'll carry with you to the Queen, and, as you have here the King's letter to the Legate with a flying seal, before you seal it quite up and deliver it, you'll take a copy of it to carry to the Queen, and you'll tell her Majesty at the same time that the King is well and received this morning the packet of the 2nd instant, and you'll remember him kindly to Mr. Dillon, and, in case you meet the Duke of Mar, you'll give him account of all this matter.

"You have here Mr. Sheldon's letter to you, which the King bids me tell you, you may show to my Lord Peterborough, for it does not name the Regent, who indeed is not to be named to anybody, but I have orders to tell you in confidence that *Dillon* has spoke with him upon this matter and that he approved what the King has done, which is remarkable.

"Not to delay the express I do not write to Count Gazzola by you."

Postscript.—If you overtake Mr. Strickland or Dr. Wood on the road, you may give them the two enclosed, if not, you'll give them at St. Germain's. *Original and copy.* 4 pages.

SIR JOHN O'BRIEN.

1717, Oct. [21].—Memorial of what passed 20 October at 10 at night in giving the King's letter to the Cardinal.

"The Cardinal seemed more concerned at what the King writ to him about my lord than the latter himself did when I showed him Mr. Sheldon's letter. He took no resolution, though I told him the same informations subsisted still, he said my lord would be with him to-morrow night, and that he would propose to him to keep in Bologna, if he did not choose to go to the States of Parma. When I told him that certainly my lord did not come into this country about any negotiation, 'that may be,' he said, 'but he is known to be a madman, and I believe his business into Italy was to meet the Signora Catina, but the Court of Rome is afraid, and thinks the English

fleet will come and burn Civita Vecchia,' I could not but tell his Eminency that they gave proofs enough of being afraid in this occasion.

"I sent Auditeur Michelli to my lord to desire him to come to me under the arcades. His lordship came in a little time wrapt up in his cloak, the auditeur and two of his servants along with him. We walked until we found a palace open where there was light. I showed him Mr. Sheldon's letter to me as the King ordered it. After he read it he swore, and said 'you must be all distracted at your Court, is it not the same thing to your King where I'll be?' 'Very true, my Lord' said I, 'if you had justified yourself, but your Lordship sees by Mr. Sheldon's letter that the same informations subsist, and, now that you are at liberty, you take no pains to clear your self of this suspicion, you ought to write to the Regent to speak to the Queen, since you say he knows the reasons that brought you into Italy, for, by your refusing going to the States of Parma, all the world will believe you are come about no negotiation.'

"'Can you say so,' said he, 'that writ and saw my project.' 'That's true, my Lord, but the question is, if it be this last time you were in England you sent that project to the Regent or a great while before, for I took no notice of the date.'

"'This last time,' said he, and then two or three oaths, crying, 'Is it possible?' 'I believe it,' said I, 'since you tell me so, but I think your Lordship ought to lose no time to prove it.' 'I writ,' said he, 'already to the Regent, and I am sure he has taken due measures to persuade the Queen of the truth of this matter,' I asked if his lordship would not write by me to the Duke of Parma, he answered, 'he is the Prince in Italy that is most my friend, and for that reason he would not have me near him for fear of giving any jealousy to the Emperor.' Afterwards my lord quitted me, and I found by his short adieu, that he could no further suffer my questions or proposals.

"I gave Mr. Sheldon an account of all this." 2 pages.

SIR WILLIAM ELLIS to JAMES III.

1717, Oct. 31.—Acknowledging the receipt that day on his account from Signor Belloni in full of the bill of 28,000 Genoa *livres* of

	<i>liv.</i>	<i>sol.</i>
696 $\frac{3}{4}$ <i>filippi</i> , making.. .. .	3,483	15
Gained the 27th by exchange of 927 <i>Louis d'ors</i>	475	5
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	3,959	0

JAMES III.

1717, Oct.—Memoir on money matters. First, on examining the lists it is not found that any can subsist without what I give them, and that none can safely return before

February twelvemonth, at which time all unattainted, who did not escape out of prison or served in their army, may return according to the general opinion of lawyers.

2. I suppose that their smallness makes it impracticable to diminish pensions, therefore nothing remains but a total retrenchment of a considerable number, and what a noise that would make is very obvious, to which may be added the ill effect it would certainly have for my interest that at a time, when people cannot go home and have lost either their estates or way of living for my cause, I should take from them the little I give them in their helpless and destitute condition.

3. If a retrenchment should only fall on the Scotch, and not equally on old pensioners, what a subject of just complaint and jealousy would not that give, to see those, whose merits cannot be compared with theirs, preferred to them and, while they have had so great a share in the last enterprise and suffered so much by it, that they should be discarded in favour of such as for the most part have made their fortunes by my misfortunes or at least bettered their condition.

4. I much doubt if the old pensioners could bear a retrenchment or if there be any that could be quite struck off.

5. Whatever therefore is done must in justice, reason and politic be equal to all, but, as no retrenchment can be made of all as yet without great inconveniency and clamour, it is my opinion things should go on as they are till February twelvemonth, which I demonstrate is possible by what follows.

I have wherewithal to keep myself till that time without calling for any money from the Queen. By Mr. Dicconson's account the French pension will supply the present lists and 2,000 *livres* a month will remain. I know that overplus is not to be imagined sufficient to supply the most ordinary extraordinaries, but then I apply to that use the 150,000 *livres* we are to have next February. If no money is drawn on me now, I shall not expect a shilling of that whole sum, which may be laid by not only for extraordinary occasions, but to be employed in paying the pensions of such, who cannot subsist whole months without money, when our ordinary pension is not paid. I think it is by this manifest demonstration, that we can according to all human appearance hold out as we are till the time above mentioned. If great and unforeseen expenses should happen, measures indeed must be altered, but those occurrences must first come to pass, and, if one goes to future possibilities, why may one not also hope that some unforeseen supply may also come in that time? The old produce of a (word illegible) should be endeavoured to be got; and I should have mentioned before five quarters of the Pope's money, which I shall receive in that interval, so we may reckon on above 200,000 *livres* a month for extraordinaries, besides Dicconson's 2,000, which, if not very extraordinary ones indeed, must surely supply. 3½ pages. *Holograph. Draft.*

SIR WILLIAM ELLIS to JAMES III.

1717, Nov. 5.—Acknowledging the receipt on his account from Signor Belloni on account of the Pope's money for July, August and September last of 2,500 *filippi*, amounting to 12,500 Bologna *livres*.

The DUKE OF MAR.

1717, Nov.—Notes of heads of business and commissions to be drawn, among them being the patents to Theophilus Oglethorpe and Sir Peter Redmond.

MEMOIR by JAMES MURRAY.

[1717, Nov. 24—Dec. 5.]—Concerning the use which may be made of the opposition that the *Baltic* and *Mediterranean* squadrons will certainly meet with in *Parliament*.

“In the first place it is certain that the discontented *Whigs* will join in opposing the *Elector of Hanover's* designs in both these measures and that all the *King's* friends must as certainly be of that side of the question, because it will tend to lessen the public expense, and that is a thing which people affecting popularity have always in view.

“But, though this be the true state of the case and known only to a few, may not the present juncture of affairs and the part that friends will act in it be represented in such manner to the *King of Sweden* and the *King of Spain* that both may think themselves under obligations to the *King's* friends and he reap an immediate advantage from it?

“To the *King of Sweden* it may be said that the *King's* friends have a grateful sense of the regard he has shown him, and that in return they intend to use their utmost efforts to prevent a measure so prejudicial to him, in which if they succeed, the service will be great, and, if they should not, their good intentions must be agreeable, but this is only hinted because it may [be] proper to enlarge upon it in accounts to be sent elsewhere.

“To any of the *King of Spain's* servants with whom one could freely and safely talk, might not one open himself in this manner? In the beginning to state the vast use it would be of to his Master to prevent this measure, which is contrived with no other intention but to support the *Emperor* in possession of the *King of Spain's* estate in *Italy* without demanding of him to quit his pretensions to *Spain*. If this could be prevented and proper measures taken to oblige the *Duke of Hanover* to use his interest with the *Emperor* to renounce, it is very obvious of what service it would be to the *King of Spain's* designs. And, if it should not in the end be prevented, a hearty endeavour towards it will be a discouragement to the *Emperor* and ought to lay a very great obligation upon the *King of Spain*.

"This being premised, might not one proceed to acquaint *the King of Spain's* servant that the *Tories* perceived this particular affair must take a turn that would prove very disadvantageous either to *the King of Spain* or *the Emperor*.

"That it is a thing the *Whigs* are divided upon, and therefore the *Tories* may be presumed to have in some degree the power of casting the balance which way they will.

"That the *Tories*, having *the King's* interest entirely and only at heart, are little concerned about what may regard either *the Emperor* or *the King of Spain*, unless they see that *the King's* service is to be promoted by it.

"That at present they have this reason to determine them to oppose *the King of Spain's* interest in this particular, that they conclude, if *the Duke of Hanover* was drove into this measure, resentment and a principle of self defence would engage *the King of Spain* to espouse the King's quarrel.

"That, though this may be at present the thought upon which they have fixed their resolutions, yet, if assurances were given that this service would in general increase *the King of Spain's* friendship for *the King* and procure him 40 or 50 pieces of money, we could answer that these gentlemen would espouse *the King of Spain's* interest to a man, and pursue any measure that shall be thought most conducive to it.

"So much appears to be in this matter, that I should have before now employed a proper person to talk with *Marquis Monteleon* upon it, but that I have received a hint that he is corrupted by *the Duke of Hanover*, and therefore it is not safe to undertake a thing of that kind till one is sure of this fact, one way or other; but, this being a thing in which no time is to be lost, and since *Dillon* may have another opportunity to transact this matter, it was thought proper to submit what is above to his consideration." (See *ante*, p. 255.)

LIST OF HIS MAJESTY'S SUBJECTS IN ITALY.

1717, Dec. 7.—The Dukes of Perth and Mar, the Earls of Nithsdale, Winton, Linlithgow, Southesk and Panmure, Lord Edward Drummond, Viscounts of Kingston and Kilsyth, Lord Clermont, John Hay, Charles Fleeming, William Erskine, Sir John Preston, Mr. Forster, Mr. Stewart, Mr. Cameron, Mr. Carnegy, Mr. Freebairn, Mr. Macmahon, Mr. Cockburn, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Menzies, Mr. Blair, Mr. Barkley and Mr. Coupar, clergymen, Mr. Collier, Mr. Graham, Mr. James Hay, Mr. Paterson, Mr. Edgar, Mr. Clephan.

MRS. OGILVIE to CAPT. JOHN OGILVIE.

1717, Dec. 2[–13].—When I answered your letter I had not received the one you sent to Sudrick (? Southwark) and did not till Friday last. If you have occasion to write to me, which I am afraid you must once more, because *Lord Oxford* is not yet come to town, (giving an address).

I am told, which vexes me, that all letters by the two last posts, that had any news in them, have been opened and all burnt that there were not bills of exchange in. I unluckily wrote both nights. Let me know, the moment this comes, if you had my last two, for it is a plague to repeat what one has wrote. However, in what relates to Mr. *Dillon's* affair, I believe I had best not delay, lest my other letters be mis-carried. I told you before, I thought he had not treated *Mar* so generously as he ought, for you must know that the very day I took my journey, Mr. *Dillon* sent off one of his people here. They say *Mar* knew of his coming and told him that all the difference between his getting here and Mrs. *Ogilvie's* would be his riding post and her going in the coach, which must be some days longer. *Mar* might know of his being sent but I scarce believe he knew half of what he was ordered to say, for most of his commission was to inform *the Bishop of Rochester* what a difficult game Mr. *Dillon* had to play, considering Mrs. *Ogilvie* knew every syllable of what was contained in the late express and that, contrary to all orders, unless it were private ones from *Mar*, she and *Capt. Ogilvie* had the impudence to carry not only Mr. *Dillon's* goods but even *the Queen's* the round about way to *Mar*, a piece of assurance not to be forgiven, though for some reasons Mr. *Dillon* seemed to pass it. He was likewise ordered to acquaint Mr. *Dillon's* friends here not to mind anything Mrs. *Ogilvie* had been desired to say as to contradicting the accounts Mr. *Dillon* had sent them the time before concerning *the King's* affairs, for it was all fact, though everybody ought not to know it and that *Mar* had sent Mr. *Dillon* a very cavalier letter on the accounts he had from Mrs. *Ogilvie*, the copy of which letter was sent to *the Bishop of Rochester* with paraphrases on every paragraph.

The man was likewise desired to tell them that Mrs. *Ogilvie* had said a great many things to *Mar*, that, when she was brought face to face with Mr. *Dillon*, she could not own, which was false in fact, for she did not add one word to what was truth, nor was it in the power of Mr. *Dillon* or anyone else to make her deny one word of what she told *Mar*. Mr. *Dillon*, you know, told you and me that he had writ so favourable an account of Mrs. *Ogilvie* to his friends here, that he should answer for their being very well pleased with her and that they should not wish their goods to come any other way but by her. I know a gentleman who saw most of what Mr. *Dillon* wrote, and his letters contained nothing like it. Those little mean ways can't miss to give people a very mean opinion of those who practise them. Mr. *Dillon* declared too that it was none of his fault that the goods came by Mrs. *Ogilvie* this time, for he had disputed it extremely but could not carry it. However, since *Mar* was to go for Holand (? Italy) and *Capt. Ogilvie* follow him, that way of sending must fall of course. He likewise gave those here to understand that *Capt. Ogilvie*

and Mrs. *Ogilvie* had given such characters of *the Bishop of Rochester*, Sir R[edmond] and all of them, that he was amazed and that Mrs. *Ogilvie* magnified the quarrel extremely between *Anne Oglethorpe* and Sir R[edmond] and that Mrs. *Ogilvie* said: That foolish young fellow would ruin *the King's* affairs. I am sure this is false, for, if she put anybody in the wrong on that head, it was rather Mrs. *Oglethorpe*.

I am told that, when *the King's* shop comes to be opened again, Mr. *Dillon* and the rest of *Ormonde's* partners are to signalize themselves in a part by themselves, and not at all to interfere with *Mar* and the other merchants. Mr. *Dillon* is to be here at that time himself to manage his friends, in order to which he is to send over his eldest son to be bred up under *the Bishop of Rochester's* tuition, which I wonder of, for no doubt *the Bishop* must educate the boy in the Church of England's principles, and Mr. *Dillon* is the reverse of that, but it seems he is resolved to make sure for some of the family both in heaven and earth. All those things are to be grand secrets, especially to *Mar*, but I think he should know at least as much as I can learn. Some pains have been taken to assure me that *Mar* is no friend of mine, but that can't pass with me. Indeed, I have a great deal of reason to believe the contrary and, till I have other proofs, I'll prefer demonstration to tittle-tattle. What they would have me cavil at, is *Mar's* writing to all of them that Mrs. *Ogilvie* need not be sent back again but on extraordinary occasions.

Another affair concerning Mr. *Menzies* I shall soon be better informed about. This far I know already, that the poor man has been very ill used here, though he does not at all deserve it. It is whispered that *Mar* has given him up so far as to assure *the Bishop of Rochester* he will stick to no man disagreeable to him, and it's likewise said that Mr. J. M[urray] is actually in *Menzies'* place now and that 400*l.* salary is settled on him, and that *Mar* remitted him 100*l.* bill, when Mrs. *Ogilvie* came here. I am told they brag of those things and make no secret ont. I have sent you a line of *Menzies'* to Mrs. *Ogilvie*, which you may send to *Mar*. I am extremely charged not to let *Mar* nor *Capt. Ogilvie* know a syllable of all this. They tell me, I will certainly pay severely for it, if I drop one word ont to *Mar*, for great men are always sure to sacrifice little people to their interest. I confess that's too often done, but I am too much *Mar's* friend and believe him to be too much a man of honour not to fear anything so unjust from him.

Anne Oglethorpe has listed herself entirely a friend to Mr. *Menzies*. She is not pleased with your last letter, and says she is at a loss how to answer it and desires me to do it for her. I having seen both hers and yours, I have writ to *Lord Oxford* to-day and you shall have his answer by Thursday's post. I believe he is so wise as to keep out of the way, by reason that it's believed that this business at Court will turn to a parliamentary affair. (About Mr. Shippen as in other letters.)

As to answering your own letter, I parted with you Sunday morning. It was late before I came to Dover, where I was obliged to stay for the coach till Tuesday, so I arrived here late on Thursday night, where I wrote you a short line. As to your not hearing from me the Monday after I came, I wrote to you in the afternoon, before I stirred out, and was sot enough to keep the letter in my pocket till near 12 at night, waiting till the bell should come about for letters, without considering it comes only on Tuesdays and Thursdays, and, when I found it too late to send to the post office, I burnt my letter in a rage.

I beg once more of you not to stir from where you are, till you hear again from *Lord Oxford*, for I know it's what he would never forgive. Therefore let us at least seem to understand the last affair in the same sense that *Lord Oxford* is pleased to put upon it, for I really think it good-natured of him not to put it on another footing.

Let *Mar* make his own prudent use of all I have writ and take care that neither *the King* nor *Anne Oglethorpe's* Irish friend with him know anything, for all he knows comes round to her.

I have not seen *Lady Mar*, but I have writ to her. It's for her own safety I am debarred of that happiness and not for any step in her conduct that can be censured. 7 pages.

PAPER by LORD PETERBOROUGH.

[1717, before Dec. 16.]—Lord Peterborough's arrest has made all the world curious to know the motives of it, as being believed by all men of good sense to be vain and groundless.

Two Irish officers from Urbino, with the assistance of that government, arrested him and seized his papers and domestics, alleging that the Queen had informed her son, that he was come to Italy with designs against him and that the said lord's conduct had augmented that suspicion.

You will be surprised when you hear what this conduct was that gave such jealousy. The first articles are his not going to Lombardy the ordinary road but passing over the hills of Genoa and through Parma instead of going by Tortona and the Milanese.

Do you think this a sufficient reason to suspect a person of such known reputation? Is not every traveller at liberty to choose what road he pleases? And may there not be reasons sometimes not fit to be told to everybody, which oblige people, especially of my lord's rank, to take one road rather than another?

The other arguments are of yet lesser weight, that he had remitted great sums to Venice, that he had been received by King George with more than ordinary civility in his last journey to London, that he was reconciled with the Duke of Marlborough, and that therefore all these things put together

made the Queen fear that he could not return to Italy, but with a design to execute something against her son's life in concert with the Court of England. What do you think of this strange consequence?

To dissipate all such calumnies, without saying a word of the untainted and well-known honesty of Lord Peterborough, 'twill be enough to mention the august and sacred character of King George and that of his honoured nation. A man, who would have committed so black an action, would have been equally detested by King George and abhorred by all England.

The motives of the suspicion are as frivolous as the undertaking would be barbarous and incredible.

What an extravagant folly is it to think that, because a subject is well received by his king and is reconciled to his enemy, he is capable of a commission for murder, and that he should be ill treated in a country, because he had remitted his money to it, and had the confidence to trust his person in it?

Pray judge impartially whether a nobleman, who all his life has exemplarily observed the sentiments of honour, should now be suspected of being capable of so shameful an interprise, only because a Princess has let herself be persuaded by the false and malicious reports of others to fear him.

However, these suspicions or rather imaginations, which may be consistent with the character of a mother, ought not to have made impressions on the minds of those, who should have acted with more mature deliberation in a case so very improbable as this, and which required many strong proofs, especially considering the bad consequences which might follow from the precipitate resolutions taken.

It will be easy to show that all the objections, which render an accusation shameful and incredible, concur in this one.

A crime is supposed altogether against the interest of him for whom it would be committed, as any one may be easily convinced, who is informed of the particulars of that succession.

A crime is supposed to be committed by a person, the most incapable of any in the whole world of such a thing.

In fine, a crime is supposed to be executed by one who is in the most improper situation in the world for committing it.

There is not the least appearance that the Chevalier de St. George in the present posture of affairs can give the least disturbance to the House of Hanover. All his friends and adherents have been beat and dispersed, and have no hopes left but in the mercy of the conqueror. There is no need to have recourse to infamous means against so weak an enemy; nay, it would be a crime to suppose that such thoughts could have place in the heart of so glorious a king.

You will then have sufficiently comprehended that the King neither could nor would embrace the like ideas, and that the Chevalier cannot give him the least shadow of jealousy.

But ought those, who believed the like commission to be true, have found out for an instrument of such a fact a man, who in his whole life has distinguished himself by the integrity of his manners and behaviour, by his rare virtues and by despising interest and riches?

Then, if we consider his measures and his present circumstances, we must believe him quite out of his senses, if we judge him capable of so enormous an enterprise without having laid his projects better. Ought he to have remitted his money to Italy, whence his supposed crime would have compelled him to depart with precipitation? Should he have come into the centre of the Ecclesiastic State and have chosen there a place, where all his steps could be so narrowly observed, and where he must be in the power of the person against whom, according to the false suspicion, he was to conspire. Bologna was the very place to contrive such a design in, which must afterwards be put in execution against a person so well guarded, whom the Pope protects under the title of King.

They will have it that he did not come the ordinary way, but through impracticable mountains, that he might come privately to Urbino. The infamous calumniator forgets that all his equipage of English saddle horses, his coach and six Flanders horses and his servants passed publicly through France and Italy long before his coming to Bologna, where also a part of his family was come to wait for him, and likewise that his post chaises, baggage and servants, who came with him from France, crossed the Milanese openly at the time he passed through Genoa, and that he had been seen publicly at the Courts of Turin and Parma. But, what is yet more unlikely, they pretend to impute to him a secret design, for which he must be incognito, and they do not secure him till a week after he was residing in Bologna in the sight of the whole world and, when they did, they did it without any other proofs but those they vainly hoped to find by his letters and writings.

To finish the suspicion, there is no need to produce any other circumstances than the following.

In his last journey to London, he was often at King George's Court and had commerce with the Duke of Marlborough, with whom it is supposed he was not in the best intelligence. 'Twill be sufficient to say that he owed to the clemency of the King and to the good offices of the Duke the life and estate of the Duke of Gordon, his son-in-law, which were confiscated for his having taken arms in favour of the Chevalier.

The Queen, who was so much alarmed at my lord's last journey to Italy never had less reason to be so than now, his lordship's two only [grand] sons being in Paris and in a manner under her eye, so, if she had had the least jealousy of his conduct, what hostages could be surer? 5 pages. *This paper is dated Genoa, 20 Oct. 1717, an imaginary date and place, as Lord Peterborough was then a prisoner at Bologna. It is*

endorsed by Mar "Translation of Lord Peterborough's paper, Dec. 1717," and is probably alluded to in his letter of 16 Dec., calendared ante, p. 284.

MEMORIAL containing an account of the present state of affairs in ENGLAND, sent by the BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

1717, Dec. 14[-25].—(Beginning with an account of the quarrel between the King and the Prince of Wales, of the orders to those who held offices under both of them, and of the letters to the foreign ministers as in other letters and papers.)

"In this condition it is a particular worthy to be remarked that some people who have gone to see the Prince and Princess, who are neither in the service of the father or the son, have been desired not to appear at Court, and, when they did appear, they have been desired to withdraw.

"How and with what view things have been brought to this pass shall be mentioned hereafter, but 'tis certain nothing in the universe could have exposed both father and son so much to the contempt of all rational men in this kingdom, or have weakened their interest more effectually, which according to common reason ought also to produce very good effects abroad.

"Everybody sees what degrees of wisdom and good nature they are to expect from a Government, where the next heir, his wife and family are treated in so outrageous and unprecedented a manner at the time when the birth of a new Prince had just strengthened their common interest here, and disposed people more and more to unite in their adherence to them, and when it behoved them by all possible methods to have prevented such an open rupture among themselves, but the advice of the D[uke] of Ma[rlborough] and the Ministry, applied to the weakness and resentments of the father, prevailed against all the rules of prudence and pushed him on to a step from the ill consequences of which he can never deliver himself.

"No longer is the Kingdom divided only into those who are friends to *the King* and those who are friends to the *Hanover* family, but now we find the last party sub-divided into those who are for the father and those who are for the son. And, should the wound be ever in appearance healed between the Prince and his father, yet those who have sided with the Prince and been his advisers before and since the rupture (particularly Devonshire, Compton, Townshend, Walpole, and their followers) will never come into the father's measures whilst he governs by this Ministry, but will keep up a separate party of Whigs in opposition to the Court, and, being not considerable enough of themselves, must at last fall in with the Tories, and perhaps be driven to help forward what they never intended.

"The Prince without doubt looks upon the Ministry, who have used him in so strange a manner, as his mortal enemies,

and, as they have no mercy to expect from him after such indignities, it is rational to think they either are, or will soon be so. On the contrary it's obvious what opinion the father must have of the discontented Whigs, who, without regard to his inclinations, have continued to make their court to the son, and have opposed with all their might his darling project of continuing the standing army in that number and upon the footing he desired it.

"Now as to the motives which have induced the Ministry to bring matters to this extremity between the father and son, it cannot in reason be believed that it is occasioned by the warm expression used by the Prince to the D[uke] of New[cast]le, on the contrary from the several circumstances of that whole story, it seems rather probable that he was ill used and provoked on purpose, in hopes to find some handle for treating him yet worse than they had hitherto done, and the eagerness with which they laid hold on this occasion, the immediate and unaccountable use they made of it, the orders after orders which they soon procured to mortify him, and the affronts upon affronts with which they presently pursued him are sure proofs that they had long designed what they now accomplished, and were resolved to push matters so far upon this advantage gained as, if possible, to prevent a reconciliation, in which they have been encouraged by observing that they could not go too fast for the father into whatsoever measures they hurried him, he having showed himself more satisfied and pleased since this incident and the several steps taken upon it than in any other part of his reign.

"The Prince has for above 12 months past used Sun[derlan]d Ca[doga]n and Ma[rlborough] himself with very great contempt, and has been a kind of head for their enemies, the discontented Whigs, to go to, the father will in all appearance go to Hanover in the spring, and they have a mind to be in full possession of the Government in his absence, in order to which it was necessary to put the son out of a capacity of being named Regent. This they have now accomplished, and it seems to be one good account of the reasonableness of their proceedings on this occasion.

"It is in the next place fit it should be known that a reconciliation has been talked of for some days past, for which hitherto no good authority has appeared, what is in this, time will discover, but it is very plain that such a measure can never answer the designs and views of the Ministers as they are above stated, unless the Prince should submit to such terms as would make him a cipher for the future, which would reduce him to the lowest degree of contempt and therefore be equally for *the King's* advantage, for then (as was above said) the discontented Whigs (who are for ever severed from the present Ministry) must be a direct faction against the Court, and, whether they will or no, must join at last in promoting the Tory views and designs. Nor is it possible

for the Prince to forgive the Ministers, or for them to really believe he did so, should he make a profession of it, so that the consequences of this quarrel would still remain.

"For these reasons, whatever may be the projects of this Ministry, it is not natural to believe that they intend the Prince should ever be King of Great Britain, for they must in that event resolve to leave their estates and fly their country or to suffer in it, which can be no comfortable prospect to the Duke of New[cast]le (who has spent 100,000*l.* in the service of the family) or to any other concerned in this administration.

"As to the affair of the standing Army and the opposition given to it by the discontented Whigs, you are to be informed that, though they were zealous in that measure, yet they joined with the Court in sending Mr. Shippen to the Tower upon some words of his which they voted to contain a reflection upon the Duke of Brunswick. And it will easily be believed that he gave no real occasion for such a step, when it is known that they came that day into the House resolved to send him to the Tower, which design they afterwards executed.

"This incident delayed the business of the Army, and at the same time disunited more than ever the discontented Whigs and the Tories. Next day, when the army came to be debated after a long struggle, the Court carried by a majority of 45 that 16,000 men should be allowed for the service of the year 1718. But, a fresh contest having arisen, and several leading Whigs (as Mr. Smith, Sir Jo[seph] Jekyll) who voted for the Court in the former question for the 16,000 men, objected to the manner in which they are now established, to wit, that there are double the number of regiments both of foot and dragoons subsisting of what is necessary to make 16,000 men, if the companies and troops were completed as they used to be, the consequences of which were said to be: 1st, an extraordinary charge to the public of above 130,000*l.*, and 2nd, that under pretence of necessary recruits the Ministry might upon any design whether good or bad make the 16,000 up five and twenty thousand, which could not be done without alarming the Kingdom, if new regiments were to be levied.

"This appeared to be matter of a good deal of consequence both to the Court and those who opposed them, and therefore the debate was managed with zeal on both sides. But at last the Ministry, being afraid of losing it upon a division, by concert gave up the matter and another day was appointed for settling a new establishment for the sixteen thousand men which had been voted. But the next day they resumed what they had in appearance given up, and then the same Whigs with their followers still pressed the disbanding the corps and persisted so firmly in their opposition that (notwithstanding all the closetting work which had preceded) upon a division in the Commons, the Court carried the main point but by 14, there being 158 against it and 172

for it. Upon the report next day to the House, the Court gained a little ground, as 'twas natural to expect they should, when the Whigs who opposed their measures saw they were like to lose their point. However, this struggle has created a new uneasiness amongst the Whigs, and perhaps sowed the seed of farther dissensions, and it cannot but give a great and just alarm to the Court to observe that in so darling a point, upon which they placed all their stress, they were so near miscarrying, especially since they were forced to purchase the vote by giving up another which they had resolved on, whereby 30,000*l.* was to have been allowed for the staff officers of the Army. But, since so considerable an Army is continued, it will be sufficient to hinder the affections and aversions of the people (which increase every day) from producing any great effect of themselves.

"The Clergy are confirmed in their aversion to the Court by their continuing their unaccountable measures for the protection of the Bishop of B[ango]r, who, though their favourite, is the most detested clergyman in England.

It is observable that the persons in power are not so watchful as to the motions of our friends abroad as their predecessors formerly have been, which may proceed from their being in a most perfect security and wholly taken up with the difficulties they lie under from their own divisions at home, or from some other reason which cannot so easily be imagined, though, as to the main points, they seem firmly to design the sending a squadron to the Baltic and another to the Mediterranean.

"From all which it may be naturally inferred that next spring is the most lucky time that Providence could possibly contrive for an undertaking in *the King's* favour, when George will be in Han[ove]r and the son (whether he goes with him upon a reconciliation or stays here as a cipher) in no condition to do anything, while those to be employed as Regents are his avowed enemies.

"There seems nothing further necessary to be mentioned, but to let you know that, as to that affair of the *money* trade which has been so often recommended as a thing of the last importance, the person who carries this will be able to tell you what you are to expect in that matter."

Postscript.—"Nothing material has happened in either House of Parliament since the date of what is above written.

"The Prince and Princess remain in the same situation, and have been and are the most disconsolate creatures ever were known. His behaviour is the most abject and shows the meanest spirit ever known in a man of his birth. He passes his time in tears with his wife, and has sent by Berensdorf to acquaint his father that he is willing to submit to any terms he shall please to impose upon him.

"The terms which have been talked of in town (by what authority is not pretended to be said) are: 1st, that he shall

consent to go to H[anove]r with his father in the spring; 2ndly, that he shall inform who has advised him to oppose the Court in the manner he has done; 3rdly, that he shall give up the grant he has of 100,000*l.* upon the civil list during his father's life, and 4thly, that the father shall have the power of placing and displacing his servants and that the son shall never more presume to meddle in public affairs.

"The offer the son has made of a *carte blanche* by Berensdorf is supposed to contain all these particulars and even more if they could be thought of, yet this hitherto has produced no manner of effect on the father or the Ministry, so that as to them the son remains in the same state he was before this offer was made. But is not so with regard to those Whigs or the few Tories who had for some time shown an attachment to him; they, who expected to have been able to have supported both him and themselves, do now find they are given up by this creature's cowardly behaviour, and are at this time as forward to call him a mean-spirited scoundrel as the Tories or the people of the Court, which is to come a great length all of a sudden.

"One consequence of his being reduced to such a degree of contempt with people of all ranks and parties is obvious, to wit, that the Ministry will be able with less difficulty to execute their designs against him." *Over 11 pages. This memorial is alluded to in the Bishop's letter of the same date. It is in the handwriting of George Kelly.*

LIST OF THE KNIGHTS OF THE THISTLE OR ST. ANDREW.

1717.—Made by the late King before the Revolution and alive at Queen Anne's death. Dukes of Gordon and Perth.—Made by the late King in France and now alive. Lords Drummond and Seaforth.—Made by this King and now alive, Lord ———, an Italian, Duke of Ormonde, Lord Panmure.—Made by Queen Anne and alive at her death. Lords Athole, Annandale, Orkney, Findlater, Lothian, Orrery, Mar, Loudoun, Portmore, Stair.—Made by George. Lord Sutherland in place of Lord Perth, dead, Cadogan in place of Lord Mar, attainted.

CHARLES FORBES to WILLIAM ERSKINE.

[1718,] Jan. 10. Paris.—I entreat you to deliver the enclosed to his Grace and to keep him in mind of his promise to speak about my affair. As we are both convinced that it was a loss to him at the last affair to be obliged to employ some, whose characters and capacities he was not so well acquainted with, I have, as you desired, drawn up an information of what all north of Forth are really able to do on a present trial, which is to cross Forth with 20,000 men, and what is in my opinion the best method in bringing them soonest together and also who are the fittest to execute his Grace's orders in all the parts of our north country. Yourself and others can much better

inform as to all that concerns the South, but, as to what the enclosed contains, it is as just a calculation of the real ability of all those mentioned, as any his Grace can have. I am the more confident, because I am personally acquainted with all the principal people mentioned and have some guess both of their humours and inclinations and of the motives that hinder them from or induce them to the true interest of their King and country. You will also see by the enclosed a list of those fittest to be members for the north counties and towns to the first Parliament, who will carry it, every man of them, if his Grace inclines it so, and, if there be any he dislikes or any he wants to put for any of the north burghs, he needs but name whom he inclines. If the Duke inclines Mr. Francis Stewart should represent in Moray or have the command of those men, no doubt he will carry it, but few honest men have confidence in his resolution or real honesty.

You have also the method how the first paragraph as to the transportation could be executed, which you will better understand than those not used to sea affairs, which I hardly think were possible to discover, since none of the shipmasters could know the least of the design, till they were in the port they were designed for, and this on a month's advertisement can be done from St. Malo, Havre, Dunkirk and Ostend. I have given you the trouble of this epistle for the Duke's and your own information, which you will at least find like Dr. Gordon's physie, if it does you no good, it will do you no ill.

All that come from England agree there never was so good an opportunity for the King. Since you want neither arms, ammunition, money nor officers and some few men, I hope you will not be like your predecessors and refuse to drink Burgundy, because they could not get Tokay.—On the back is a calculation showing that 32 ships will be sufficient, which would cost 12,000*l*. *Enclosed,*

The said INFORMATION.

*If any foreign prince is to assist, the smallest number of troops that can be reasonably proposed is 6,000 foot and 800 horse, 20,000 stand of arms, a train of artillery and ammunition conform, which troops, &c., can be transported from any place betwixt the Baltic and the south of France to any place in Scotland in 32 ships, the biggest not to exceed 200 tons burden. This transportation four merchants will undertake to perform for 8,000*l*. advanced and 4,000*l*. with the King's conveniency, and they will oblige that the troops or horses shall not cost the King nor the Prince who lends them a shilling from the day they are shipped till the day they are landed, each ship taking provisions sufficient to maintain the men she is to transport, only at the port they ship at provisions for the horse must be furnished.*

The properest place for landing were Queensferry, being equally near Leith and Stirling, except what were necessary to go for Moray Firth.

At Cromarty 1,000 foot, 50 horse, 6,000 stand of arms, 6 cannon, 2 mortars and 150 bombs, in case Inverness should be garrisoned by the Usurper's troops, as it is at present. In 10 days Seaforth can join the troops sent to Inverness with 1,600 Highlanders, without regard to his Low Country men or Ashn (? Assynt) men, who can, with the assistance of the regular troops sent, in three weeks raise all who are fit to serve the King from the north point of Caithness to the town of Elgin and march them in a body from Inverness in the said time.

Two or three fit persons ought to be sent with the forces that go for Inverness, who exactly know the humour of the people, the affections of the gentry and the different motives by which they are induced to their duty, that the commander may, by their advice and with Seaforth's assistance, oblige every man they suspect to give hostages for his men and security for his person to appear at the Royal Standard at the general rendezvous, or burn and destroy the lands and interests of all who disobey.

As a parliament is necessary to be called, fit persons are to be previously thought on for sheriffs of each shire and proclamations in the King's name be ready for them to issue, appointing all the King's barons to meet to elect fit representatives under penalty of one year's full rent on all each baron possesses, who shall be absent or withdraw himself from the said election, and that each member who shall omit to give suit and presence at the Court of Parliament in 10 days after being elected shall forfeit ——. These elections may be while the men are raising, so that all the members of the North can come up with the army in 6 weeks after any troops land at Inverness. William Sutherland of Rosecommon, and David Anderson are those fittest to be sent with Seaforth; they know exactly the inclinations and ability of all north of Spey, and by the above method I could risk my neck, if all north of Forth did not in 6 weeks join you at Stirling. Subjoined are lists of persons suggested as members or sheriffs, of the number of men each Highland chief could raise and of what Low Country regiments could be raised. Misdated, Jan. 10, 1717, but obviously the project enclosed in his letter of 10 Jan., 1718, calendared ante, p. 380.

PRIVATE MESSAGE sent by the BISHOP OF ROCHESTER by
GEORGE KELLY.

[1718, Jan. 18.].—(Printed in the *Stuart Papers*, p. 19, note.)
Enclosed in Dillon's letter of that day, calendared ante, p. 395.

Paper from GEORGE KELLY.

[1718, Jan. 18 ?].—(Printed in the *Stuart Papers*, p. 20, note.)
Endorsed by Dillon, "A paper from Mr. Johnson," i.e. Kelly.

Noted, as sent by the Queen to the King and received at Urbino, 10 Feb.

SIR WILLIAM ELLIS to JAMES III.

1718, Jan. 26.—Acknowledging the receipt on that day on his account from Signor Belloni in part of the Pope's money for the last quarter of 1717, of 1,000 *filippi*, making 4,800 Bologna *livres*, and also from Mr. Macartie of 624 Bologna *livres* for 520 *French livres* assigned to Ellis by Mr. Cantillon and to be made good to him by Mr. Dicconson.

MEMORIAL for CARDINAL AQUAVIVA to be forwarded to the KING OF SPAIN.

1718, Jan. 27.—The present situation of England is so extraordinary that 'tis impossible for strangers to comprehend it, unless it be explained to them.

“In all other governments there are factions and parties more or less, but generally there are only two, the good party and the bad, those that are for the lawful Government, and the true good of the State, and those who are against it. But in Great Britain the case is absolutely different, for, though the Whigs agree in certain principles, yet they are divided among themselves in different factions, which necessarily weakens the power of the whole party.

“The late rupture between the Elector and his son does not a little contribute thereto, each of them have their partisans who are incompatible with one another, whilst on the other side the Walpolian Whigs have had their party different from both the others, though at present they seem rather to favour the Prince's party, who do not approve the measures of the domining (dominant) party, which has the Elector at their head, or rather makes use of him as a tool to compass their own ends, which not being able to do with the Royal authority alone, they endeavour to join with it the assistance of a standing army, which has always been odious to the nation, and which the other Whigs cannot absolutely approve without renouncing to their pretended principle of liberty and the true interest of the State.

“The Tories on the contrary, who are far superior in number to all the different factions of the Whigs though they were united together, have only at heart the honour and true good of their country. They look upon it as certainly ruined by the management of the present Government, and are persuaded that, as it stands upon such unsolid foundations as those it is now settled upon, they can expect nothing but inevitable war and misfortunes. It is true they have not every one of them in particular the same zeal and attachment for their lawful King, but, as they cannot find their deliverance any other way, it may be absolutely reckoned upon that upon the first good opportunity they will unite in his favour.

“ Their present apparent indolence must not be wondered at. Overpowered as they are by a numerous army, destitute of all foreign help and of all that royal authority and money gives to their adversaries, what would their vain endeavours serve for at present but to furnish a specious pretext to the Government to augment their slavery? especially since it has by unusual means formed such a strong party in Parliament, that this body, which was formerly so much respected, is now become, not the guardian of the laws nor the oracle of the nation, but the mouth of a faction and the source of the slavery they impose upon their countrymen by running headlong into a compliance with everything the Government desires of them.

“ If after this we consider the system of the powers of Europe in relation to England, it will not appear less singular. The knowledge that everyone of these Powers has of the injustice and instability of England's present Government is rendered useless and ineffectual by their excessive fear of this rather imaginary than real power, which draws its force only from that very fear; for in effect its exhaustion and its intestine divisions render it weaker and more exposed to be insulted than any of the other Powers of Europe. Yet these last reason and act rather according to their own private views, than in view of the common good, every one of them pretending a necessity of an alliance with England to cover with that their own private designs, which they cannot well hide, and which often tend only to satisfy their own ambition. 'Tis certain nevertheless that, whatever the endeavours the different Powers make that way, they cannot all of them have England's friendship, and whoever does obtain it can never do it but in prejudice of the others. What passes at present in Europe needs no gloss, it being easy enough to see that Spain alone is like to be the sacrifice and victim of such politics.

“ In this conjuncture the King of Great Britain's loyal subjects in England are very much embarrassed, they are ignorant which of the powers is favourably disposed towards their lawful sovereign, and his Majesty is not able to inform them. They believe in general that it is their interest as well as his Majesty's to engage the Government in some foreign war, as the only means to engage the power the Government is in war with, to come to the King's succour and theirs by the pressing motive of proper defence, but in the obscurity in which they are, they are afraid to produce their politic reasons out of time, lest they should thereby retard instead of advancing their common interest; however, the true notion his Majesty has of the justice and great prudence of his Catholic Majesty has moved him to recommend to them to do their best in Parliament to hinder the sending an English squadron into the Mediterranean, and, as the only motive they'll make use of will be that of saving money, there is reason to hope that some of the discontented Whigs will join with them in this matter.

But, unless his Britannic Majesty be enabled to send them at least some general assurance of his Catholic Majesty's good dispositions towards him, he fears it will not be any more in his power to render to his said Catholic Majesty the like services for the future.

"It is certain that all the politic of the governing party tends directly to favour what is most opposite to the Catholic King. They neither regard justice nor the interest of the nation, all their end is to maintain at any rate what they possess unjustly, but in pursuing this end of theirs with too much heat and too little management, they show plainly to all the world that next to the King of England they fear nobody so much as his Catholic Majesty, that they believe their interests so united that the one's restoration alone can secure to the other the quiet possession of his kingdom, which the Whigs of England were always for having him deprived of. There is perhaps also another consideration which animates the Whig party against the Catholic King, the Prince of Asturie is the fourth after the King of England, who has right to that Crown by lawful succession. The Most Christian King being an only child, and the Prince of Savoy the same, they fear little from those princes who will have their own kingdoms to govern, but, the Prince of Asturie having brothers, his case is very different, and gives certainly just grounds of uneasiness to that party, which is the more jealous of its power, that it is unjust and unlawful.

"The union therefore of their Britannic and Catholic Majesties' interests is plain and manifest, they have the same enemies to fear, and the restoration of the one would certainly alone secure the other in possession by taking off the only power that can disturb him effectually by giving assistance to his enemies.

"It remains now to consider in what the Catholic King can advance his Britannic Majesty's interest, since the distance of their kingdoms and many other visible circumstances seem to render the thing very difficult, but the persons concerned will not judge so of it, when they reflect with attention on what follows, concerning which an inviolable secret is required, and one may boldly say that the importance of the confidence made here deserves it, and that it is his Catholic Majesty's interest as well as the King of Great Britain's, that an affair of this consequence be not discovered nor communicated to any but such as must necessarily know it for the execution of the project.

"The King of Sweden's good intentions for his Britannic Majesty have been but too well known by the unfortunate discovery that was made of it last year, which broke absolutely the measures that were taken then, and interrupted the great preparations that were making. However, the circumstances that accompanied and followed this discovery could not fail to augment the misintelligence between the Swedish King and

the Elector of Hanover, and there is all reason to believe that the good intentions of the first towards the King of England continue still in their full force. The Czar's aversion for the Elector and friendship for his Britannic Majesty is, one may boldly say, yet more certain, and 'tis hoped, not without solid grounds, that the peace which is treating between him and the King of Sweden, will be followed by a concert between them in favour of his Britannic Majesty, a concert which will be the tie of that peace of which it is the chief view, and which will alone render it steady and useful to the potentates interested in it.

"These two princes united in favour of his Britannic Majesty, and resolving to undertake his Restoration, find themselves destitute of an essential article, which is the only thing they want, to put that work in execution, and that is, money.

"The King's friends in England would furnish the necessary sum required for this work most willingly, for they had actually advanced a considerable sum for that purpose when Count Gyllenborg was arrested, but that accident broke all their measures, and now such a considerable sum as is wanted for this work can never be raised in England without a noise that would ruin the best concerted projects. Nevertheless the necessity the King of England was in to keep up and encourage the good disposition of those two northern princes, and the remaining hopes he had then of succour from his own subjects obliged him to promise to furnish to them the sum of a hundred thousand pounds sterling whenever it should be called for in order to undertake his Restoration, and now according to the advice had from the North since that time it appears that his Majesty may be daily called upon for the performance of this promise, which is absolutely out of his power to perform at present, and his refusal will at least retard the best concerted projects, and cannot fail to weaken the good dispositions of those potentates.

"What is therefore proposed to his Catholic Majesty is that he would be pleased to give or order to be given in writing an assurance to the King of England that he has such a sum in his hands ready to be given him, whenever these northern powers shall require it. Such an assurance will authorize his Britannic Majesty to reiterate his promise, which would encourage them extremely. Yet it is what he dare not do, in the uncertainty in which he is in at present in that respect. His Majesty does not ask to touch the money, but after he shall have informed his Catholic Majesty of the project in hand and of the use that is to be made of it, and, if he desires it, the interested powers shall not know from whence this succour comes originally.

"To conclude this memoir. His Catholic Majesty is begged to weigh well the contents of it, there is nothing exaggerated in it, nothing is said but bare truth, without disguise, and the style in which it is writ shows sufficiently that, if chief

regard be had in it to the King of England's interests, those of his Catholic Majesty are not separated from these. He is not desired to make any step of éclat that might draw consequences, but begged only to furnish a sum not greater than those which lesser princes have employed for less objects, and even perhaps for frivolous ones. Nor is this sum asked but upon solid foundation, and, as is said, his Britannic Majesty is ready to inform his Catholic Majesty of the use that shall be made of it. But the vast consequences of the granting of it deserve a particular attention. His Catholic Majesty will be delivered thereby of an enemy who is so by principle and so, having nothing after that to fear from England, he'll be at liberty to prosecute his just designs without opposition. He'll place thereby upon the throne of Great Britain one who will be his friend and ally not only by interest and by inclination, but also by gratitude, he'll gain for ever the goodwill of a nation which he will have delivered from a cruel slavery, and which cannot after that refuse anything to their King, when it is to do a pleasure to a common benefactor.

"In fine he will assure to himself the friendship of these two northern powers, which is not to be despised, since the jealousy they have already of their neighbouring potentates animated by this act of generosity might be of a considerable advantage to his Catholic Majesty in future conjunctures."

11½ pages. French. Holograph draft with copy and English translation. On the copy is endorsed in the hand of James III. :—

Alberoni's answer to Cardinal Aq[uavi]va received at Urbino, March 19, 1718. "He begs him to tell the friend that Nondum advenit plenitudo temporis, a little while and they will see that accertate misure will be taken to serve him." And this is all. The return short and sweet, which, without giving a direct answer to the proposal, gives hopes of yet greater matters.

JAMES III.

1718, Jan. 27.—Reflections on the above memorial.—"The present situation of the affairs of the North, the danger of trusting the Regent with them, and the little hopes of the Pope's being ever of help in them, made the King of Spain the only power the King could apply to, for to forward those good dispositions and make their execution practicable by granting the money promised already by the King, and so absolutely necessary in this juncture. A memoir of Cardinal Gualterio's and another of Murray gave the first view of this paper in question, though they afforded little matter for it. The Memoir itself being long and plain cannot be ventured by the post, nor is it needful it should: it is sufficient to inform you here that it contained a general view of the present state of England and of the rest of Europe in respect to England, drawing from thence motives for the King of Spain's granting the money asked, viz., 100,000*l.* sterling.

"But to render that demand efficacious, it was thought absolutely necessary to let the King of Spain into the secret of the North, which at first may seem too bold and dangerous a step, as well as in some measure a breach of trust, but, when the following heads are considered, it will appear to have been a step not only lawful but necessary.

"1. The King of Sweden's circumstances make his part in the affair no great secret, his dispositions were known, and, as hopes is what we only have as yet as to him, it is all that is specified.

"2. What the Czar hath offered in relation to his daughter, is passed under silence, the hopes of a peace between those two Powers, and their joining in my interest after that is all that is said, but still as hopes and not positively.

"3. The Czar having proposed that that Maréchal d'Huxelle should be trusted with this secret, in view of the Regent's favouring it, doth sufficiently authorize me to trust any power I please with that view.

"4. No power will ever give money in the dark, without knowing the measures and hopes I act upon.

"5. No motive so powerful to induce the King of Spain to grant what is asked.

"6. The money in question may be asked of me every day, when that is, it will be too late to seek for it, it was once thought advisable to trust the Regent with this project in the last extremity. Is it not much easier and more useful to trust the King of Spain now?

"7. What end can that King's Ministers have to reveal the secret, without having recourse to their probity?

"8. If they should reveal it, what can be made of such general informations as I have given, already suspected by all mankind? but before even that could be done the Peace in the North will in all likelihood be made, and measures too far taken to be disappointed by an éclat of a thing which will then be no more a secret, and which according to the present scheme can never be executed privately.

"9. No money no project, no project no Restoration, therefore is it not better venture an uncertain disappointment in revealing a secret when it may be useful than ruin all manifestly, by not having money which can alone do the work?

"Lastly, Cardinal Aquaviva being a sure friend of the King's, a man of undoubted probity and known sense and capacity, and the memoir not being to be sent, but after he has given his opinion on the matter, this particular doth certainly much diminish the evil may be apprehended from it, for, if it be found the Emperor and England are not in alliance, it is not to be sent." *Holograph draft and copy.*

PAPER given by the ABBÉ B[UGLIONI] to LORD MAR.

1718, Feb. Urbino.—As I was sensibly touched by the King's misfortunes, I would sometimes consider what means

could draw him out of them; and concluded, after seeing so many secret intelligences prove ineffectual, that the only means to restore him was a considerable sum to enable him to act by himself, for, in the present situation of Europe, he cannot expect that any prince will espouse his interest. But, if it was known he was himself in a condition to make some bold attempt, perhaps some prince would venture to declare openly for him. The question is how to have that sum. The King can expect to have it only from the Pope, who can furnish it, having more than sufficient funds of which he is absolute master.

(Recapitulating the Pope's resources, such as the Bank of Rome, the Bank of the Holy Ghost, the nunciatures of Spain and Portugal, and the funds in the Dateria.)

All this shows that the Pope has enough to give the King wherewithal to make some great enterprise, which, according to my slender opinion, is the only means left for his restoration. The difficulty is to persuade the Pope to give such a sum.

He can never do anything more glorious to his pontificate and more advantageous to his family than to contribute to the Restoration. He will thereby procure peace and quietness to all Italy and deliver it from the incursions of the Germans, who now give laws in it and raise what contributions they please. All this is evident, and that those yearly contributions added to what the Pope will give for his Majesty's entertainment, in case he be unluckily obliged to remain always in Italy, will amount to a much more considerable sum than what the King wants at present to put himself in possession of his kingdoms. It's what the Pope must be made sensible of by some person of capacity and good conduct, unknown to the great people and for whom nevertheless the Pope will have some consideration; he must be entirely devoted to the King's interest; he must endeavour to gain the esteem and confidence of the Prelate, who has most influence on the Pope, that is, the Prelate who is wholly in the King of Spain's and the Duke of Parma's interest.

The Pope loves to be free without the least constraint; these proposals, therefore, will be more acceptable to him, coming secretly from a private person, than if they came from one of a great rank and character.

It's besides likely he would not have his liberality publicly known, and would think it absolutely necessary to keep it secret. 4½ pages. *French, with English translation.*

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This Report has been prepared and edited, on behalf of the Historical Manuscripts Commissioners, by MR. F. H. BLACKBURNE DANIELL, M.A. The Index has been compiled by MR. S. C. RATCLIFF, M.A.

INTRODUCTION.

The first part of this volume contains "An Historical Narrative of some remarkable matters concerning King James the Second's succession, Sunderland's contrivances and corruptions, Tyrconnell's getting the government of Ireland, his proceedings there contrary to his Majesty's positive injunctions and his particular malice against Sheridan, together with some passages relating to the public, the King's case and the management of affairs in Saint Germain's by the King's ministers Lord Melfort, Lord Middleton and Mr., now Lord, Caryll," written by Thomas Sheridan in 1702 and drawn out of several papers he had written at the times when the several things therein mentioned happened.

The author was a brother of William and Patrick Sheridan, Bishops of Kilmore and Cloyne respectively in the reign of Charles II, but had himself become a Roman Catholic. He was the father of Sir Thomas Sheridan, the preceptor of Charles Edward, who accompanied him to Scotland in 1745 being one of the seven men of Moidart, and Richard Brinsley Sheridan, the orator and dramatist, was a grandson of his brother, James. He accompanied Tyrconnell to Ireland as Chief Secretary and was First Commissioner of the Revenue there.

This Narrative would have been printed in one of the earlier volumes of the Calendar, had there not then seemed to be some prospect of its being published independently. It is the work continually referred to by Macaulay as the Sheridan Manuscript, on which he principally founds his character of Tyrconnell. Whatever may have been the latter's merits or demerits, it appears throughout the narrative that he and Sheridan were most bitter enemies, a circumstance passed over by Macaulay.

Sheridan sums up Tyrconnell's character in the following words :—"He was a tall, proper, handsome man, but publicly known to be most insolent in prosperity and most abject in adversity, a cunning dissembling courtier, of mean judgment and small understanding, uncertain and unsteady in his resolutions, turning with every wind to bring about his ambitious ends and purposes, on which he was so intent that to compass them he would stick at nothing and so false that a most impudent notorious lie was called at Whitehall and St. James' one of Dick Talbot's ordinary truths." (p. 46).

The object of the work is evidently to clear King James as far as possible from blame for the policy pursued in Ireland during his reign and to throw it on Tyrconnell. For instance (pp. 16, 22, 23) Sheridan says that the King told Tyrconnell that no man was to be put out of his employment on account of

his religion and that one of his chief injunctions to him was not to disoblige his Protestant subjects. Tyrconnell made great changes not only in the army but in the Privy Council and the judges contrary to his Majesty's express commands at parting confirmed in a letter written with his own hand 15 Feb., 1686-7. The King himself declared to Sheridan that he intended him and the Chancellor, Mr. Fitton, to be a restraint on the violence of Tyrconnell's temper and inclinations (*p.* 16).

The whole of the earlier part of the narrative is full of interest. It describes the intrigues between Sunderland and Tyrconnell for removing Rochester and Clarendon, the offer to Sunderland of 50,000*l.* in money or 5,000*l.* a year in land for getting the Act of Settlement broken, the alleged offer to the Queen for the same purpose of a pearl necklace worth 10,000*l.* left by Prince Rupert to his mistress (*pp.* 19, 38), Tyrconnell's jealousy as one of the new Irish against the old Irish, who were distinguished by the *Os* and *Macs* prefixed to their surnames, his plan of making Ireland a separate kingdom under French protection &c.

The latter part contains an account of Sheridan's proceedings in France, to which he retired in January, 1688-9, and particularly of his mission in October, 1695, to the Elector Palatine, who had offered to the exiled King his services and interest with the Emperor, the King of Spain and the Catholic allies.

The rest of the volume consists of a calendar of the papers from 1 March to 30 June, 1718, during which period the most important events were the death of Queen Mary and the King's proposal of marriage to Princess Clementina Sobieska.

Though the Prince de Vaudemont thought he had never seen the Queen looking so well or so lively (*p.* 244), she had felt deeply the dismissal of Mr. Inese (*p.* 289), which he had accepted in the most dutiful and submissive manner (*pp.* 310, 312), yet she did not drive things as far as James had apprehended (*p.* 319). He feared, however, that she might be uneasy with regard to his religion or might apprehend that Mar was influencing him against her and the Catholics (*p.* 175). As late as 24 April she seemed to be in good health (*p.* 367), but on Sunday, 1 May, she got a chill at the church of St. Germain's and died at half-past 7 on Saturday morning, the 7th. A minute account of her illness and death was sent by Father Gaillard, her confessor, to the King, which is printed in full *pp.* 416-420, and Countess Molza, her Bedchamber woman for many years, describes how an hour before her death she gave her a small crucifix, which she desired should be sent to her son (*p.* 413). The description of her last night on earth would be sufficient, were it still necessary, to refute the calumny that the King was not really her son. Her last letter in the collection is dated 26 April (*p.* 367) to Lady Nithsdale regretting that the King had not seen his way to

make her a Lady of the Bedchamber when he should marry (*see* his letter, *p.* 151). Some blamed much the physicians who attended her (*p.* 451). On *p.* 436 Dr. Ingleton describes her funeral at Chaillot.

The King had in March (*p.* 175) sent General Dillon a dormant power to him and Mr. Dicconson to be witnesses in case of the Queen's death to the sealing up of her papers and to have them consigned in a proper place till further order. Dillon was empowered to open the King's letters to her except those endorsed: To the Queen alone.

On 27 May the King, being informed that the seal had been placed on the effects and papers of the late Queen by the officers of justice of St. Germain, ordered that it should be removed by the said officers in the presence of the Earl of Middleton, Generals Dillon and Sheldon and Mr. Dicconson and that everything should be left in the hands of the said four persons. The papers were to be placed in locked and sealed boxes, which were to be deposited with the Mother Superior of Chaillot (*p.* 481). By a subsequent order of the next day (*p.* 484) all goods and moveables of the late Queen were to be taken into the custody of the said four persons, all papers on religious matters were to be given to Father Gaillard and all other papers were to be deposited in the hands of Mr. Sheldon and Mr. Dicconson. Inventories were to be made of them and also of the contents of all her cabinets and boxes, which were to be sealed up and placed in the same hands. The coaches and horses were to be sold, except that three or four coach horses were to be given to General Dillon and two saddle horses to Mr. Nugent, equerry to the late Queen. The Queen's clothes and linen were to be given to the Bedchamber women and the table linen and furniture of the kitchen to Mr. Dicconson, the vestments and other things belonging to her private chapel to Mr. Inese and Dr. Ingleton and her books to the same persons and Father Gaillard. The plate was to be inventoried and sealed up in a box and placed in Sheldon's and Dicconson's hands.

Already in March the Queen's pension was much in arrear (*p.* 75) and was paid very irregularly (*p.* 216), and now by her death it was quite cut off. In June Gordon, the banker, wrote that there was no fund for paying April, May or June, so that a good many were reduced to great straits and Mr. Dicconson gave no great hope of relief, for the Queen's family being 11 months in arrears must be supplied with the first money paid him (*p.* 527). The latter part of the volume is full of letters from distressed servants and pensioners of the late Queen imploring assistance from the King.

Father Gaillard had been asked by the Queen on her death-bed to solicit payment of the arrears of her pension that her servants might be paid (*p.* 420).

The very day of her death M. and Madame de Mezières applied to M. le Duc [de Bourbon] and the Duc de Chaulnes

to use their influence with the Regent for the continuance of her pension (*pp.* 409, 410). The Regent promised to continue the list of St. Germain's, to which it was replied that what he intended to give should be given directly to the King, to be distributed by him. The Regent then said that ways must be found to give to the King, but it was not easy because of the treaty with England (*p.* 435). The King wrote himself to the Regent on the 28th (*p.* 488) reminding him of the message he had given him by Mr. Dillon, when he left Avignon, that, in the event which had happened, in addition to the secret pension he then granted him, he would secretly continue the Queen's to him. It was impossible for him without the Regent's assistance to continue to maintain the Queen's old servants and the many officers and persons of quality who had sacrificed everything for him.

Dillon on 11 June (*p.* 515) described his interview with the Regent, when he delivered this letter, who ordered him to assure the King that he would do all in his power for his service, but Dillon was unable to get anything more definite out of him and found that the Regent intended to speak of the matter to the Council of Regency, before giving final orders. The good offices of the Duke of Lorraine with the Regent were offered by him and solicited by the King (*p.* 496).

The Queen, it was reported, by her will bequeathed to the King of France the arrears of her jointure due from England and also her estate in Cambridgeshire, which had been given to Lord Torrington. Lord Stair was informed of the bequest and asked the Regent for a copy of the will to be sent to his master. The Jacobites hoped that this bequest might cause differences between the French and English courts (*pp.* 504, 534).

It had been suggested, while she was still alive, that she should make such an assignment to the Regent (*p.* 83).

By her death the groundless fear prevalent in England of her influencing the King in matters of religion, which had gone so far that some had declared she should never enter the country, was removed (*p.* 425).

The King in his reply to a letter of condolence of the Marquis d'Angeau desired him to present his compliments to Madame de Maintenon, whose kindness to the Queen and himself would never be effaced from his memory. He would have written to her himself, but thought she would prefer his sending them through the Marquis (*p.* 580).

Ormonde could not obey Queen Mary's orders to send to Petersburg for information about the age and character of the Czar's daughter, as two gentlemen, who must have appeared at court to see the person of the Princess, could not have been concealed from the inquiry of the foreign ministers and the court. Sir H. Stirling, however, was visiting his uncle, Dr. Erskine, and Ormonde instructed him to make careful inquiries about the Princess. Ormonde added that she was born before the Czar was married to his present wife and during

the life of his first wife, who was still alive, but that she and the other children born before marriage had been made legitimate (*pp.* 78, 79). The King himself and also Mar suggested that, if the daughter was too young, one of the Czar's nieces might be thought of (*pp.* 174, 191). Ormonde had heard that they were very beautiful young princesses and had very good characters but that there was the same obstacle about them as about the daughter (*p.* 404). On March 3-14, Sir H. Stirling wrote that it was now unnecessary to send a description of the Princess, as the Czar said he could not think any more of the marriage till he saw what prospect there was of a treaty with Sweden (*p.* 147). The King himself was very reluctant to the marriage, if the person was downright a bastard (*p.* 380).

St. Saphorin, the English minister at Vienna, having heard of a projected marriage between the King and the Duchess of Courland, the Czar's niece, urged on the Emperor's ministers that such a marriage, accompanied by a peace between Russia and Sweden to the exclusion of the Elector of Hanover, would be dangerous to the peace of Europe (*pp.* 117, 121). A picture of the Duchess had got into the possession of Menzies and Anne Oglethorpe, who showed it to a great many people, some of quality and some not, as the picture of one of the Czar's nieces, which possessed people so much of a belief that the marriage was concluded that the common health of his friends had been what would have been proper on a public declaration of such a thing. Many knew not from whom or to whom the picture came (*p.* 215). The affair had become so public that it was alluded to in parliament by Lord Sunderland (*pp.* 104, 279).

Wogan continued his tour of inspection in Germany. Following Queen Mary's orders he did not go to see the Princess of Saxony, who was too old. The King's principal object in negotiating about her was to gain time (*pp.* 221, 233). Wogan arrived at Ohlau, Prince James Sobieski's residence, 27 Feb. after a most dreadful journey from Prague. He had been overturned in sledges and swam in chaises and slid down precipices, but, to be well received, he had to get to Ohlau in Carnival time. He introduced himself to his cousin Major O'Reilly, the commander of the town, as intending to go as a volunteer against the Turks and was prevailed on at his request to stay a few days. He found the intended marriage had been talked of for some months and the youngest Princess called our Queen. No pains were taken to conceal the inclinations of the Prince's court to such an alliance nor the correspondence on the subject between Olive Trant and Chateaudoux, a Frenchman in Prince James' service. Wogan described the court and the politics of the family, whose principal aim was the crown of Poland, and then gave an account of the three daughters. The youngest, "the darling of the family by the advantages she has over the others in point of

sense, discretion and evenness of temper, and a very becoming modesty, is about 15, but much of low stature though taller almost by the head than Prince Lewis' daughter, light brown hair, very pretty black eyes and genteel little features with a good shape and a behaviour already as much formed and as becoming as can arise from good education and good sense, very devout and no manner of airs or variety of humour. She has a good mixture of haughtiness in her composition but cunning enough to disguise it. She is healthy but somewhat thin" (*p.* 94). A fuller description of Clementina and one of Charlotte, the second sister, doubtless also by Wogan, will be found on *p.* 389.

While Wogan was at Ohlau, Olive Trant wrote to the King advising him to marry Clementina (*p.* 92).

Wogan was back at Urbino before the end of March (*p.* 221). The King before coming to any decision had to wait for definite answers about the proposed Russian marriage (*p.* 221), and then the Queen's death and his own illness caused further delays, but towards the end of June James Murray was dispatched to Ohlau with formal proposals for the hand of Clementina. The King's letters to her and her father and mother are given on *p.* 573 and on the next page the power to Murray and his instructions.

The great point being secrecy, the King dared not send Wogan back, and the rather that he could not make a better choice than Murray nor one more agreeable to friends in England. Ormonde was conjured to observe the utmost secrecy and mention nothing to anyone but Dillon, on whom he was to impose the same secrecy (*p.* 564).

The King was at Urbino during the period included in this volume. Several allusions occur to his visit in February to Fano during the Carnival and to his enjoyment of the operas there, in which all the women's parts were taken by eunuchs. He had become a great liker of Italian music (*pp.* 101, 136, 141, 150). Tempesti, with Italian vaudevilles, paid visits to Urbino (*pp.* 265, 379) and an oratorio was performed there 6 April (*pp.* 265, 266). Later on a daughter of the Doge of San Marino, who was very pretty and charmed everybody by her singing, made a universal conquest of the court (*pp.* 379, 381, 382). Lucca had been thought of as a residence in lieu of Urbino, but that was found to be impracticable on account of its dependence on the Emperor (*p.* 373).

Mar had long been wishing to visit Rome and set out from Urbino on Monday, 28 March (*p.* 204). That morning the King went early for a day's excursion to the Furlo pass, which is a tunnel made by the Romans to carry the road from Aqualagna through a precipitous cliff in the valley of the Cardigliano. His departure caused great speculation among his followers, some of whom imagined he had left Urbino for good, perhaps for Cadiz or Danzig. These speculations were confounded by the King's return in the evening (*pp.* 221, 235-237, 242).

The King thought these little mysterious journeys from time to time would have a good effect, when it would be a question of leaving for good. He saw that, when the time came, it would not do to let the President of Urbino into the secret, and discovered that the Duke of Parma had an agent at Urbino, who was to send him an express whenever he left for good (*p.* 222). The President's letter set people at Rome a speculating, but the news of the King's return quieted them again and occasioned some laughter at the President (*p.* 242).

Mar was mightily pleased with what he saw at Rome, particularly the remains of Roman greatness (*p.* 264). Cardinal Gualterio wished him to go with him to a Consistory on 6 April, which he declined, but he went privately with Lord Southesk, but he had not been there ten minutes, when he found the eyes of most of the company were on him, so he made his stay very short. At his first visit to St. Peter's he saw but pretended not to see the Duke of Queensberry, who, however, came up to him and Mar told him it was on his account he was unwilling to take notice of him. The Duke thanked him and said they might meet sometimes (*p.* 264). Mar's letters are full of accounts of the buildings, statues, &c. that he saw (*pp.* 278, 309, 318, 333). He spent two days at Frascati and one at Tivoli (*p.* 374). On the 26th he had an interview with the Pope, Stewart of Invernity acting as interpreter. The Pope spoke of Mar's liking architecture and presented him with the Book of St. Peter's. On the Pope's expressing his wish for a restoration Mar ventured to say, he was morally sure that within a twelvemonth it would be in his power to restore the King. The Pope seemed surprised and asked Stewart to repeat it again. His Holiness then said Mar had told him good news, and that nothing depending on him should be wanting. The King notwithstanding had but little hopes of the Pope's giving him money (*p.* 290), but in May promises were made through Cardinal Gualterio, on certain unspecified conditions, which were thankfully accepted (*p.* 391). Cardinal Gualterio approved of what Mar had said to the Pope (*p.* 375). Mar was to leave Rome on 5 May for Urbino, travelling by Caprarola and Perugia (*p.* 388). While at Rome he had his miniature taken by the Abbé Ramelli (*p.* 517) and had some other pictures executed (*pp.* 517, 561). John Alexander, a Scottish artist, sent the King a copy of the Parnassus of Raphael (*p.* 561). Mar had sent to Rome some drawings he had made of a little villa to have drafts of the elevations of the sides made by some good architect (*see* last volume, *p.* 382). When he received them he was much disappointed and declared that the architect had made a goose-pie of his plan worthy of nobody but Vanbrugh (*p.* 162).

Mar ventured to congratulate the King on the improvement of his handwriting and asked him to forgive his saying that his common hand usually required a cipher, a description with which the editor of this calendar fully agrees (*p.* 377).

In May Cardinal Gualterio visited Urbino (*pp.* 401, 403).

The King had been a little indisposed before he received the news of his mother's death (*p.* 467). The illness proved to be a tertian ague (*pp.* 447, 477). Before the end of June he was convalescent, but was much weakened by his illness and the great heat (*pp.* 564, 580).

The Earl Marischal wrote in April to Queen Mary that a man, who said he had been a sergeant under him and was now an upholsterer, told him that he saw in Lord Stair's cabinet a letter signed Sutherland, saying that their only security was in the Chevalier's being dispatched and that Stair should immediately send an envoyé, he said first to Venice and then to Vienna, and that one was sent the previous morning (*p.* 247). It was said that the Jacobites intended to publish Douglas and Macdonald's affair with some others employed to assassinate the Chevalier (*p.* 317). Douglas himself was arrested in April at Paris for coining, but was bailed by Lord Stair (*pp.* 343, 365).

In June several persons were at Bologna, who under pretence of travelling and playing were to pass by Urbino in order to make an attempt on the Chevalier's person. One of them had a book for making the devil appear and for availing oneself of his assistance (*p.* 590).

Uneasiness was felt at Rome by the terms of the King's letter to Dr. Leslie calendared in the last volume, *p.* 244. To appease it he wrote 11 March to Cardinal Gualterio. He had become the mark of certain ambitious and worldly Catholics, while he suffered in the eyes of Protestants by his open profession of his religion. While they had now no hope of his changing his religion, he trusted it might be possible to remove the prejudice against the Catholics. He enclosed a memorial proving that what was said in the letter touching the power of the Keys was to be taken as a quotation and not as a declaration of his personal opinion. Inese had by a mistranslation appropriated the power of the Keys to the King. He had written to England that the sole intention of the letter was to show that his own religion did not hinder him from granting complete protection and favour to the Protestants (*p.* 133). On the 24th the King wrote again to the Cardinal that, if the Pope spoke to him on the subject, he might inform him that his only intention had been to confirm a right, which he could not take away, and which in no wise concerned his own religion nor the Catholic doctrine, and that he had taken measures to prevent the Protestants from taking his letter in a bad sense and would take further measures, if these were not sufficient (*p.* 185). Dr. Ingleton had shared the alarm when he heard apart the sentence that caused the difficulty, but, when he saw the whole letter, he was convinced that in that sentence the King had expressed not his own sense but that of the Protestants (*p.* 361). The opinion of Father Brown, his confessor, is given on *pp.* 608, 609. Dr. Leslie wrote that

the letter had been received with entire satisfaction in England (*p.* 194).

Anne Oglethorpe complained that Lord Orrery's letters pressed too much on the subject of the King's changing his religion, and begged his orders how she was to behave. She could not refuse to forward his letters nor did she venture to tell him she thought it ill-timed on his part (*p.* 260.)

In England a schism had arisen among the Non-jurors, one party proposing alterations in the Liturgy, such as mixing water with the wine in the Communion, praying for the dead &c. Three of their bishops, Spinks, Hawes and Gandy, were against the alterations, four, Collier, Bret, Campbell and Gadderar, in favour of them, but the first three objected to Campbell's and Gadderar's interference in an English Synod as being Scottish bishops. The majority of the clergy in town were in favour of the innovating party, most of the officiating clergy and the majority of the people against them. It was apprehended that this schism might prejudice the King's cause and Lord Pitsligo and George Mackenzie suggested that the King should intervene to unite the two parties, who had now renounced communion with each other (*pp.* 261, 582).

The Duke of Ormonde in reply to the question in the letter to him of 28 Dec. (calendared in the last volume, *p.* 340) whether the King should use his right of nominating a cardinal advised that he should act according to the advice of his servants in England. Lord Oxford thought that nominating an Englishman would enrage England, but would not have him drop the privilege. He asked whether the actual giving might not be suspended till the King could find a proper object, and suggested whether a proper person in France might be found, who could serve the King and fix the Regent to his interests (*pp.* 208, 224).

On 26 March Carbery O'Kelly was appointed on the King's nomination Bishop of Elphin but, for reasons easily understood no mention of the nomination being made in the brief, the Pope declared that the omission should be no prejudice to his right of nomination (*pp.* 167, 196, 223).

Notwithstanding the King's tolerant views complaints were made that Protestant exiles living at St. Omer were not relieved unless they became Roman Catholics. Some, it was said, had complied, while others chose rather to go home at the risk of their lives. One had actually been arrested. Such a story, if true, was likely to ruin the King's interest in England (*pp.* 315, 569).

At the end of February Ormonde was still at Mittau but had heard nothing from Jerningham, who had embarked for Sweden on 15 October. The hopes of the Jacobites were raised by a letter from Charles Cæsar to Mar of 20 Jan. saying he had a letter from his friend, the King of Sweden's agent (*i.e.* Gyllenberg), in which was the following paragraph: My master is now very busy in making up his accounts with one

of his chief creditors, which done, I do not question he will be able to answer all other demands, especially yours (*p.* 127), and on 11 March Ormonde received a letter from Sir H. Stirling, who had gone to his uncle, Dr. Erskine, at Petersburg (*p.* 78), that the treaty between the Czar and the King of Sweden was as good as finished (*p.* 138). But on 3–14 March Sir H. Stirling wrote to Ormonde that he had had a letter from Dr. Erskine's secretary informing him of the Czar's opinion that Ormonde should go to Sweden, since he thought that Jerningham had not taken the proper method to get the King of Sweden to enter into the King's measures or else that the Swedish ministry wanted to have the proposition come from one of greater weight and authority, since all the pressing instances of the Czar have had no effect with the King of Sweden to make him relish the project you know of (*i.e.* the restoration), which the Czar has extremely at heart. "I wish you may soon have advices from Jerningham, which will probably give light into that matter and also free the Czar from his uneasiness at your staying where you are, for he has had letters from England demanding him to remove you or they will look on it as an open breach. Though the Czar has no further regard to this than that he would give as little umbrage as possible, till matters were fully prepared, yet he shows more than ordinary uneasiness to have you gone, which must be attended with several inconveniencies, should it happen before some advices come from Jerningham" (*p.* 147). The Czar's suggestion that Ormonde should go to Sweden was impracticable, for the King of Sweden would not let Jerningham and Sheridan stay there, being very uneasy for fear of their being discovered, and would not consent to any person who belonged to the King coming to Sweden (*p.* 226). A few days later the Swedish Resident at Vienna had heard that the Swedish and Russian plenipotentiaries had left Abo and that the Czar had given way about Reval (*p.* 153). Danzig was suggested as the place for a formal congress (*pp.* 155, 159).

Letters from Jerningham had been received at Urbino on 19 March and both the King and Mar were well satisfied with the results of his negotiation (*pp.* 173, 188). He arrived at the Hague on the 16th (*p.* 161), having come there from Lübeck to find out how affairs stood rather than make a long and expensive journey in the uncertainty in which everything then appeared (*p.* 195).

His chief object was to give Prince Kurakin a true light on the situation of affairs in Sweden with regard both to the Russians and the Jacobites.

"If this had not been done, the Czar would not have had any idea of our having an interest there, which was the first motive that induced him to look our way and, if he should conclude from my return that my expedition had been ineffectual, he would soon change. I prevailed with the Prince to represent these matters in the light he saw them in

Hi
HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION

TWELFTH REPORT, APPENDIX, PART IV.

THE
MANUSCRIPTS

OF HIS GRACE

THE DUKE OF RUTLAND, G.C.B.,

PRESERVED AT

BELVOIR CASTLE.

VOL. I. — II

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty for



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to the Czar, and to get the Swedish minister at the Hague to write to his court to assure them of the manner we still employed for their service and that I was going to Petersburg to make the last effort" (*p.* 396). He heard from the Prince that the Czar had sent ministers to Finland to meet Görtz or some other Swedish minister, but that Görtz had desired them to give him a rendezvous somewhere higher up the country. Jerningham conceived this delay to be due to new offers from England (*p.* 195).

On the 24th Mar wrote (*p.* 191) to Dr. Erskine that the King had received through Jerningham an answer from the King of Sweden, who showed inclination enough to serve him, but said plainly it was not in his power, till he had settled with the Czar. If that failed, he must make up with his other enemies, especially King George, but, if the Czar and he could agree and if the Czar would enter into measures with him for serving the King, he would do it with all his heart.

Sir H. Paterson in April (*p.* 316) requested the Swedish minister at the Hague to send information of the present state of England through Poniatowski, who was going to Sweden, showing that only a small assistance would be required. This the minister agreed to and said the only thing the King of Sweden wanted to make a descent secure was men for the ships, for he had eight good men of-war at Gottenburg, and plenty of transports (*p.* 316).

In April there was a report in Paris that the King was actually embarked with the King of Sweden, having gone incognito through Germany (*p.* 342). According to another version the King of Sweden had landed in Scotland (*p.* 364). At Vienna there was a report that the King had parted for Livonia to marry the Duchess of Courland (*p.* 378).

On 29 March Thomas Sheridan, who had been with Jerningham in Sweden, arrived at Mittau with a letter from him to Ormonde about the King of Sweden's resolution to the same effect as Mar's letter to Dr. Erskine of 24 March above cited. Ormonde wrote to Sir H. Stirling that he might acquaint Dr. Erskine with the contents of the letter, and, if there was no likelihood of an agreement between the Czar and the King of Sweden, requested that passports might be sent to him and his company for their return (*p.* 226).

News coming to Holland that Görtz was to have set out for Finland on 10 March, but was kept back on account of M. Fabrice arriving with proposals from England, which proved however unacceptable, as the Elector of Hanover was resolved to keep Bremen and Verden, Jerningham resolved to join Ormonde without delay (*p.* 217) and started from Amsterdam on 3 April (*p.* 254). Prince Kurakin told him that, unless the King of Sweden would give up Livonia, nothing would be done. Jerningham said nothing, knowing how the King of Sweden and his ministry pushed that matter much more earnestly

than Görtz, who, having distant views, would give up that or almost anything to finish affairs with the Czar, thinking that on his death whatever they gave up now would easily come back again (*p.* 217).

On the receipt of Jerningham's letter of 13 Feb. from Lübeck Dillon had written to him by Queen Mary's orders to go straight to Ormonde but, on hearing he was in Holland, Dillon wrote that she was of opinion he should remain there until he had certain accounts of the meeting of the representatives of the Czar and the King of Sweden (*p.* 249). These last orders, however, were too late to stop Jerningham. He arrived at Mittau on 23 April (*p.* 362).

The greatest obstacle to peace between Sweden and Russia arising from the King of Sweden's insisting on the restoration of Livonia, while the Czar had set his heart on keeping Reval, where he had expended a great deal of money in improving the harbour, Ormonde by orders from Queen Mary (*p.* 76) wrote to Sir H. Stirling on 3 April, to ask Dr. Erskine, if he thought it proper, to make an offer to the Czar from the King of 200,000*l.* to be paid three months after his restoration as an equivalent for what he should give up to the King of Sweden (*p.* 247). It was also proposed that the King should offer his good offices as a mediator between the Czar and the King of Sweden (*pp.* 255, 313). Ormonde much doubted that the offer of the money would be accepted. Sir H. Stirling wrote on 11 April, *n.s.*, that Dr. Erskine had not hitherto had an opportunity of acquainting the Czar with the proposal (*p.* 341).

Passports for Ormonde were sent from Petersburg on 2 May (*p.* 396) and were received at Mittau on the 7th (*p.* 414) and Ormonde set out on the 13th by way of Prussia (*p.* 432) and arrived at Metz on 9 June (*p.* 514) and was in or near Paris by the 20th (*p.* 565), where he lived very privately till his departure for Spain the following November. Sir H. Stirling wrote that Ormonde's removal could be attended by no bad effect, for he could not be received in Sweden till matters were adjusted and then he would be more useful elsewhere and that the Czar had advised it, not ordered it, not from any good will to the Elector of Hanover or coolness to the King but only to remove all suspicion, in order that in case of peace the other affair might be the better carried on (*p.* 465). Stirling thought it next to an impossibility that Jerningham's schemes should take effect, for, if the King of Sweden insisted on the restitution of Reval and Viburg, he might as well demand Petersburg, and yet Jerningham talked of this as a thing he wondered the Czar could refuse (*p.* 465).

Jerningham was at Petersburg before the end of May ; where he was informed that negotiations were actually going on in Aland. He found Dr. Erskine ill and not to be seen, so he gave in writing the heads of his business to be communicated to the Czar that he might know how far he would assist, if affairs came to an agreement, but Dr. Erskine found the Czar

so much out of humour that he thought it not a fit time to mention them. Jerningham had desired Dr. Erskine to acquaint the Czar that the King's motive for sending him was purely that the Czar might be informed of the true situation and temper of Sweden from the person whom the King had sent thither, desiring that he would appoint one of his ministers to hear what he had to communicate. He did this that the business might come before the Vice-Chancellor, Schapiroff, without whom it was vain to expect to do anything. Unfortunately the Vice-Chancellor hated Dr. Erskine implacably, which made it impossible for Dr. Erskine to keep any correspondence with him, and therefore all their affairs had in some measure been kept a secret from him. All Jerningham could do, if Dr. Erskine found it not expedient to open his commission to the Czar, was to seek some other to petition that he might lay his business before the said minister, for, if Dr. Erskine did this during the negotiations and things should not agree to their reports afterwards, he would risk losing his head, which necessarily made him very circumspect (*pp.* 495, 506).

In June through an acquaintance, who was courting the Vice-Chancellor's daughter, he obtained a meeting with the Vice-Chancellor (*p.* 524). He wrote on the 24th that the Vice-Chancellor had spoken to the Czar on each point he had recommended to him. "The Czar was well pleased with my errand and bids me assure the King that he would assist the King of Sweden with anything for that purpose after the agreement, and that I might correspond with Görtz, only requiring that they might read my letter before they forwarded it. You will see by the copy of it how I have pushed the main question, and made Görtz those offers, which the Czar approved I should do, viz., of his willingness to assist in that affair after the treaty and I begged that the Czar would empower one of his ministers to make Görtz the same declaration and I am since informed that Osterman had orders sent him to mention the same to Görtz" (*pp.* 571, 582).

Ormonde frequently complained of Dr. Erskine's laziness and delay in answering his letters (*pp.* 78, 80), going so far as to say never was there such a brute as our trusty Dr. Erskine. His silence was probably due partly to the illness (*pp.* 495, 506), of which he died before the end of the year, but more so from his own precarious position at the court (*pp.* 506, 507).

The Czar was embarrassed by a dangerous conspiracy in Russia (*p.* 86). His eldest son, Alexis, was compelled to renounce his rights to the crown (*p.* 201). This news was unfavourably received at Vienna, that Prince being brother-in-law of the Emperor (*p.* 230). The Emperor contradicted the Czar's statement that the Prince had been induced to return to Russia by his advice and even by his threats, whereas he had left the matter entirely

to his own decision (p. 499). The tragic story and death of Alexis is well known.

As to Jacobite hopes from Spain, *Nondum advenit plenitudo temporis*, as Alberoni had oracularly observed (p. 175). Fanny Oglethorpe in April suggested the employment of a person who was in secret correspondence with a person in Spain, who could influence the Queen and Alberoni, but, as he was not employed, it does not appear who he was (p. 270).

In May memorials were sent by the King to the King of Spain representing the present condition of England. The trade with Spain was so considerable that all the merchants, particularly the South Sea Company, were extremely alarmed at the first prospect of a misunderstanding with Spain and remonstrated on a fleet being sent to the Mediterranean. They were told their fears were groundless, that the fleet was for maintaining the peace and that the difference between the Emperor and the King of Spain would soon receive a determination, which would be supported by France and England. Coin, particularly silver, was very scarce in England, the balance of trade with most countries being against England, and great sums being remitted abroad to pay the interest on investments by foreigners in the public funds. Should there be a war, the funds would fall at least 20 per cent. and everyone would desire to realise and, should there be a declaration by Spain of an intention to serve the King, all public securities would be no better than waste paper (p. 442). The Elector of Hanover had undertaken to support the Emperor in consideration of his promising to maintain him in the possession of his new dominions in Germany and, if the King of Spain persisted in his Italian enterprise, the English ministry would without doubt send a fleet against him to the Mediterranean, on which a war would inevitably ensue. As the war was to be carried on entirely in defence of a German cause, it was submitted whether it might not be proper for the King of Spain to make a distinction between the King and the people of England and the present German government there. The danger was also represented of the German troops in Italy being ordered to seize the King, and he therefore requested the King of Spain to allow him a retreat in some part of his dominions (p. 461).

Capt. Camocke in conjunction with Charles Pye suggested that the King should offer a pardon to the pirates in the West Indies, who had several ships and were in possession of one of the Bahamas, and should send them a person, who had been in the Royal Navy, with a commission as Captain General with instructions to reduce the Bermudas, by which the West India and Guinea trade might be destroyed. Camocke further offered, if he was thought fit to undertake this great work, with the assistance of friends in England to purchase a 50 gun ship at Cadiz (p. 213).

Another project of Camocke's was to attempt to win over some of the officers and seamen in the fleet that was to be sent

to the Mediterranean against Spain. He declared that he had influence on Sir G. Byng, the admiral, and many of his chief people, and that he was well known to the inferior officers and seamen (*pp.* 302, 525). A translation of Camocke's memorial was sent on 3 May to Cardinal Aquaviva giving full particulars of the plan (*p.* 397) and private instructions were sent to Camocke for carrying out the design (*p.* 500).

Camocke himself had received the King's permission through Queen Mary to serve the King of Spain as Rear-Admiral (*p.* 432). He arrived in Barcelona on 25 May and hoisted his flag on the 29th as Rear-Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of the Barcelona squadron (*p.* 490). He described the splendidly equipped expedition that was to sail for Italy in ten days, which actually sailed 18 June (*p.* 585). News arrived at Bologna on 28 June of its arrival at Vado, near Genoa (*p.* 589).

On the motion in the House of Lords for going into committee on the Mutiny Bill on Feb. 20—March 3 Lord Trevor's instruction that the punishment of death should be taken out of the Bill was rejected by a majority of 14. The Prince of Wales having been threatened by the Jacobites that, if he deserted them, they would leave him to the resentment of the King's friends, came to the House, it was said by Argyle's advice against that of Walpole and Townshend, but went away about 4, which discouraged and offended his party highly. Lord Sunderland among other reasons for maintaining the army declared that the Pretender's ministers were received at several courts, that some had openly espoused his cause and that he had negotiated a marriage with a certain Northern princess (*pp.* 83, 85, 104, 106).

The bill for appointing Commissioners for the forfeited estates in Scotland was also carried. It was remarked that three Scottish members, who had voted in favour of the petition of the wives and widows on forfeited estates in England for empowering the King to grant their jointures &c. to their children after their decease, when the same thing came before the House in favour of the Scottish wives and widows, voted against it and it was consequently rejected (*p.* 106). It was carried in the House of Lords by a majority of 6 or 7 (*pp.* 164, 257). Sir D. Dalrymple declared that the Lords of Session might now shut up their doors (*p.* 164).

About 400 merchants petitioned the House of Commons to consider the trade with Sweden, since Holland had a free trade there and the King had promised they should enjoy the same privilege as soon as the Dutch. A proclamation was promised that would render that easy to them, but, when it came out, it gave liberty of trading in iron to all ports except those in the King of Sweden's dominions, so that the merchants were much exasperated to see that trade closer shut up from the English and given over to the Dutch. They renewed their petition, which the Court vigorously opposed, but they obtained a good part of their desires. Particulars of the

trade had been furnished by Sir H. Paterson, which were put in order by Menzies and supplied to the merchants, whom he and Lord Oxford had prompted. It was suggested that the King of Sweden should be informed, that he might see that his friends were not unmindful of his interests (*pp.* 105–107).

An address was moved for an account of the losses lately sustained by the privateers in the West Indies, of what orders and ships had been sent to suppress them and of what might be further necessary. As the usual forces for the year had been voted, it was considered that this was perplexing and might cause the Baltic and Mediterranean squadrons to be diminished (*p.* 105).

Menzies summed up in a few words what the English Jacobites were worth. “You have had,” he wrote to Mar, “and have and will have fine stories of fine persons and things for your service. I could tell you of all those persons and ten thousand more and it signifies not one straw to your service. Intriguing and talking and drinking will just do as much, as you had experience. When you bring the effects, you will have more friends than you can manage and till then all Mrs. Cann’s (the Church of England’s) fine doings will end in a can” (*p.* 345).

The Duke of Shrewsbury died the beginning of February (*p.* 110). Marquis Paleotti, his widow’s brother, was hanged at Tyburn for murdering his servant (*pp.* 228, 249).

A letter from Inese enclosing an extract from Mr. Dicconson’s accounts showed that Menzies had remitted to Paris 1,000*l.* more than Mar had supposed and cleared him from the suspicions mentioned in the last volume (*pp.* 145, 146). Menzies on March 30—April 10 explained how he had remitted the money (*p.* 293) and complained of the Bishop of Rochester’s objecting that he had not told him before giving Gyllenborg the money and gave his reasons for not doing so.

The English Jacobites were hopeful that the Regent might assist the King and suggested that advantage might be taken of the Duke of Lorraine’s visit to Paris to approach him and discover what might be expected from him (*p.* 85). Lord Orrery suggested that some one should be sent to represent to him the condition of affairs in England (*p.* 165). Dillon, however, wrote that neither the Regent nor his ministers would hearken to any proposal that could draw the least appearance of war on them or interrupt the tranquillity they expected through King George’s mediation with the Emperor to induce the latter to acknowledge the King of Spain and renounce all pretensions to his possessions. If these expectations should fail, then the King might reasonably hope for succour from both the Regent and Spain and Dillon hoped that the King would employ his friends at Rome to learn the Emperor’s resolution as soon as possible. Dillon had not yet informed

friends in England of the little hopes there were of the Regent's serving the King for fear of discouraging them (p. 111).

In March Lord Oxford wrote to the King and Mar that the King's interest daily increased in England and that of King George dwindled. Many were afraid to come in on account of their former actions. Oxford suggested that assurances of pardon should be sent. He represented the difficulties about collecting money, though he would do his utmost in that and everything else (pp. 207, 223). In later letters he approved of the dismissal of Inese and repeated what he had said about the collection of money. He stated that there had never been the least intercourse between him and Menzies, but that he was very honest and zealous for the cause, though peevish (pp. 267, 268).

Menzies also considered that the collection of money would be very difficult, if not quite impracticable. Everyone shrugged up their shoulders at the risk, and he saw no appearance of any quantity. He asked what the Bishop of Rochester said, who undertook so fairly (p. 299).

It was mentioned in the last volume that, in view of Dillon's being obliged to leave Paris, it was intended that James Murray should come over and undertake part of his business. On receiving the King's commands he took leave of the Bishop of Rochester on 31 March—April 11. He thought it necessary to communicate his design to Lord Hay, Sir W. Wyndham and Mr. Shippen, who all considered that his going would be of the utmost disadvantage to the King's affairs for the reasons given at length on p. 305. He therefore determined to delay his departure till he had consulted the Bishop of Rochester, whose directions he would follow. Apparently the Bishop advised his going, for he set out on April 7-18. He made but a short stay in Paris leaving on the 25th (p. 368) for Urbino. In June as already mentioned he was sent to Ohlau to negotiate the marriage with Princess Clementina.

Lord Oxford expressed a guarded opinion of James Murray (pp. 267, 268), but his mistress, Anne Oglethorpe, quarrelled violently with him (p. 286) and he treated Menzies very cavalierly (pp. 345, 346). On the other hand Mar was warned against Anne Oglethorpe's influence with Lord Oxford and that she would see everything written to him. It was suggested that anything of moment to be communicated to Lord Oxford should be written on a separate piece of paper enclosed (pp. 325, 326, 327).

The Bishop of Rochester did not answer the King's letter of 7 January (calendared in the last volume, p. 370) till June 14-25, in which he declared that he had nothing at heart but the service of the cause and would do all in his power to extinguish jealousies and would never do anything to raise them (printed in the *Stuart Papers*, p. 22).

On the other hand Menzies wrote on 30 March—10 April (p. 291) that they were all in great harmony till reports came

from the other side of differences and divisions, that Mar was engrossing everything and that there was a design to diminish Ormonde's interest, which extremely alarmed the Bishop and soon some others. He complained that there was such a design, that Lord Oxford was at the bottom of it, and that Mar was his friend. Menzies defended Mar and assured the Bishop that he was incapable of such a design and that he and Ormonde went hand in hand together. The Bishop would be soothed for a few days but then the fit would return. He would declare that men of Scotland, which he mortally hated, were always addicted to their own countrymen. So bizarre was his temper that his most intimate friends either laughed at him or lamented for him. With very quick parts and a great deal of learning he had a peculiar restlessness of temper, which, in all situations in which he has been, had proved so troublesome that no man in England had more inveterate enemies, even on the side of which he was thought to be. Several of his own colleagues would long ago have gone over to the Jacobite side, but that they could not bear the thought of being yoked with him in any thing. Menzies notwithstanding advised he should be continued in employment and caressed. His ungovernable passions would do more hurt, were he slighted.

There was a current report that the Bishop was resolved to break the neck of the Scotch interest, as he called it, in which interest Lord Oxford was included, and that Dillon had declared himself freely on that head, though it was necessary for the present to keep measures with Mar (*pp.* 325, 329).

Dillon however declared that he would endeavour to deserve the continuance of the confidence the King and Mar had in him and that he had lately written so amply to the King that it could be no fault of his if any distrust remained on either side (*p.* 322).

Lord Oxford and Lord Arran, Ormonde's brother, were in perfect harmony (*p.* 533).

On the other hand a party in Paris said to be headed by the Earl Marischal, Brigadier Hooke, General Hamilton and Robert Leslie was reported to be doing all they could to ruin Mar and to have sent an express to the King with their grievances. Some believed Lord Middleton was at the bottom of it. It was stated by Malcolm of Grange that Hooke had in 1708 carried proposals from the King of France to the Duke of Hamilton that there should be an entire separation between England and Scotland, that the Duke should be King of the latter country and that the old friendship between it and France should be renewed (*pp.* 427, 471, 491, 548, 581).

Negotiations continued with the brothers, Argyle and Ilay. On 10 March a warrant for a patent was signed by the King creating the latter a baron and earl of England, the titles not being specified (*p.* 132). The reasons for not granting him a dukedom are given on *p.* 131. To ensure secrecy the warrant

was written in Mar's own hand and was sent to Fanny Oglethorpe to be kept by her brother-in-law with the pardon granted the previous June (*Vol. IV*, p. 369). A copy in cipher was to be sent to Ilay. This Fanny Oglethorpe thought would be unsafe, but she would write to inform him in the terms she mentioned (p. 227).

James Murray and Lord Orrery thought that Mar might depend on the good disposition of the brothers. Ilay had spoken to Orrery more frankly than ever and thought he had more than ordinary reason to detach himself from King George and his son, but feared lest more assistance should be expected from him than was consistent with his own security or indeed necessary (*pp.* 164, 166). Orrery believed that his uneasiness proceeded from James Murray's way of talking to him and suggested that he should be authorized to tell the brothers (or indeed any other he should think proper) that they might promote the trade in their own way and that the King would gratefully acknowledge their services in whatever way they might choose to serve him. Similar reports of the brothers being in the King's interest had reached Paris, which Dillon endeavoured to suppress as much as he could (p. 211).

On March 28—April 8 Lockhart of Carnwath replied to Mar's letter of 4 Jan. (calendared in *Vol. V*, p. 366) fearing that there was less reason than ever to expect anything from the brothers. He was under the greatest personal obligations to them especially for their services after the rebellion, when but for them he had well nigh perished. They had proposed to him last summer, when they thought there would be a dissolution in the winter, that he should stand for his old constituency, offering him their support (*pp.* 274–276).

In June Lockhart wrote to the King (p. 535) detailing a conversation with Col. John Middleton, a particular friend of the brothers, about the way they had been treated by King George and suggesting they should join with the King, and also one with another friend named Campbell, who confirmed what Middleton had said and who was very hopeful, if right measures were taken, and concluded that, when Ilay came to Edinburgh, Lockhart should put the question fairly to him. Lockhart asked the King to consider how far it might be proper for him to write to a person he could trust and who would be acceptable to the other side, empowering him to invite the brothers to join him and to assure them of his good intentions towards them and that none but the person entrusted with the commission knew anything of it. Lockhart had imparted the contents of his letter only to the Bishop of Edinburgh and Capt. Straiton and, as the affair required the greatest dexterity and secrecy, he had communicated it directly to the King.

Capt. Straiton, in enclosing this letter to Mar, said that Lockhart desired him to apologize for not writing to him.

His reason was that he might be able to say to the brothers that he had written to nobody but the King on the subject (p. 554).

A further account of these transactions is given by Lockhart (*Lockhart Papers, Vol. II, pp. 12-17*) where he charges Mar with having intercepted his letter to the King and with having answered it only in a postscript to a letter to Capt. Straiton.

Glendarule on 29 April (p. 386) wrote that he heard that Argyle had been at much pains to make himself acceptable among the King's friends, which he thought no good symptom of his sincerity, having no permission for it nor any direct correspondence with the King. He suggested that the King should take the first opportunity of re-assuming the hereditary jurisdiction possessed by Argyle and his family.

In April Ilay desired Fanny Oglethorpe to come over to see him, but M. de Mezières advised her to answer that, not knowing the situation of affairs so as to be able to give him an account of anything, she does not do what he desires, but that she had written Mar word of it, but that, if he has anything to say for himself, she would come over immediately (p. 342).

Walkinshaw of Barrowfield wrote (p. 422) to Col. Middleton asking him to meet him at Dieppe. His design was to know how the two brothers resented the treatment they met with. Middleton replied, declining an interview but representing that they wished well to the King and would take their own way (p. 423).

Ilay was in much trouble with his wife and had been forced to give 18,000*l.* bail to commit no violence against her. She was pursuing him for a separate maintenance. Fanny Oglethorpe's advice was that he should make up with her (p. 227).

Negotiations took place between Argyle and Lord Breadalbane for the purchase of the estate of the latter in Scotland (p. 277), but they ended in nothing (p. 538).

On Feb. 25—March 8, Capt. Straiton wrote (p. 259) that friends in Scotland were by no means discouraged and were ready to help as far as their small stock would go and that the Clans were very frank, some who had not on the late occasion done as well as was expected being anxious for an opportunity to retrieve their mistake. When the King should make a descent on England or Scotland, some horses as well as men would be required and also plenty of arms and ammunition.

Capt. Straiton had applied to those mentioned in Mar's letter of 3 Jan., but had not yet received a farthing on account of the proposed collection of money. However, he would continue to use his best endeavours (p. 353). It was apprehended that the Highlanders would be in great want of bread in summer and Capt. Straiton and Sir J. Erskine were in a project to get them supplied (pp. 355, 371). The crop was bad last year and most of their cattle died.

The Act already alluded to about the forfeited estates empowered the Commissioners to turn out the factors appointed by the Lords of Session and to put the estates immediately to sale and cut off personal creditors. Some hoped no purchasers would be found but others thought there would, and some talked of the London Companies buying them as they did the Irish forfeitures (*p.* 250).

It was said that orders had been sent to Scotland to try all those concerned in the late rebellion, who had returned to prevent the Act about prescription taking effect (*p.* 257).

The mention of Lord Dunfermline (*p.* 555) is puzzling, all peerages stating that the title became extinct on the death of the fourth earl in 1694. The name is quite distinctly written. Perhaps the title was assumed by some relative of the last lord, who was recognized by the King.

Early in May Father Calanan or Callaghan delivered to the King at Urbino a paper drawn by Robert Leslie stating that he had been assured that gentlemen of interest in the North of Ireland would join the Jacobites and that Enniskillen, Derry, Charlemont and Carrickfergus would be seized. The proposer desired to know whether the project was acceptable, that he might have all things ready for an insurrection the moment his Majesty arrived in either of his kingdoms. Leslie requested that neither Mar, Nairne, or any one else at Urbino should be privy to the project except Wogan, who was in Leslie's confidence. The King considered it the greatest impertinence in Leslie to lay down rules for his master, and declared that any proposition of importance could not be kept from Ormonde, Mar and Dillon. The proposal itself he thought was very good, but so general and unexplained in all particulars that he must send it to Dillon and act according to the information he should receive from him (*pp.* 406-408). From letters in the next volume (*pp.* 86, 154) it appears that this scheme was only Leslie's own thoughts.

The Duke and Duchess of Lorraine travelling as the Comte and Comtesse de Blamont visited Paris in March and were very popular there (*p.* 244). At a great feast given them by the Duchesse de Berri the ambassadors of England, Portugal and Sicily were placed at the second table, which they resented and walked off. The Regent sent them great excuses and laid the blame on the Master of the Ceremonies, who was sent to the Bastille (*p.* 118), but Lord Stair was extremely angry, while the ambassadors not invited were piqued (*p.* 119).

In March Dillon noted the great and increasing influence of the Abbé Dubois on the Regent, which was entirely used in favour of King George. Some of the most distinguished of his advisers did not doubt that, if they could get Dubois removed, they would be able to convince the Regent that his true interest and that of France was to support the Kings of Spain and Sicily and the Italian princes against the Emperor. Dillon had sent warnings to England against trusting Dubois

(p. 196). Law was a fast friend of Dubois, who had lately obtained his pardon from King George, and the Regent's chief people complained that they and Stair were closeted with the Regent for hours and governed all foreign affairs (p. 205).

On the other hand Law himself wrote to the King and Mar expressing how sensible he was of the honour the former had done him by writing to him and declaring he should embrace with pleasure every opportunity of showing his attachment (pp. 179, 180). At an interview with Dillon he promised to do all he could for the King's service (p. 516). Early in May he became a Roman Catholic (p. 411). The scheme for fixing the value of the new coins above their intrinsic value was attributed to him. The *Parlement de Paris* remonstrated with the Regent and issued a *prise de corps* against Law (pp. 540, 559). The *denouement* will be related in the next volume.

The heat in Paris in June was unprecedented (p. 515).

An order was sent in June to all the Intendants to banish the English from France. The Regent, however, when applied to, declared it was a thing he was obliged to by the treaty, but that it was *un coup d'espé dans l'eau* (p. 540).

Lord Peterborough paid the Mezières family a visit. He charged them with being the authors of his arrest through their eldest sister, Anne Oglethorpe's, means, but accepted their disclaimer (p. 411).

It appears that it was only Lord Oxford's interposition that saved Steele, the essayist, from a beating on some former occasion by the hot-tempered Capt. Ogilvie (p. 328). On the same page is described a snuff box with a representation of an incident that befell King George and his mistress, the Duchess of Munster.

Lord Bolingbroke was at Paris in May and making his court to Stair, as was also Lord Jersey, said to have come for his health, which was very bad and tended to madness for grief at his wife's behaviour (p. 411).

Dr. Garth, the well-known Whig doctor, was at Paris in June. He spoke well of King George, but said that his son was despised by everybody and would never be able to hold the reins, should he ever come to govern (p. 556).

Sir Peter Redmond describes his interview with the King of Sicily (p. 229). The King had written to the King of Sicily in March about the projects for his marriage and told him of the excitement and alarm caused at Urbino by his visit to the Furlo (p. 222). After Queen Mary's death he requested him to tell the Queen of Sicily that she need be in no anxiety about her letters to Queen Mary, for all necessary precautions had been taken for their safety and, as he had not been able to decide whom he should marry, to send him the list of possible princesses that she had promised to send Queen Mary (p. 496).

At Bordeaux Sir Peter dined with the Duke and Duchess of Berwick, who justified Bolingbroke, denying that he had written the villainous letter, and declared that he himself

on seeing a good probability of a restoration would venture his life and fortune in it (*p.* 584). Sir Peter was to endeavour to get permission at Madrid for making the swords and targes which Barry was to have supplied (*p.* 184). Barry, it turned out, had been all along in correspondence with the English government (*pp.* 149, 198), and on the next page his letters to Col. Stanhope and General Carpenter are given. He escaped from the convent, where he had taken sanctuary, and sailed for London, where Clanranald believed he might be, if the water had not rived the woodie (*i.e.* cheated the gallows) (*p.* 148). He then went to Leyden, from which he had the effrontery to write to Mar (*p.* 513).

William Fraser in June (*p.* 530) recurred to the information he had received from M. Delfosse, Archdeacon of Tournai, that some of the chief managers in the States General were well disposed to enter into friendship with the King and to engage not to assist his enemies in England, in case he made a new attempt. Many of them were mightily dissatisfied with the English ministry, complaining much of their forcing them into measures they had no mind to and not making good what had been promised them. The person the Archdeacon had most interest with was the Baron de Velderen, a representative of Guelderland. If the King would give Fraser powers to treat, the thing might be of great use to him. Sir Hugh Paterson approved of the plan and proposed that powers should be sent accordingly and that the Archdeacon should be thanked (*p.* 544). Powers were accordingly sent but nothing came of the project.

There was a great riot at Brussels on 24 May. The Sovereigns of Brabant always swore at their inaugurations to maintain the privileges of the people and the Emperor had done so at his inauguration; but during the late wars some new oath had been contrived, which passed over some of these privileges. In Brabant subsidies were refused till the oaths were taken. The ministers offered the new oaths but the people insisted on the old. The *doyens* of Brussels were assembled by the Burgomaster, but all but one refused to agree to the new oath. His house and the Burgomaster's were plundered by the rabble. All the troops, about 5,000, patrolled that day and night and next day the burghers assembled in arms and by 9 about half the town was occupied by the burghers and about half by the troops. The tumult was appeased by the Governor promising to give them the old oath (*p.* 473).

A great many, especially of the clergy, were in favour of a restoration of the Spanish monarchy, while others wished for a Sovereign, a cadet of the House of Spain, who would have no other possessions and would reside among them. They suffered from two great grievances, the Dutch prohibition of trade on the Scheldt and the Barrier treaty (*pp.* 475, 476). By the latter a small piece of territory was given to the Dutch contrary to the old oath taken by the Emperor and his people,

by which the Sovereign swore not to dismember or alienate any of the territories of the Ten Provinces. The people in the ceded territory talked of taking up arms rather than be made subjects of Holland and the other provinces seemed to espouse the quarrel (*p.* 493). There was a riot in June at Malines, in which several townsmen were killed and wounded and several soldiers wounded and the whole garrison driven out of the town. It began among some tradesmen, who refused to comply with the sentence against them about some of their privileges. If the Emperor did not prevent the execution of the Barrier treaty, a universal insurrection was expected (*p.* 571).

A few documents omitted in preceding volumes are calendared in the Appendix. The first is a long paper by Lord Middleton written in 1709 giving reasons why England and the European powers should oppose the Hanoverian succession (*p.* 597).

A long letter from William Leslie, Bishop of Waitzen, explains his conduct towards Barrowfield, the Jacobite agent to Vienna (*p.* 599).

A paper by the King endeavoured to remove the Duke of Modena's objections to his marriage with his daughter (*p.* 601).

Several letters and papers (*pp.* 603–606) relate to Lord Peterborough's arrest.

A long memoir (*p.* 607) describes the differences between the Elector of Hanover and his son and their probable effects in England (*p.* 607).

It remains to fulfil the promise in the Introduction to the last volume of printing the keys to some of the principal ciphers, which now follow. Some of them will explain ciphers undeciphered or wrongly deciphered in the former volumes, *e.g.* the curious will be now able to discover, who was the Mr. Watkins, mentioned in the King's letter to Bolingbroke of Christmas Day, 1715, by whose delays he was hindered from sailing to Scotland (*Vol. I., p.* 476).

The most important is the cipher for the King, the Queen, Ormonde, Mar, Dillon and Inese, which is evidently one that had been used for many years and added to from time to time, the occurrence of a cipher for the Princess of Denmark (Queen Anne) showing that it was drawn up before her death.

Christian names without Mr. or Mrs. :—

A	Queen.
B	Elector of Hanover.
C	French ministry.
D	Lorraine Duke.
E	King of France.
F	Duke of Mar.
G	King of Sweden.
H	England.
J	France.
K	Scotland.

L	Ireland.
M	Czar.
N	Holland.
O	Harley (Lord Oxford).
P	King.
Q	Religion.
R	Parliament.
S	Duke of Ormonde.
T	The Regent.
V	The Emperor.
W	Inese.

A cipher of figures with cant names:—

A

Army	1	Adamson.
Arms	2	Alms.
Artillery	3	Abervy.
Ammunition	4	Apples.
Atholl, Duke	5	Ashton.
Aberdeen, Earl	6	Anderson.
Annandale, Earl	7	Armstrong.
Argyle, Duke	8	Aylmer.
Ailesbury, Earl	9	Auberry.
Arbuthnot, Robert	10	Ashby.
Arran, Earl	11	Allen.
Aberdeen town	12	Anderton.
Avignon	13	Altena.
Abbé Alberoni	14	Amorslie.
Alps towards France	15	Adam.
Alps towards Germany	16	Anchor.

B

Bishop of Bristol	1	Beuron.
Bolingbroke	2	Boynton.
Breadalbane	3	Brown.
Beaufort, Duke	4	Baker.
Butler, Abbé	5	Brent.
Berwick, Duke	6	Belson.
Balcarras, Earl	7	Burton.
Balmerino, Lord	8	Bart.
Belhaven, Lord	9	Brusson.
Brandenburg, Elector	10	Byarly.
Bavaria, Elector	11	Bolton.
Boin, Laird	12	Bromley.
Booth	13	Belinsham.
Abbé Dubois	14	Benoist.
Brest	15	Boston.
Buckingham, Duke	16	Booth.
Bayonne	17	Brayne.
Bordeaux	18	Borton.
Bilboa	19	Bradrobe.
Brussels	20	Bramford.

Bread	21	Burt.
Bologna	22	Bellington.
Bagnal, Mr.	23	Busbie.
Butler, Mr.	24	Brate.
A Baron	25	Banfield.
Breslaw	26	Burnet.
Bergen	27	Bull.
Butler, the Bavarian	28	Barber.
Bordeaux	29	Burton.
Byng, Admiral	30	Brewer.
Bastard	31	Bently.

C

Canterbury, Archbishop	1	Crane.
Chalons	2	Carny.
Church of England	3	Collier.
Churchill, Lord	4	Crabe.
Catholicks	5	Cook.
Court party	6	Crew.
Country party	7	Crofts.
Clans	8	Crofton.
Carnwath, Lockhart	9	Cary.
Commission	10	Clinton.
Correspondent	11	Conway.
Council	12	Campbel.
Commander in Chief	13	Colson.
Cromarty	14	Carter.
Court of France	15	Coventry
Clermont, Lord	16	Cranston.
Clanranald	17	Crow.
Clarendon, Earl	18	Clerk.
Civil war	19	Cragg.
Lord Chancellor	20	Chester.
Cipher	21	Cross.
Castelblanco	22	Carberry.
A Countess	23	Cunrie.
Calais	24	Croftson.
Cadix	25	Cranfield.
Cannon	26	Colbertson.
Father Callaghan or Callanan	27	Colt.
Carnegy, Mr.	28	Cumsley.
Czar	29	Coalman.
Cologne, Elector	30	Cresswel.
Cologne, town	31	Cumming.
Carlescroon	32	Crammond.
Cadogan	33	Cobler.
Cockburn	34	Clayton.

D

Denmark, Princess	1	Dormer.
Dalrymple, President	2	Drycoat.
Dundonald, Earl	3	Dilton.

Dutch	4	Dikes.
Dundee town	5	Duff.
Dupplin, Lord	6	Dun.
Dispatch	7	Davison.
Dauphin	8	Dormisson.
Desmaretz	9	Dolben.
Declaration	10	Durfy.
Dicconson, Mr.	11	Derby.
Dumbarton, Earl	12	Dawson.
Dunkirk	13	{ Dunstable.
Dieppe	14	{ Dormont.
Dantzick	15	Dupper.
Dumbarton town	16	Ducker.
Dillon, Mr.	17	Domartine.
Downs, Mr.	18	Dutton.
D'Uxelles, M.	19	Dobson.
Distress	20	Darnby.
Danger	21	Drub.
A Duke	22	Dacly.
Drummond, Lord Edd.	23	Dingsley.
Drummond, Lord John	24	Dracy.
Debarkation	25	Dalmer.
		Duncan.

E

England	1	Evans.
English	2	Erskine.
Emperor	3	Elmore.
Empire	4	Ellis.
Employment	5	Elmesley.
Erroll, Earl	6	Elford.
Edinburgh city	7	Eliot.
Edinburgh Castle	8	East.
Edinburgh, Bishop	9	Edsworth.
Episcopal party	10	Edgecomb.
Enemy	11	Edwards.
Ellis, Sir William	12	Effingham.
Edwards, Mr.	13	Edgemore.
Erskine, Sir John	14	Edin.
Erskine, Doctor	15	Elderley.
Erskine, Charles, the third		
brother	16	Eglenby.
Expedition	17	Ering.
Express	18	Enfield.
Earl	19	Endersby.
Embarkation of troops	20	Embersley.
Embarkation, time of	21	Enderly.
Embarkation, place of	22	Elliby.
Erskine, William	23	Ellington.
Eugene, Prince	24	Embrun.

F

Captain Flanagan	1	Farrel.
Mr. Fortmer	2	Fanshaw.
Fingal, Lord	3	Frett.
Floyd, Captain	4	Fulham.
Fox, Mrs.	5	Fleet.
France	6	Fraser.
French	7	Frost.
Forces	8	Foster.
Faction	9	Flint.
Foot	10	Floyd.
Flanders	11	Fleeming.
Fleet	12	Farmer.
	13	Ferguson.
	14	Fox.
Fleeming, Charles	15	Fogarty.
Forbes, Lord	16	Fray.
Fraser, Simon Lovat	17	Frankland.
Farquharson, Charles	18	Feeman.
French ministers	19	Frampton.
Forrester, Sir John	20	Finch.
Forrester, Mr. Tom	21	Fairly.
Frankfort upon Oder	22	Frem.
Francia, the Jew	23	Frisk.

G

Gordon, General	1	Ganet.
Gallas, Count	2	Garland.
Gaillard, Père	3	Gernon.
Gordon, Duke	4	Gold.
Gordon, Duchess	5	Green.
Godolphin, Lord	6	Grant.
Government	7	Grahame.
Glengarry, Laird	8	Gordon.
General	9	Goodman.
Garrison	10	Goff.
Great Duke	11	Gowen.
Geraldin, Nicholas	12	Golston.
Germans	13	Gorman.
Guards	14	Gravener.
Giffard, Bishop	15	Gray.
Gualtier, Abbe	16	Gardener.
Gualterio, Cardinal	17	Galt.
George, Captain	18	Gregg.
Glasgow	19	Grigston.
Gough, Mr.	20	Gibson.
Görtz, Baron	21	Gamely.
Gallies	22	Geldersley.
Genoa	23	Griffins.
Gibraltar	24	Gaspar.
Gottenburg	25	Gemlaw.

Gyllenborg, Count	26	Gastrel.
Granard, Earl	27	Grim.
Gnesne	28	Ginkle.
Gottenburg	29	Gorcom.

H

Heggins	1	Harison.
Hamilton, Duke	2	Harris.
Hubbast, Doctor	3	Hasting.
Hicks, Doctor	4	Habden.
High church	5	Henryson.
Highlands	6	Holmes.
Highlanders	7	Hunters.
Holland	8	Hasty.
Horse	9	Hay.
Hundred	10	Harway.
Honest	11	Homely.
Hanover, Duke	12	Herne.
Hook, Colonel	13	Holton.
Hall, Mr.	14	Hebb.
House of Peers	15	Hewit.
House of Commons	16	Homby.
Hamilton, Richard	17	Hartly.
Harley (Lord Oxford)	18	Hughs or Hon- ington.
Hanmer, Sir Thomas	19	Hickop.
Hamburg	20	Hyd.
Havre	21	Hereford.
Hay, Mr.	22	Horsley.
Hamilton, Zech.	23	Hill, Hawker.
Hesse, Landgrave	24	Hornby.
Hamilton, General G.	25	Harper.

J

Jersey, Lady	1	Jerry.
Ingleton, Doctor	2	Jeremie.
Ireland	3	Jones.
Irish	4	Jackson.
Invasion	5	Ironson.
Interest	6	Jasmin.
Intelligence	7	Jordan.
Instructions	8	Jenkins.
Inese, Mr.	9	Jamison.
Jesuits	10	Joddrel.
Jacobites	11	Jonston.
Iberville	12	Jennings.
Indemnity	13	Jolly.
Inverlochay	14	Jerbeville.
Jerningham, Mr.	15	Jery or Hooker.
Inverness	16	Jossings.
Italy	17	{ Island. Jassin.

Innsbruck	18	Indel.
Ilay	19	Isaac.
K		
King of	England	1 Knight.
	France	2 Knipe.
	Spain	3 Ker.
	Portugal	4 Kurl.
	Sweden	5 Kemp.
	Denmark	6 Knox.
King Augustus	7	Kirkton.
King Stanislaus	8	Kirk.
Kilsyth, Viscount	9	Kinnaird.
Kilmarnock, Laird	10	Kennedy.
Kelly, Earl	11	Kenyon.
Kenmure, Viscount	12	Knolls.
The King's friends	13	Kelly.
Kenyon, Mr.	14	Kirby.
Kinnoul, Earl	15	Karnton.
Kennedy, David	16	Karrel.
Kelly, Mr.	17	Kier.
Kinnaird, Charles	18	Kilmore.
L		
Leeds, Duke of	1	Lumley.
Lochyel	2	Lory.
London, Bishop of	3	Lery.
London	4	Limery.
Liberty	5	Lamb.
League	6	Lally.
Loyal	7	Lermont.
Low Church	8	Leak.
Letter	9	Lee.
Leven, Earl	10	Lawson.
Lothian, Lord	11	Lamont.
Linlithgow, Lord	12	Lindsay.
Lowlands	13	Lowther.
Litchfield, Lord	14	Lorimer.
Lesley, Charles	15	Lidcoat.
Lockhart of Carnwath	16	Lacy.
Lorraine, Duke	17	Lumsden.
Leers, Mr.	18	Linch.
Lyons	19	Laumont.
Lieth (? Leith)	20	Littleton.
Lawless, Mr.	21	Longhorn.
Loretto	22	Longford.
A Lord	23	Laller.
Loudoun, Earl	24	Lesbie.
Leghorn	25	Lute.
Liège	26	Laton.
M		
McDonald, Reny	1	Munson.

Mezières, M.	2	Matha.
Money	3	Mantle.
Manifest	4	Mildmay.
Militia	5	Monk.
Minister	6	Marvel.
Maintenon, Mad.	7	Morison.
Montrose, Marquess	8	Massy.
Marischal, Earl	9	Mohun.
Melfort, Duke	10	Montfort.
Middleton, Earl	11	May.
Midleton, Charles	12	Mossman.
Mar, Earl	13	Martel.
Murray, Earl	14	Maitland.
Malcomb	15	Morris.
Murray, Lord George	16	Matson.
Montrose town	17	Morgan.
Middleton, Countess	18	Marsal.
Men	19	Malt.
Matignon, Marischal	20	Morton.
Menzies, John	21	Moor.
Masham, Mrs.	22	Mew or Melvil.
McMahon, Mr.	23	Milton.
Monteleon, Marquis	24	Meridith.
Montpelier	25	Maston.
Mull, Isle of	26	Maryton.
Magny	27	Mirepoix.
Murray, James	28	Mr. Morpeth.
Modena, Duke	29	Masters.
Marriage	30	Marsfield.
Munich	31	Masterton.
Marseilles	32	Merry.
Merchant	33	Mathew.
Medicis, Princess	34	Maxton.

N

Nihill	1	Nasby.
Nation	2	Norton.
Nuncio	3	Norris.
Nottingham, Earl	4	Neal.
North	5	Narbon.
Nithsdale, Earl	6	Nash.
Nobility	7	Nesmith.
Nairn, Lord	8	North.
Nairn, Master	9	Newman.
Nonjurors	10	Nelthorp.
Norfolk, Duke	11	Newcomb.
Newcastle, Lord	12	Nelson.
Netherfield	13	Newson.
Neutrality	14	Nantly.
Noailles, Cardinal	15	Nalson.
Noailles, Duke	16	Nasfield.

O

Oglethorpe, Mistress	1	Olderon.
Ormiston, Laird	2	Oneal.
Opposition	3	Oliver.
Orleans, Duke	4	Otway.
Ormonde, Duke	5	Onslow.
Orange, Prince	6	Obrian.
Orkney, Earl	7	Oldfield.
Ogilvy, John	8	Oldcorn.
Ougan <i>i.e.</i> Wogan, Mr.	9	Orme.
Opinion	10	Oldmie.
Orford	11	Ogston.

P

Prior, Mr.	1	Parry.
Panmure, Earl	2	Price.
Packington, Sir John	3	Peters.
Parliament	4	Percy.
Proclamation	5	Parsons.
Perth, Duke	6	Philips.
Paterson, Sir Hugh	7	Payton.
Portmore, Earl	8	Paterson.
Protestants	9	Primrose.
Presbyterians	10	Prat.
Powry, Laird	11	Polton.
Plowden, Mr.	12	Povey.
Porter, Mr.	13	Preston.
Pope	14	Pritchard.
Priest	15	Pen.
Picture	16	Peacocke.
People	17	Prinn.
Peace	18	Powel.
Paris	19	Panton.
Peterborough	20	Prescot.
Prince Eugene	21	Perrot.
Polignac, Cardinal	22	Porter.
Pension	23	Panter.
Philps, Mr.	24	Palmer.
Port	25	Pralin.
Port Mahon	26	Paston.
Pajot, Monsieur	27	Pocock.
Palatine, Elector	28	Priest.
Palatine, Princess	29	Pucklie.
Parma, Duke	30	Pansford.
A Press	31	Pelson.
Protestation	32	Potter.
Project or scheme	33	Pelford.
Paterson, John	34	Parryfield.
Prague	35	Pelly.
Pesaro	36	Purves.
Piedmont	37	Pamford.

Poland	38	Pilton.
Poniatowski	39	Ploiden.
Primate of Ireland	40	Preshaw.
Lord Pitsligo	41	du Pont.

Q

Queensberry, Duke	1	Quixot.
Quakers	2	Quinten.
Queens's joynture	3	Quarrel.
Queen of Sicily	4	Quelly.
Queen of Spain	5	Qualson.

R

Rothe	1	Robinson.
Rome	2	Roberts.
Religion	3	Roper.
Rochester, Earl	4	Ross.
Roths, Earl	5	Reynolds.
Roman Catholicks	6	Rogers.
Robertson of Strowan	7	Rich.
Rouen	8	Rachecourt.
Restoration	9	Ranford.
Rochester, Bishop	10	Rigg.
Roxburgh, Duke	11	Rangly.
Ratisbon	12	Ramsay.
The King's residence in general	13	Rankin.

S

Selinger	1	Stanhope, Lord.
Southcot	2	Scravenmore.
Stuart, Sir James	3	Stepney.
Sinclair, Lord	4	Sanderson.
Sophia, Princess	5	Setle.
Sackville, Major-General	6	Seymor.
Scots	7	Sturton.
Switzerland	8	Snow.
Scotland	9	Story.
Seafeld, Earl	10	Shuffleworth.
Spain	11	Sorrel.
Spaniards	12	Swift.
Soldiers	13	South.
Strafford, Lord	14	Sempil.
Succour	15	Sharp.
Secret	16	Seroop.
Strafford, Mr.	17	Simpson.
Stormont, Viscount	18	Stow.
Strathmore, Earl	19	Somery.
Shrewsbury, Earl	20	Seaton <i>or</i> Shrimpton.
Succession	21	Stubbs.
St. Germaines	22	Stiel.
Ships	23	Stanley.

Somerset, Duke	24	Sands.
Seaforth, Marquis	25	Spencer.
Saint Amant	26	Sparrow.
Sheldon, Dominick	27	Senior.
Stirling	28	Succour.
St. Malo	29	Sarmoise.
Stair, Earl	30	Silby.
Spar, Baron	31	Sangfield.
Spy	32	Spurt.
Support	33	Samuel.
Suspected person	34	Sudson.
Stirling, Sir Harie	35	Stelbie.
Strickland, Roger	36	Smart.
Stockholm	37	Spence.
Savoy	38	Sim.
Sicily, King	39	Shaw.
Suedeland	40	Sorby.
Stanhope, Mr.	41	Stoker.
Saxony, Princess of	42	Saxby.

T

A Tory	1	Tamiere.
Torcy, Monsieur de	2	Taylor.
Tweeddale, Marquess	3	Tomkins.
Traitor	4	Trally.
Treason	5	Tery.
Thousand	6	Tilly.
Treaty	7	Trent.
Treaty betwixt the Regent, George and Holland	8	Trently.
Tallard	9	Tofts.
Tarbet, Lord	10	Tredenham.
Townshend, Lord	11	Teller.
Tildesey	12	Trentain.
Toulouse	13	Triel.
Tullybardine, Lord	14	Tarver.
Tower of London	15	Turner.
Tilbury fort	16	Tilson.
Trade	17	Trape.
The Test	18	Turton.
Thesaurie	19	Tralbie.
Turin	20	Tally.
Trent town	21	Tomson.

V

Villeroy, Marischal	1	Vernon.
Villars, Marischal	2	Vatel.
Venetians	3	Vandermel.
Voyage	4	Vanbroke.
Victory	5	Villars.
Undertaking	6	Vere.
Union	7	Vetch.

Vaudemont, Prince	8	Vaine.
Vicelegat	9	Viner.
Venice	10	Vandersley.
Vistula river	11	Vert.

W

Wind	1	Watkins.
Wharton, Earl	2	Wake.
Wigton, Earl	3	Weston.
Whigs	4	Wall.
War	5	Watson.
Westmorland, Lady	6	Wilson.
Wisheart	7	Weyburns.
Widrington	8	Williamson.
Winton, Earl	9	Wright.
Wood, Doctor	10	West.
Walkinshaw	11	Waters.
Wyndham, Sir W.	12	{ Wanly.
		{ Westmore.
Walpole	13	{ Waling.
		{ Wilky.

Y

York, Archbishop	1	Yalden.
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Key to the Letter cipher used in this cipher.

1.	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m
	z	y	x	w	v	t	s	r	q	p	o	n
2.	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	n
	m	z	y	x	w	v	t	s	r	q	p	o
3.	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	o
	n	m	z	y	x	w	v	t	s	r	q	p
4.	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	p
	o	n	m	z	y	x	w	v	t	s	r	q
5.	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	q
	p	o	n	m	z	y	x	w	v	t	s	r
6.	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	r
	q	p	o	n	m	z	y	x	w	v	t	s
7.	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	s
	r	q	p	o	n	m	z	y	x	w	v	t

8.	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>t</i>
	<i>s</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>v</i>
9.	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>v</i>
	<i>t</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>w</i>
10.	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>w</i>
	<i>v</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>x</i>
11.	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>x</i>
	<i>w</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>y</i>
12.	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>y</i>
	<i>x</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>z</i>

There are also two other copies of this cipher which differ in some of the cipher names at the end of the letters as follows :—

Antrim, Earl of	a 15	Ash.
Athenry, Lord	a 16	Ashburn.
Byng, Admiral	b 26	Brewer.
Butler, the Bavarian	b 27	Barber.
Bruce, Tom	b 28	Black.
Bathurst, Lord	b 29	Bingly.
Bromley, Mr.	b 30	Bowen.
Belings, Arundel	b 31	Burnet.
Brooke, Lord	b 32	Bennet.
Burke, Sir John	b 33	Brown.
Barrymore, Lord	b 34	Benson.
Boyle, Capt.	b 35	Brady.
Cadogan	c 30	Cobler.
Cæsar, Charles	c 31	Cowley.
Crawley, son of Sir Nicholas	c 32	Cranmer.
Carlingford, Lord	c 33	Crone.
Dunmore, Lord	d 25	Digby.
Duffus, Lord	d 26	Danly.
Dillon, Lord	d 27	Daly.
Dunkellin, Lord	d 28	Deering.
Donnelan, Mr.	d 29	Dean.
Everard, Sir Redmond	e 25	Eagle.
Eweurs, Mr. (? Avery)		
a parson's son	e 26	Ermin.
Gottenburg	g 25	Gorcom.
Goreld	g 26	Gunning.

Granard, Earl of	g 27	Gettings.
Gifford of Chillingson	g 28	Gunner.
Ilay, Earl of	i 18	Isaac.
Inchiquin, Earl of	i 19	Ingram.
Jemison, <i>alias</i> Scott	i 20	Jobber.
Johnson <i>alias</i> Kelly	i 21	Ireton.
Liége	l 25	Laton.
Lansdowne, Lord	l 26	Lemon.
Massereene, Lord	m 31	Miller.
Mayo, Lord	m 32	Manly.
Montague, Lord	m 33	Masson.
North and Grey, Lord	n 17	Nolan.
O'Brien, John	o 12	Onserlie.
O'Brien, Daniel	o 13	Overbie.
Poniatowski	p 35	Ploiden.
Pitsligo, Lord	p 36	De Pont.
Prague	p 37	Pally.
Phipps, Sir Constantine	p 38	Pelly.
Primate, Lindsay	p 37	Plower.
Petre, Lady	p 40	Pooley.
Sicily, King of	s 37	Sorby <i>or</i> Shaw.
Stanhope, Mr.	s 38	Stoker.
Southesk, Earl of	s 39	Strabo.
Shippen, Mr.	s 40	Stoner.
Sanderson, Col.	s 41	Stanton.
Walpole	w 11	{ Walling.
		{ Wilky.
Walkinshaw	w 12	Waters.
Wogan, Nicholas	w 13	Weyms.
Webb, General	w 14	Wisely.
Westmeath, Earl of	w 15	Wrong.

On a separate slip of paper are some additional ciphers :—

Bathurst, Lord	b 26	{ Beaumont in-
		{ stead of Bingly.
Bernard, Lord	b 37	Bartrer.
Ilay, Earl of	i 21	Jenkins.
King of Prussia	k 18	Kersey.
Prince of Hanover	p 38	Poor.
Sandwich, Lady	s 41	Santry.
Trevor, Lord	t 21	Tonson.
Walpole	w 15	Wallop.
Wyndham, Sir W.	w 16	Wicherly.
Gower, Lord		Mr. Gavin.

The following is the new cipher used with John Menzies, the Jacobite Agent in London, through whose hands most of the Jacobite correspondence passed. It was also used by his assistant, James Hamilton, commonly called the Squire, and is marked cipher No. 1, sent July, 1717.

1 Scotland	{ Abington.
2 The Highlands	Acton.
3 Aberdeen	Mr. Altorfe.
4 Inverness	Mr. Adams.
5 Montrose	Mr. Anderton.
6 Dundee	Mr. Albert.
7 Perth	Mr. Airs.
8 Edinburgh	Mr. Abraham.
9 Edinburgh Castle	Mr. Arthur.
10 Stirling Castle	Mr. Atwood.
11 West of Scotland	Mr. Agen.
12 North of Scotland	Mr. Alcorn.
13 Murray Frith	Mr. Ashton.
14 Frith of Forth	Mr. Astell.
15 The Clans	Abert van bourk.
16 A ship	Mr. Addiss.
17 An army	A ton of anything.
18 An ambassador	Amarkit.
19 Bar le Duc	A broker.
20 An admiral	Mr. Abernethy.
21 A captain of a ship	Mr. Atkins.
22 A lieutenant of a ship	Mr. Antony.
23 Lord Onslow	Mr. Archbald.
24 Baron Bothmar	Mr. Alcock.
25 The Speaker	Mr. Alllove.
26 House of Lords	Mr. Bond.
	Messrs. Bennett and Brum-
	field.
27 Lord Chancellor	Mr. Beard.
28 House of Commons	Messrs. Benn and Bord.
29 The Whigs	Messrs. Barker and Borrow.
30 Horse	Burgundy.
31 1,000 horse	One dozen of Burgundy.
32 West of England	Mr. Brank.
33 North of England	Mr. Bowles.
34 Money	Brandy.
35 1,000 <i>l</i> .	One gallon of brandy.
36 Yorkshire	Mr. Beausells.
37 Wales	Mr. Blundell.
38 Newcastle	Mr. Bostock.
39 Bristol	Mr. Black.
40 Oxford University	Mr. Banister.
41	
42 Parliament	Messrs. Barners and Baylie.
43 London	Mr. Bruxon or Mr. Briell.
44 Mr. Jerningham	Mr. Bronsword.
45 A messenger or express	Bills of Exchange.
48 A fleet	Canary.
49 Ten transports	10 doz. of Canary.
50 England	Change Alley.
51 The Tories	Messrs. Colebrack and Clench.

52 The Whig Clergy	Messrs. Campbell and Carpenter.
53 The Tory clergy	Messrs. Clave and Crowder.
54 The bishops	Messrs. Coleman and Cour.
55 The Archbishop of Canterbury	Mr. Crumpton.
56 The Archbishop of York	Mr. Claveland.
57 The Church of Rome	Mr. Curell.
58 Roman Catholics in England	Mr. Crown.
59 The Church of England	Mr. Cann.
60 Ireland	{ Mr. Canoval.
61 Foot	{ Champagne.
62 1,000 foot	{ One dozen of champagne.
63 Ammunition	{ Côte Roti.
64 1,000 stand of arms	{ One doz. of Côte Roti.
65 Poland	Mr. Chealsey.
66 Denmark	Mr. Chamberline.
67 Muscovy	Mr. Crafton.
68 Petersburg	Mr. Colvine.
69 Spain	Mr. Crellins.
70 France	Mr. Cheauvell.
71	Creditor.
72 Hanover	Mr. Daniel.
73 Bremen	Mr. Duncaster.
74 Flanders	Mr. de la Port.
75 Holland	Mr. Dormer.
76 Brussels	Mr. Davis.
77 Liége	Mr. Dawkins.
78 Toulouse	Mr. Davanda.
79 Leyden	Mr. Dickison.
80 Havre	Mr. Derby.
81 St. Malo.	Dort.
82 Bordeaux	Mr. Dunster.
83 Rouen	Mr. Duncomb.
84 Dunkirk	Mr. Dorrine.
85 Calais	Mr. Doboyville.
86 King of Sweden	{ Monsr. Degroot.
87 King of Sicily	{ Monsr. De la Cruce.
88 King of Spain	{ Monsr. De la Rue.
89 King of Poland	{ Mr. Du Price.
90 King of Denmark	{ Mr. Driver.
91 The Czar	{ Mr. Dunklyn.
92 Prince Eugene	{ Monsr. Dubourgh.
93 Elector of Bavaria	{ Mr. Dorrien.
94 The Pope	{ Monsr. Du Mont.
95	Mr. Deboy.
96 Elector of Cologne	Mr. De la Beer.
	Mr. Depont.
	Debitor.
	Mr. Eelkine.

97	Elector of Palatine	Mr. Exeter.
98	Elector of Treves	Mr. Emmott.
99	Duke of Holstein	{ Mr. Eastland.
		{ Mr. Ettrick.
100	Princess of Holstein	{ Mr. Evans.
		{ Mr. Echard.
101	King George	Mr. Erasmus.
102	Prince of Wales	Mr. Enfield.
103	Princess of Wales	Mr. Euclid.
104	Duchess of Munster	Mr. Enscome.
105	The funds	The East India Company.
106	A battalion	Florence, one chest.
107	Prince Ernest	Mr. Francia.
108	Prince Frederick	Mr. Forbes.
109	The States of Holland	{ Mr. Fisher.
		{ Mr. Friburg.
110	The Emperor	{ Mr. Fenwick.
		{ Mr. Farwell.
111	Invasion	Fishery.
112	A descent	Mr. Farrow.
113	The King's interest	Mr. Frame.
114	The Regent	Mr. Frederick.
115	The French ministry	Messrs. Fletcher and Furly.
116	The King's ministers	Mr. Ferdinand.
117	Duke of Marlborough	Mr. Grifeth.
118	Lord Townshend	Mr. Gilborn.
119	Duke of Bolton	Mr. Gold.
120	Gen. Stanhope	Mr. Gates.
121	The English ministry	Messrs. George and Gunston.
122	Mr. Walpole	Mr. Gathard.
123	Lord Cadogan	Mr. Gissith.
124	Duke of Argyle	Mr. Gibson.
125	Duke of Roxburgh	Mr. Green.
126	Duke of Montrose	Mr. Gell.
127	The Lord Justice Clerk	Mr. Granoe.
128	Presbyterians in Scotland	Messrs. Garth and Guillo.
129	Loyalists in Scotland	Messrs. Gerard and Genkell.
130	Sir Joseph Jekyll, Master of the Rolls	Mr. Gracie.
131	A thousand men	Holland, one piece of.
132	Arms	Herrings.
133	A thousand stand of arms	Herrings, 10 last of.
134	The King	{ Mr. Holloway.
		{ Heer van Flett.
		{ Heer van Rolsie.
135	Queen Mary	{ Mr. Huckle.
		{ Mr. Hutchison.
136	Ormonde	{ Mr. Henduck.
		{ Mr. Hartage.
		{ Heer Hagen.

137 Mar	{ Mr. Hardy. Mr. Holyock. Heer Keuvell.
138 Inese	{ Mr. Herbert. Heer Miranda. Mr. Hatton.
139 Menzies	{ Mr. Heart. Heer van Aller. Heer van Derhouse.
140 Dillon	Mr. Holyday.
141 Paris	Hammersmith.
142 Sir Hugh Paterson	Mr. Harriss.
145 Bishop of Rochester	{ Mr. Hatchet. Mr. Hayton. Heer Janson.
146 Sir R. Everard	{ Mr. Huggens. Heer Toepkine. Mr. Hewitt.
147 Earl of Arran	{ Mr. Higden. Mr. Heyburn.
148 Mr. Hungerford	Mr. Hannett.
149 Capt. Urquhart	Heer Rieboome.
150 Father Græme	Mr. Harvie.
151 Will. Erskine	Heer van Catts.
153 St. Germaines	Hampstead.
154 The Non-jurors	Mr. Hadden.
155 Mr. Hampden	Mr. Henderson.
156 Mr. Pulteney	Mr. Huthcut.
157 Friends in England	Messrs. Johnson and Jerie.
158 Earl of Sunderland	Mr. James.
159 Lord Lovat	Mr. Isaac.
160 Earl of Ilay	Mr. John.
161 Earl of Sutherland	Mr. Jackson.
162 Earl of Oxford	{ Mr. Joseph. Jan de Witte.
163 The Tower	{ Mr. Jefferies. Islington.
164 Amsterdam	Mr. Jamison.
165 Rotterdam	Mr. Jonathan.
166 Plymouth	Mr. Kennett.
167 Portsmouth	Mr. Keer.
168 Hull	Mr. Kerby.
169 Harwich	Mr. Kersie.
170 Dover	Mr. Knight.
171 Liverpool	Mr. King.
172 Capt. Ogilvie	Mr. Keys.
173 Duke of Gordon	Mr. Keary.
174 Macintosh of Borlum	Mr. Killegrew.
175 Lord Seaforth	Mr. Lessiman.
176 Earl Marischal	Mr. Lawrence.
177 Duke of Berwick	Mr. Lamburne.

178 Duke of Perth	Mr. Lame.
179 Charles Kinnaird	Mr. Leviston.
180 Lord Kilsyth	Mr. La Fever.
181 Correspondence	the Linen trade.
182 Earl of Southesk	Mr. Lewis.
183 Earl of Linlithgow	Mr. Lenard.
184 Lord North and Grey	Mr. Mercer.
185 Lord Bolingbroke	Mr. Morton.
186 Duke of Devonshire	Mr. Maynard.
187 Duke of Newcastle	Mr. Maurice.
188 Joseph Addison	Mr. Meyer.
189 Count Gyllenborg	Mr. Mercie.
190 Baron Sparre	Mr. Manwering.
191 Baron Görtz	Mr. Man.
192 M. de Mezières	Mr. Manning.
193 Henry Maule	Mr. Mathews.
194 Earl of Panmure	Mr. Motteux.
195 Duke of Buckingham	Mr. Meuse.
196 Earl of Nottingham	Mr. Moses.
197 Lord Stair	Mr. Mease.
198 Earl of Dundonald	Mr. Made.
199 Earl of Portmore	{ Mr. Nash.
	{ Mr. Nevill.
200 Lord Gower	Mr. Neill.
201 Earl of Strafford	Mr. Nisbett.
202 Mr. Prior	Mr. Norriss.
203 Lord Orford	Mr. Nathaniel.
204 Sir George Byng	Mr. Newcomb.
205 Lord Wharton	Mr. Newton.
206 Restoration, a	Mr. Newland.
207 Lord Dupplin	Mr. Newington.
208 Col. Hay	Mr. Nairn.
209 Mr. Joseph Taylor	Mr. Newbridge.
210 Duke of Atholl	Mr. Osburn.
211 Lord Tullibardine	Mr. Olly.
212 Gen. Gordon	Mr. Ormsby.
213 Col. Clephan	Mr. Oliver.
214 Earl of Breadalbane	Mr. Oriss.
215 Lord Glenorchy	Mr. Oldham.
216 Capt. Thomas Gordon	Mr. Ogle.
217 Glengarry	Mr. Popjoy.
218 Avignon	Mr. Penny.
219 Stockholm	Mr. Pelly.
220 Carlserona	Mr. Piercy.
221 Gottenburg	Mr. Peters.
222 Copenhagen	Mr. Porter.
223 Mecklenburg	Mr. Pluckney.
224 Pesaro	Mr. Prince.
225 A declaration	a picture.
226 Norway	Mr. Parrot.
227 Capt. H. Straiton	Mr. Raisins.

228	Robertson of Struan	Mr. Rochfort.
229	Lord Lansdown	Mr. Rawlins.
230	James Murray	Mr. Robins.
231	The Duke of Shrewsbury	Mr. Rashfield.
232	Sir Constantine Phipps	Mr. Rich.
233	Sir Thomas Hanmer	Mr. Richards.
234	Mr. Bromley	Mr. Roberts.
235	Earl of Anglesey	Mr. Riverts.
236	Lord Harcourt	Mr. Rend.
237	Lord Harley.	Mr. Reed.
238	Duke of Kingston	Mr. Rooke.
239	Sir W. Wyndham	{ Mr. Riven.
		{ Mr. Rogers.
240	Robert Leslie	Mr. Stone.
241	Ezekiel Hamilton	Mr. Schetclif.
242	Sir John Erskine	Mr. St. Lever.
243	Lord Middleton	Mr. Sage.
244	Mr. Cæsar	Mr. Savage.
245	Mr. Charles Leslie	Mr. Steele.
246	Italy	{ Mr. Sidgwick.
		{ Mr. Sutton.
		{ Mr. Stratfield.
247	Dr. Erskine	{ Mr. Shipard. (This is also keyed as the Czar.)
248	Mr. Shippen	{ Mr. Shaw.
		{ Mr. Sute.
249	Rome	Mr. Shard.
250	Sir H. Stirling	Mr. Symonson.
251	Mr. Lechmere	Mr. Spirling.
252	David Floyd	Mr. Smith.
253	Lord Mansell	Mr. Spencer.
254	Duke of Powis	Mr. Sterry.
255		Stocks.
256		Stockjobber.
257		South Sea.
258	King of Prussia	{ Mr. Thornhill.
		{ Mr. Terry.
259	Mr. Downs	Mr. Torine.
260	Duke of Tuscany	Mr. Tyrill.
261	The King's service	{ Trade.
		{ Traffic.
262	Lord Parker	Mr. Toriano.
263	Money	tea.
264	1,000 <i>l</i> .	a pound of tea.
265	The French ambassador in London	Mr. Walker.
266	Mr. Methuen	Mr. Wigley.
267	Duke of Florence	Mr. Wills.
268	James Hamilton	Mr. James Wilkinson.

There is also a figure cipher and any Christian name beginning with A means the Queen.

”	B	”	Elector of Hanover.
”	C	”	Prince of Hanover.
”	D	”	Dillon.
”	E	”	Menzies.
”	F	”	Mar.
”	G	”	King of Sweden.
”	H	”	England.
”	I	”	France.
”	K	”	Scotland.
”	L	”	Ireland.
”	M	”	The Czar.
”	N	”	Holland.
”	O	”	Lord Oxford.
”	P	”	The King.
”	Q	”	Religion.
”	R	”	Parliament.
”	S	”	Ormonde.
”	T	”	The Regent.
”	U	”	the Emperor.
”	W	”	Inese.
”	X	”	a declaration.
”	Y	”	an invasion.
”	Z	”	the Bishop of Rochester.

A separate paper contains some names in one of Menzies' new ciphers.

Lord Churchill *i.e.* Marl-

borough

Lord Townshend

Mr. Stanhope

Walpole

Cadogan

Argyle

Lord Sunderland

Lord Hay

Lord Oxford

The King

The Queen

Ormonde

Mar

Monsr. de la Cruce.

Gerard Roeters.

Huckle.

Hardy.

Nisbett.

Arthur.

Sutton.

Bread.

{ Olley.
Plunckny.

{ Heer Seabrook.

{ Monsr. Nicholas Duprise.

{ Cleave.

{ Jan de Witte.

{ Joseph Mercy.

{ Alcorn.

{ Gathard.

{ Hagen.

{ Meyer.

{ Walton.

{ Crowder.

{ Griffith.

{ James Berdo.

Inese	{ Heer van Aller. Hutchison. Rivers.
Charles Kinnaird	{ De la Rue. Joseph Culmer.
Lord Portmore	{ Maurice. Brownsword.
Lord Arran	{ Sidgwick. Emmot.
Lord Wharton	{ Tourain. Isaac Mercer.
Sir W. Wyndham	{ Heer Toepkin. Bowles. Holloway.
Menzies	{ Beausils. Van du bourg. Morton.
Lord Dupplin	{ Farwell. David Waldo.
Bishop of Rochester	{ Bostock. Steele.
Capt. H. Straiton	{ Black. Ormsby.
Lord Lansdown	{ James Maynard.
James Murray	{ Rooke.
Duke of Shrewsbury	{ Wigley. Savage.
Sir R. Everard	{ Banister. Tuchin.
James Hamilton	{ John Eelkine.

In addition there are a certain number of cipher names in the correspondence with Menzies which are not given in these two keys, but many of them are keyed in the letters themselves. Where the interpretation is a guess, it is put in italics. They are as follows :—

Barker	stands for	Lord North and Grey.
Brank	"	Lord Strafford.
Bullock	"	Charles Cæsar.
Carny	"	Lord Carnwath.
Campbell } Churchill }	"	James Hamilton.
Carss	"	<i>Charles Kinnaird.</i>
Creane	"	Archbishop of Canterbury.
Dampré	"	the Regent.
de Prie	"	Mar.
Driver	"	the army.
Derk, Mynheer	"	Duke of Berwick.
Dutton	"	Dillon.
Gardiner	"	Menzies.
2 gallons of brandy	"	2,000 <i>l.</i>

Garford	stands for the Regent.
Holyock	„ King of Sweden.
John Smith	
Kemp	„ C. Kinnaird.
King	„ a Tory.
Le Brun	„ Capt. Ogilvie.
Morpeth	„ James Murray.
Morris	„ Mar.
Muslin	„ money.
O'Neal	„ Lord Oxford.
Oldfield	„ Anne Oglethorpe.
Onslow	„ Ormonde.
Primrose	„ Lord Oxford.
Robins	„ Holland.
Shard	„ Prince of Wales. (This also stands for Rome.)
Strong waters	„ money.
Stubbs	„ Monsr. St. Amand.
Swift	„ Mrs. Ogilvie.
Thompson	„ C. Kinnaird.
Tracy	„ a Tory.
Willoby	„ Craggs.

The following is the cipher used between Mar and Capt. Harry Straiton, the Jacobite agent in Scotland.

A		A		A	
King	Augustus of Poland..	Archbald.	
The Duke of		{	Argyle	Arbuthnot.	
			Atholl	Ashton.	
The Marquess of			Annandale	Abercromby.	
		{	Anglesea	Agnes.	
The Earl of			Abingdon	Ashby.	
			Aberdeen	Abell.	
Of Scotland	..		Advocate	Appleton.	
			Army.	Alexander.	
			Armies	Anderson.	
English	}			Antony.	
Scots				Andrew.	
French				Allester.	
Confederate				Agneu.	
Dutch				Abraham.	
			Arms	Anchoves.	
			Ammunition.	Armstrong.	
The	Allies	Ashburnham.	
The	abjuration	Anabaptist.	
An	address	Addison.	
The	admiral	Amy.	
Arthur	Anglely	Allen.	
Francis	Anglely	Attwoode.	
Steuart | of	Appine	Ashdale.	
B		B		B	
Great	Britain	Barbara.	

The Duchy of	..	Bavaria	..	..	Barbor, Mr.
		Bavarians	..	..	Bruce.
		Battle	..	..	Brandy.
		Brest	..	..	Benson.
		Bishops	..	..	Black.
of	{	Canterbury			{ Burtch.
		York			Beatley.
		London			Baily.
		Rochester			Brent.
		Edinburgh			Brewer.
		Bishop	..	..
		Bavaria	..	..	Boucher.
		Berwick	..	..	Burton.
		Beaufort	..	..	Baxter.
The Duke of		Bedford	..	..	Blondell.
		Bolton	..	..	Bridgett.
		Buckingham.	..	..	Banks.
		Berkshire	..	..	Bings.
		Bath .	..	..	Bolton.
The Earl of		Balcarras	..	..	Burnet.
		Breadalbane.	..	..	Blackwell.
Lord	..	Balmerino	..	..	Bennett.
Mr. Dougal Stuart		Blairhall	..	..	Briggs.
Mr.	..	Bromley	..	..	Broun.
Ogilby of	..	Boyne	..	..	Burley.
of Carleys	..	Burnett	..	..	Buller.
Captain John	..	Bruce	..	..	Blaithwayt.
Mr. Secretary	..	Boyle	..	..	Boswell.
of England, The	..	Bank	..	..	Boudler.

C

C

C

of Muscovy, The	..	Czar	..	..	Cofield.
of Spain	..	Charles	..	..	Courtley.
The Prince of		Condé	..	..	Castle.
		Conti	..	..	Charters.
Monsieur	..	Chamillard	..	..	Cooper.
Chancellor or keeper		Chancellor	..	..	Coudain.
		Carlisle	..	..	Cary.
The Earl of	..	Crawford	..	..	Cleveland.
		Carnwath	..	..	Cornhill.
		Cromarty	..	..	Campion.
The Lord	..	Craven	..	..	Chester, Mr.
		Clermont	..	..	Cutts.
Archibald	..	Campbell	..	..	Crew.
Mr. Jeremy	..	Collier	..	..	Cressy.
University of	..	Cambridge	..	..	Cambden.
of Killrui, Wm.	..	Cochran	..	..	Cumming.
Father	..	Carnagy	..	..	Cotton.
the Captain of	..	Clanranald	..	..	Charleton.
Highland	..	Clans	..	..	College, Mr.
The Scots, West	..	Coast	..	..	Crofts, Mr.

The party of the ..	{	Court ..	..	Cramond.
		Country ..	..	Cant.
English }		Commons ..	..	{ Christopher.
Scots }				{ Charles.
The ..		Cavaliers ..	..	Couley.
of England }	the	Church ..	..	Craufurd.
of Scotland }		Church ..	..	Cook.
High }				{ Christian.
Low }		Church ..	..	{ Craig.
In General ..		Clergy ..	..	Chalmers.
English }		Clergy ..	..	{ Churchill.
Scots }				{ Crow.
A		Commission ..	..	A cane.
The		Covenant ..	..	Collier.
		Covenanters ..	..	Crichton.
of Carsland ..		Carr (spy) ..	..	Coulter.

D

D

D

The		Dauphin ..	..	Davis.
The Kingdom of ..		Denmark ..	..	Dolben.
The		Danes ..	..	Deborah.
The		Dutch ..	..	Dalton.
		Dunkirk ..	..	Davison.
The Duke of ..		Devonshire ..	..	Dryver, Mr.
The Marquess of ..		Dorchester ..	..	Dinah.
Earl of		Denbigh ..	..	Deans.
Mr.		Dillon ..	..	Duburge.
The Lord ..	{	Drummond ..	..	Duncan.
		Dartmouth ..	..	David.
Castle of		Dumbarton ..	..	Duns, Mr.
A		descent ..	..	Dundass.
One thousand ..		dragoons ..	..	Damask, one yard
				or ell.
The		dissenters ..	..	Duncomb.
Earl of		Dumfermline ..	..	Don.

E

E

E

The		Emperor ..	..	Edward
		Episcopacy ..	..	Evans.
The Kingdom of ..		England ..	..	Eden.
The		English ..	..	Edgar.
The north }				{ Eleanor.
The west }	of	England ..	..	{ Ellys.
The plantations ..		English ..	..	Epsom.
The city of ..		Edinburgh ..	..	Edmiston.
The castle of ..		Edinburgh ..	..	Elizabeth
Prince		Eugene ..	..	Elliot.
		Exeter ..	..	Eyres, Mr.
The Earl of	{	Erroll ..	..	Eupham.
		Eglington ..	..	Elphingstone.
The Countess of ..		Erroll ..	..	Egerton.

Sir William	..	Ellis	..	..	Etheridge.
Sir John	..	Erskine	..	..	Errington.

F

F

F

Kingdom of	..	France	..	..	Freeman.
The	..	French	..	..	Fox.
Monsieur	..	Fourbine	..	..	Flamstead.
		Flanders		..	Falmouth.
of Forth, the	..	Firth	..	..	Francis.
Dumbarton	..	Firth	..	..	Frederick.
Murray	..	Firth	..	..	Forden.
A	..	Fleet	..	..	Fisher.
English	}	fleet	..	..	Farmer.
French					Forrester.
Dutch					Frankland.
a thousand soldiers		Foot	..	..	A flask of wine.
Mr. Charles	..	Fleeming	..	..	Frazer.
Mr. Robert	..	Ferguson	..	..	Felton.
of Poury	..	Fotheringham	..	..	Foley.
Lady	..	Frescheville	..	..	Farrington.

G

G

G

The Empire of	..	Germany	..	..	Gloucester.
the	..	Germans	..	..	Gunter.
The Duke of	{	Grafton	..	..	Gregg.
		Gordon	..	..	Gray.
the Duchess of	..	Gordon	..	..	George.
the Earl of	..	Godolphin	..	..	Green
	{	Guilford	..	..	Gesling.
		Guernsey	..	..	Grasier, Mr.
The Lord		..	Gower	Grindall.
		Griffith	Graham.
		Gray (of Scotland)	..	..	Guy.
the Master of	..	Gray	..	..	Guant, Mr.
Horse	}	guards	..	..	Guandy.
Foot					Gold.	
A	..	general	..	..	Gibson.
English	}	government	..	..	Guthry.
Scots					Griffell.	
Irish					Goar.	
English	}	gentry	..	..	Grizell.
Scots					Grace.	
Irish					Gull.	
Town of	..	Glasgow	..	..	Gillespie.
A	..	garrison	..	..	Gullen.
Of Grant	..	Grant	..	..	Gilbert.
Advocate, Mr. James	..	Graham, senior	..	..	Gwyne.
Doctor	..	Gray	..	..	Gibb.
Mr. James	..	Gadderar	..	..	Gilchrist.

H			H			H		
the States of	..	..	Holland	..	..	Hodges.		
Duke of	..	..	Holland	..	..	Hobbs.		
Marquess of	..	..	Hamilton	..	..	Holmes.		
Earl of	..	..	Huntly	..	..	Hammond.		
Lord	..	..	Home	..	..	Harvey.		
The	..	..	Haversham	..	..	Heastings.		
The	..	..	Highlands	..	..	Harper.		
The	..	..	Highlanders	..	..	Hutcheson.		
Lords	}		House	..	..	Hyslope.		
Commons						Hillson.		
Mr.	..	..	Harley	..	..	Henderson.		
Colonel	..	..	Hooke	..	..	Hill.		
Sir Simon	..	..	Harcourt	..	..	Harbottle.		
Sir Thomas	..	..	Hanmer	..	..	Hartford, Mr.		
Doctor	..	..	Hickes	..	..	Hilyard.		
			Horses	..	..	Heifers.		
a thousand	..	..	Horsemens	..	..	Herrings one barrel.		
J			J			J		
East	}		Indies	..	..	Jeweller, Mr.		
West						Jumper, Mr.		
The East	..	..	India Company	..	..	Jesper, Mr.		
The Kingdom of	..	..	Ireland	..	..	John.		
English	}					James.		
Scots			Irish	..	..	Jeremy.		
Natives						Jacob.		
			Italy	..	..	Jarden.		
The Earl of	..	..	Jersey	..	..	Irton.		
Steuart of	..	..	Illy	..	..	Johnston.		
Father	..	..	Innernitty	..	..	Jeffreys.		
an	..	..	Inese	..	..	Jackson.		
an	..	..	Invasion	..	..	Jamieson.		
			Indemnity	..	..	Isabella.		
			Instructions	..	..	Indentures.		
The	..	..	Juncto	..	..	Jean.		
The	..	..	Junctillo	..	..	Joab.		
			Inverlochy	..	..	Joseph.		
English	}		Jacobites	..	..	Jannet.		
Scots						Jenkins.		
K			K			K		
A	..	..	King	..	..	Kidder.		
James	..	..	King	..	..	Knox or Kirkton.		
French	}					Kennedy.		
Spanish, Phi[lip]						Kemp.		
Portuguese						Kirk, Mr.		
Swedish			King	..	..	Knowles.		
Danish						Kelly.		
Prussian						Kidd.		
Polish, Stan[islaus]					Kinross, Mr.			

Earl of ..	..	Kinnoull ..	..	King, Mr.
Viscount of ..	..	Killsyth ..	..	Kendall.
The Scots ..	..	Kirk ..	..	Kerby.
Mr. Charles ..	..	Kinnaird ..	..	Knightly.
Doctor ..	..	Kenyon ..	..	Kingston.
McDonald of ..	..	Keppoch ..	..	Knaveacre.

L

L

L

Princess ..	..	Louisa ..	..	Lauder.
the duchy of ..	..	Lorraine ..	..	Levant.
the Duke of	{	Lorraine ..	..	Laton.
Marquess of ..	{	Leeds ..	..	Little John.
	{	Lothian ..	..	Land.
Earl of	{	Lerchfield (Lichfield)	..	Lechmore.
	{	Linlithgow ..	..	Lough.
	{	Leven ..	..	Littleton.
of Carnwath, Mr. .	..	Lockhart ..	..	Lamb.
Cameron of ..	..	Lochiell ..	..	Lang.
Mr. Charles ..	..	Lesly ..	..	Lighton.
Captain David ..	..	Loyd ..	..	Liddell.
		Loyd, younger	..	Leak.
of Aughterhouse ..	..	Lyon ..	..	Lewis.
the city of ..	..	London ..	..	Leicester.
Mr. ..	..	Lawes ..	..	Laurence.

M

M

M

		Monarchy	Methven.
Madam ..	..	Maintenon ..	..	Merideth.
the Duchess of ..	..	Marlborough	..	Monteith.
Duke of	{	Marlborough	..	Melvill.
	{	Montrose ..	..	Martine.
	{	Melfort ..	..	Morison.
	{	Middleton ..	..	Manly.
Earl of	{	Marishall ..	..	Mitchell.
	{	Murray ..	..	Mercer.
	{	Mar ..	..	Montague.
	{	Middleton ..	..	Mary.
the Countess of	{	Marishall ..	..	Minster.
	{	Murray ..	..	Maud.
	{	Moscow ..	..	Monmouth.
The ..	..	Muscovites	..	Mackfarline.
Captain James ..	..	Murray ..	..	Monkton.
Captain Robert ..	..	Murray ..	..	Morrice.
General ..	..	Maitland ..	..	Mushett.
General ..	..	Murray ..	..	Mead.
Mrs. ..	..	Masham ..	..	Moore
		Money ..	..	Muslin.
		Manifesto ..	..	Manufacture.
A ..	..	messenger ..	..	Meldrum.
John ..	..	Menzies ..	..	Murray.
Mr. Henry ..	..	Maule ..	..	Mordaunt.

Mr. Charles	..	Middleton	..	..	Marjory.
Sir John	..	McLean	..	..	Mall.
Sir Donald	..	McDonald	..	..	Magnus.
Colonel	..	McIntosh	..	..	Masterton.
Gaven	..	Mason	..	..	Montgomery.
Mr. John	..	Manly	..	..	Manson.
a	..	man of war	..	..	Mistress.
Sir George	..	Maxwell	..	..	Mearns, Mr.
Captain	..	McDonald in			
		France	..	..	Merton, Mr.
Mr. James	..	Murray	..	..	Mr. Morpeth.

N

N

N

Duke of	..	..	{	Norfolk	..	..	Naball.
				Newcastle	..	..	Neucomb.
				Northumberland	..	..	Northall.
Earl of	..	..	{	Northampton	..	..	Ninian.
				Nottingham	..	..	Neuton.
Lord	..	..		Nairn	..	..	Nicholson.
Lady	..	..		Nairn	..	..	Neill.
Mr.	..	..		Nelson	..	..	Norman.

O

O

O

Duke of	..	..	{	Orleans	..	..	Okely.
				Ormonde	..	..	Offield.
university of	..	..		Oxford	..	..	Orlando.
Earl of	..	..		Orkney	..	..	Ogle.
Lord	..	..		Oliphant	..	..	Oglevie.
Cockburn of	..	..		Ormiston	..	..	Orr.
				Oaths	..	..	Oates, Mr.
one	..	..		officers	..	..	Oysters one barrel.

P

P

P

The Kingdom of	..	..		Poland	..	..	Porterfield.
Kingdom of	..	..		Portugal	..	..	Pierpoynt.
„ of	..	..		Prussia	..	..	Parker.
Duke of	..	..		Perth	..	..	Palms.
				Plymouth	..	..	Peirson.
				Peterborough	..	..	Park.
				Portland	..	..	Patter.
Earl of	..	..	{	Paulett	..	..	Prentice.
				Panmure	..	..	Painter.
				Portmore	..	..	Paxton.
City of	..	..		Paris	..	..	Peter.
Sir John	..	..		Packington	..	..	Pitcher.
Sir Hugh	..	..		Paterson	..	..	Pellam.
English	..	..		Presbyterian	..	..	Puffen.
Scots	..	..					Paton.
				Presbytery	..	..	Purvess.
A general	..	..		peace	..	..	Putney.
				Parliament	..	..	Patrick.
A	..	..		plot	..	..	Pendarvice.

A	prison	Paul.
Lords	Presbyterian ..	Powell.
Commons }		Porter.
English }	Peers	Pitts.
Scots }		Paulett.
Irish }		Pratt.
The		Puddle, Mr.
	Pope	Pullen.
	Popery	Pringle.
	Papists	Peacock.
English }	Papists	Perkin.
Scots }		Pithy, Mr.
Irish }		Parsons.
	Protestants ..	Palmer.
religion	Protestant ..	
between Sweden		
and Denmark ..	Peace	Paterson.
between France		
and Savoy	Peace	Preston.
One thousand ..	pounds	Pilchards 1,000.
Q	Q	Q
mother	Queen	Quails.
Anne	Queen	Quanton.
Duke of	Queensberry ..	Quaker.
R	R	R
Monsieur	Rhenaudot ..	Red.
Duke of	Richmond	Redding.
	Roxburgh	Rogers.
	Rivers	Rowley.
Earl of	Rochester	Ramsay.
	Roths	Rew.
	Revolution ..	Robert.
	Rebellion	Ratclieff.
	Republick	Russell.
	Republicans ..	Richard.
	Restoration ..	Robison.
	Religion	Rollo.
	Rait, Alexander ..	Raintell.
S	S	S
The Kingdom of ..	Spain	Sandy.
	Spaniards	Sommerville.
Kingdom of	Sweden	Susan.
	Swedes	Steell.
Kingdom of	Scotland	Stanhope.
	Scotishmen ..	Scrimger.
	Switzerland ..	Swift.
	St. Germain's ..	Stapleton.
Duke of	Savoy	South, Mr.
duchy of	Savoy	Samuell.

the	..	..	Savoyards	..	..	Sanderson.
Duke of	..	..	{ Somerset	..	..	Strange.
			{ St. Albans	..	..	Sutton.
			{ Salisbury	..	..	Strong.
			{ Sunderland	..	..	Scougall.
			{ Scarsdale	..	..	Stagg.
			{ Scarborough	..	..	Shepherd.
Earl of	..	..	{ Shaftesbury	..	..	Seagrave.
			{ Strathmore	..	..	Seymour.
			{ Seaforth	..	..	Skipper.
			{ Southesk	..	..	Sharp.
			{ Seafield	..	..	St. John's.
			{ Stair	..	..	Swinton.
Viscount of	..	..	Stormont	..	..	Smith.
Master of	..	..	Stormont	..	..	Sutler.
			{ Stawell	..	..	Stucbridge.
The Lord of	..	..	{ Somers	..	..	Sanders.
			{ St. Clair	..	..	Symons.
Master of	..	..	St. Clair	..	..	Sidley.
The Scots	..	..	Session	..	..	St. Clair.
the president of	..	..	Session	..	..	Sackville.
North	}	of	Scotland	..	..	Stephen.
South						Stephenson.
West						St. Albans.
			Ships	..	..	Shoes.
A	..	..	Spy	..	..	Strickland.
Sir James	..	..	Stuart	..	..	Slaughter.
Captain H.	..	..	Straiton	..	..	Simson.
Mr. Joseph	..	..	Stafford	..	..	Sherwood.
Doctor	..	..	Sacheverell	..	..	Scott.
Mr. Alexander	..	..	Seymour	..	..	Slater, Mr.
Mr. John	..	..	Sage	..	..	Sandylands.
Doctor	..	..	Scot	..	..	Stonehouse, Mr.
Castle of	..	..	Stirling	..	..	Stout.

T

T

T

The	..	..	Turks	..	..	Trelawny.
The river	..	..	Thames	..	..	Trout.
Duchess of	..	..	Tyrconnell	..	..	Tilney.
Marquess of	..	..	Tweeddale	..	..	Turner.
Monsieur	..	..	Torcy	..	..	Thomas.
Earl of	..	..	{ Torrington	..	..	Tracy.
			{ Traquaire	..	..	Trevour.
Viscount of	..	..	{ Townshend	..	..	Titcomb.
			{ Tiviot	..	..	Tanker.
John	..	..	Tradenham	..	..	Trimnell.
In general	..	..	Tories	..	..	Trotter.
English	}	..	Tories	..	..	Thomson.
Scots						Tredenham.
			Toleration	..	..	Townshend.

W		W		W
Maréchal ..	..	Villers ..	..	Vere.
Duke of ..	..	Vendosme ..	..	[Illegible.]
		Venice ..	..	Viner.
The ..	..	Union ..	..	Underhill.
		Wharton ..	..	Wyndham.
Earl of ..	..	Wigton ..	..	Webb.
		Weems ..	..	West, Mr.
Viscount of ..	..	Weymouth ..	..	Wainwright.
in general ..	..	Whigs ..	..	Wishart.
English }		Whigs ..	..	{ Watson.
Scots }				{ Wallpooll.
Myneer ..	..	William ..	..	Wormes, Mr.
		War ..	..	Weemes.

There are also a few ciphers not in the key, some of which are keyed as follows :—

Bates	stands for	Bolingbroke.
Eaton	„	Bishop of Edinburgh.
Grim	„	Glengarry.
Hunter	„	Lord Huntly.
Johnny	„	<i>Mar.</i>
Killegrew }		
Knight }	„	the King.
Matson	„	Menzies.
Mobbranch	„	Macleod.
Morrison	„	<i>Mar.</i>
Ord	„	Campbell of Ormadale.
Pitt	„	
Uberton	„	<i>the Union.</i>

In letters to Father Inese in Vols. II and III some additional ciphers occur as follows :—

Adamson	stands for	the army.
Barnes	„	Duke of Berwick.
Crichton	„	Clanranald.
Dobbins	„	the Dutch.
Elsmore }		
Esther }	„	England.
Foord	„	the French.
Forbes	„	Capt. Straiton.
Frank	„	the King.
Gray	„	<i>King George.</i>
Haly	„	King George.
Howe	„	Lord Oxford.
Jenkins	„	Inese.
Joseph	„	the King.
Keith }		
Knowles }	„	the King.
Manning	„	the King.
Martel	„	Middleton.
Meffen	„	<i>Mar.</i>

Moore	stands for Earl Marischal.
Netencoure	„ <i>David Nairne.</i>
Newton	„ <i>David Nairne.</i>
Oram	„ <i>Cockburn of Ormiston.</i>
Pastow	„
Pillmer	„
Scot	„ <i>H. Straiton.</i>
Seaton	„ <i>Lord Stormont.</i>
Stapleton	„ <i>Bolingbroke.</i>
Stirling	„ <i>The Scots.</i>
Stewart	„ <i>Scotland.</i>

Key to the figure cipher used with this cipher.

<i>a.</i>	<i>b.</i>	<i>c.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>e.</i>	<i>f.</i>	<i>g.</i>	<i>h.</i>	<i>i.</i>	<i>k.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>m.</i>	<i>n.</i>
12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
63	62	61	60	59	58	57	56	55	54	53	52	51
<i>o.</i>	<i>p.</i>	<i>q.</i>	<i>r.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>t.</i>	<i>u.</i>	<i>v.</i>	<i>w.</i>	<i>x.</i>	<i>y.</i>	<i>z.</i>	<i>æ.</i>
25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37
38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50

The cipher used by the Earl of Oxford, Anne Oglethorpe, and Capt. and Mrs. Ogilvie is as follows :—

Adamson	stands for Mar.
Alan	„ <i>The King.</i>
Albert	
Allin	„ <i>Lord Arran.</i>
Anderson	„ <i>King of Spain.</i>
Anegle	„ <i>Lord Harcourt.</i>
Apothecaries	„ <i>Tories.</i>
Armure	„ <i>King of Sweden.</i>
Bailiffs	„ <i>Court Whigs.</i>
Banks	„ <i>W. Gordon.</i>
Barbados	„ <i>Sweden.</i>
Barnes	„ <i>Anne Oglethorpe.</i>
Batertoun	„ <i>M. de Torcy.</i>
Beane	
Bing	„ <i>Lord Bingley.</i>
Black	„ <i>Lord Middleton.</i>
Brait	„ <i>Sir G. Byng.</i>
Brandy	„ <i>arms.</i>
Brantford	„ <i>the Duke of Buckingham.</i>
Brecy	„ <i>Lord Bingley.</i>
Brut	„ <i>England.</i>
Butterwig	„ <i>Mr. Cæsar.</i>
Calendar	„ <i>Marquis de Mezières.</i>
Carnation	„ <i>Lord Oxford.</i>
Clear	
Chancellor	„ <i>Lord Cadogan.</i>

Chester	stands for Sir Redmond Everard.
China	money.
Coalworth	the Catholic princes.
Colsan	the English Catholics.
Comedy or play	a declaration.
Coningham	King of Sicily.
Crescit	<i>Mar.</i>
Crocodiles	Court Whigs.
Cudle	the Clyde.
Danton	Dillon.
Darby	<i>Mar.</i>
Dark	Sir T. Hanmer.
Davison	Ormonde.
Denby	Bishop of Rochester.
Denison	Lord Dupplin.
Dickson	Macmahon.
Dompont	the Princes of Europe.
Dormer	Duke of Berwick.
Doun	Scotland.
Dutton	Lord Dartmouth.
Epsom	<i>London.</i>
Errington	the Emperor.
Fair	King of France.
Faithful	<i>Mrs. Ogilvie.</i>
Faun	Walpole and his party.
Fiar	Argyle.
Fidelia	Anne Oglethorpe.
Flint	Bishop of Rochester.
Flush	King of Sweden.
Flies	Walpole and his party.
Fowler	Sir R. Everard.
French wine	troops.
Frie	Ireland.
Furbe	Bolingbroke.
Furbin	France.
Gardiner	Görtz (Lord Jersey in key).
Garnbull	religion.
Ganymede	<i>Mrs. Ogilvie.</i>
Goodman	Bishop of Rochester.
Gower	the King.
Greenwich	<i>London.</i>
Haberdashers	the Tories.
Haer	Prince of Wales.
Halles	<i>the Dissenting Whigs.</i>
Hardie	the King.
Harris	Electeur of Hesse.
Health, state of	religion.
Holland	letters.
Hollins	Holland.
Hook	Thomas Harley.

Hoot	stands for Lord Stanhope.
Hopes	„ <i>the King.</i>
Humphries	„ <i>Dillon.</i>
Indian stuffs or goods	„ <i>letters.</i>
Innes	„ Inverness.
Interloper	„ Usurper.
Jameson	„ Ormonde.
Jenkins	„ Italy.
Jennings	„ Duke of Berwick.
Jobson	„ Inese.
Jolly	„ Mar.
Johnson	„ <i>Kelly.</i>
Jones	„ Sir John Jennings.
Knighton	„
Knock	„ Lord Arran.
Lace	„ <i>letters.</i>
Lacy	„ London.
Lacquer	„ money.
Lambert	„ King of Sweden.
Latmor	„ Duke of Berwick.
Leaches	„ Court Whigs.
Lee	„ Lord Lansdown.
Lemond	„ Macmahon.
Le Blanc	„
Le Brun	„ Capt. Ogilvie.
Lendel	„ Erasmus Lewis.
Lilly	„ the Regent.
Little	„ King of Spain.
Liverpool	„ Sir R. Everard.
Macqueen	„ Menzies.
Manly	„ Queen Mary.
Mark	„ King of Sicily.
Marseilles	„ <i>Pesaro.</i>
Marwood	„ James Murray.
Mash	„ Lord Mansell.
Monro	„ King of Sweden.
Moore	„ King of Spain.
Morley	„ Menzies.
Mortimer	„ Marquis de Mezières.
Mungo }	„ Macmahon.
Munson }	
Muslin	„ <i>letter.</i>
Nature	„ money.
Nebuchadnezzar	„ Walpole and his party.
Noble	„ Lord Nottingham.
Orocke	„ Lord Orford.
Oston	„ Lord Orrery.
Ould	„ Lord Middleton.
Painter	„ Lord Portmore.
Paterson }	„ M. de Torcy.
Piercie }	

Peters	stands for	King of Poland.
Pilkins	„	Sir C. Phipps.
Pink	„	the Regent.
Plenty }	„	Lord Carnarvon.
Profuse }	„	Paris.
Polton	„	Lord Poulett.
Pomfret	„	the Elector Palatine.
Pratt	„	the Parliament.
Preston	„	Matthew Prior.
Priest	„	Lord Oxford.
Primrose	„	the King.
Randell	„	ammunition.
Rice	„	<i>London.</i>
Richmond	„	the Regent.
Rose	„	Marlborough.
Rouke	„	Bishop of Rochester.
Rowland	„	Court Whigs.
Sergeants	„	Baron Sparre.
Shroud	„	Macmahon.
Shure	„	Duke of Shrewsbury.
Smouth	„	Lord Arran.
South	„	Lord Harcourt.
Spiteful	„	Sir T. Hanmer.
Starch	„	Lord Stawell.
Stepney	„	King of Sicily.
Stout	„	Bolingbroke.
Suck	„	Lord Townshend.
Stye or Slye	„	Mrs. Ogilvie.
Mrs. Swift	„	the Tower.
Tait	„	Mr. Cæsar.
Tavistock	„	Charles Leslie.
Tickler	„	Ezekiel Hamilton.
Toures	„	Tories.
Trustees	„	Ormonde.
Trusty	„	Lady Westmorland.
Twitty	„	Lord Harcourt.
Ungrateful	„	the King.
Wall	„	Lord Arran.
West	„	Ormonde.
Whitely }	„	Capt. Ogilvie.
Wight }	„	Mr. Cæsar.
Wilson	„	Anne Oglethorpe.
Windom	„	King George.
Withely	„	the Czar.
Worthie	„	
Woulfe	„	
Zelford	„	

Key to the letter cipher used with this cipher.

a b c d e f g h i k l m n
p q o t r s w v u & x y z

Key to the figure cipher used with this cipher.

17	18	19	16	15	14	13	10	11	12	31	33	32
a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m	n
39	48	49	46	45	44	43	25	26	23	21	22	
o	p	q	r	s	t	u	w	x	y	z	&	

The cipher used by Sir Hugh Paterson and Mr. Jerningham is as follows :—

Adams	stands for	Menzies.
Ailmer	„	Lord Ailesbury.
Aleppo	„	the Alps.
Anderson	„	the French minister in Holland.
Anster	„	the gentry.
Archbold	„	the inferior clergy.
Ashton	„	the nobility.
Atkins	„	Sir H. Paterson.
Bailie	„	<i>the Baltic.</i>
Bairly	„	the French Court.
Baker	„	the Spanish ministry.
Bandon	„	M. de Wilda.
Barckman	„	Amsterdam.
Barry	„	M. de Prié.
Beans	„	a friend at the Emperor's Court.
Befort	„	Queen of Sicily.
Bell	„	States of Utrecht.
Bently	„	Pesaro.
Bernard	„	<i>Col. O'Berne.</i>
Biggs	„	men.
Bigsby	„	Baron Schapiroff.
Binson	„	the Sicilian minister in Holland.
Binton	„	the clans.
Black	„	Poniatowski.
Blair	„	the Turk.
Blake	„	the French minister to England.
Blundell	„	Copenhagen.
Blunt	„	the Czar.
Bonner	„	T. Bruce.
Boswall	„	<i>John Hamilton.</i>
Bourgate	„	The Hague.
Brady	„	the Spanish minister to England.
Brandon	„	Marlborough.
Brandy, a bottle of	„	1,000 horse.
Bromley	„	Mr. Southcot.
Broomer	„	the Emperor's minister to Paris.
Brughtoun	„	Switzerland.

Bubb	stands for	Capt. H. Straiton.
Burnet	„	Prince Kurakin.
Burton	„	Mrs. Robertson.
Cassidy	„	a journey.
Chancellor	„	Lord Balmerino.
Chitwen	„	Reval.
Church	„	the Nuncio at Brussels.
Coal	„	Liége.
Cobler	„	Cadogan.
Connor	„	the Pensionary.
Coppinger	„	Italy.
Corbet	„	Vienna.
Crafton	„	the Regent.
Craigton	„	Edinburgh.
Cransbury	„	Leyden.
Crington	„	the Spanish minister to France.
Crosby	„	the King's enemies in England.
Cross	„	W. Gordon. (This also stands for Carlsrona.)
Daly	„	friends in Scotland.
Darling	„	the bishops.
Davies	„	the Czar.
Davys	„	Lord Middleton.
Dempster	„	Mr. Westcombe.
Denison	„	Mar.
Digby	„	Inese.
Dormer	„	Riga.
Douglas	„	Lord Peterborough.
Doyle	„	C. Erskine.
Dudley	„	Duke of Perth.
Drummer	„	Mr. Hammond.
Duncan	„	Brigadier Campbell.
Duterye	„	Bavaria.
Dutton	„	Count Velling.
Eagle	„	Prince Eugene.
Elliott	„	the Emperor.
Farmer	„	W. Fraser.
Ferris	„	the Landgrave of Hesse.
Fielding	„	the King of Poland.
Finick	„	the Pope.
Finnel	„	the Sicilian minister in England.
Floyd	„	Bolingbroke.
Fly	„	a man-of-war.
Forrest	„	D. Floyd.
Fox	„	the Sicilian minister in France.
Frank	„	Robert Boyd.
Freeman	„	the Convocation.

Friend	stands for Ostend.
Frost	„ States of Zealand.
Fuller	„ Col. Falconbridge.
Gage	„ Lübeck.
Gardener	„ Görtz.
George	„ States of Friesland.
Gibbons	„ peace.
Ginkle	„ Church of England.
Glasgo	„ King of Prussia.
Gloster	„ Elector Palatine.
Gould	„ the States General.
Greene	„ Inverlochy.
Grimston	„ Avignon.
Grove	„ General Rank.
Hall	„ Lord Stair.
Haly	„ King George.
Hammer	„ House of Lords.
Hardy	„ Stockholm.
Harrys	„ H. Maule.
Hastings	„ Dutch minister in Eng land.
Herford	„ Lord Nottingham.
Herrings	„ arms.
„ , a barrel of,	„ 1,000 men.
Higgins	„ war.
Hindon	„ Sir H. Stirling.
Holland	„ the Dutch minister in France.
Holmes	„ England.
Hooker	„ G. Jerningham.
Hornby	„ Holstein minister in Holland.
House	„ transports.
Howard	„ Utrecht.
Humphrey	„ King of Denmark.
Hunter	„ Capt. Thomas Gordon.
Hurley	„ Parliament.
Ingoldsby	„ the Emperor.
Jasper	„ Lord Grange.
Jeffrey	„ Dr. Jerningham.
Jennings	„ Queen Mary.
Johnson	„ Duke of Berwick.
Kennedy	„ King of Spain.
Key	„ Nieuport.
Kidd	„ Admiral Padon.
King	„ Bishop of Edinburgh.
Kingston	„ Ireland.
Kirkton	„ Elector of Bavaria.
Knight	„ the Bavarian minister at the Hague.
Kulliford	„ C. Kinnaird.

Lacy	stands for	Tullibardine.
Lally	"	Brussels.
Lambert	"	Dillon.
Landeskin	"	treaty.
Landson	"	the Swedish ministry.
Lawson	"	James Murray. (This also stands for Lund in Sweden.)
Le Clerk	"	Sir H. Stirling.
Lewis	"	Aix-la-Chapelle.
Longford	"	Görtz.
Low	"	States of Guelderland.
Lucy	"	G. Jerningham.
Lumley	"	Ormonde.
Lutterel	"	ships.
McHenry	"	ammunition.
Mackenzie	"	people of Holland.
Maddin	"	the mob.
Magner	"	provisions.
Manners	"	Earl Marischal.
Martel	"	King of Sicily.
Martin	"	Sicilian ministry.
Mead	"	the common people.
Mildmay	"	prisoners in England.
Misson	"	Sparre.
Molesworth	"	Urbino.
Monot	"	M. Meyres.
Moon	"	money.
Morrish	"	Gyllenborg.
Morrison	"	Baron de Velderen.
Mountain	"	Norway.
Murphy	"	Dr. Erskine.
Nagle	"	the English ministry.
Nedson	"	Germany.
Nelan	"	restoration.
Nelson	"	House of Commons.
Nevill	"	English minister in Holland.
Newton	"	the King's friends in England.
Nolan	"	France.
Oakes	"	Inverness.
O'Brien	"	Walkinshaw of Barrow- field.
Ogle	"	<i>Finland.</i>
Parker	"	Sir P. Lawless.
Pedler	"	the Spanish minister in Holland.
Pen	"	Francia.
Pepper	"	Prince of Wales.
Ploiden	"	Poniatowski.

Plunket	stands for a friend at the French Court.
Poordom	Spain.
Post	States of Groningen.
Preston	London.
Purdon	the Low Church party.
Rawly	Paris.
Richards	Walpole.
Richmond	Alloa.
Rigby	a friend at the Sicilian Court. (This also stands for Gyllenborg.)
Robertson	the King.
Rowland	Scotland.
Safty	ports in Sweden.
Sanders	the opposition in Holland.
Saxby	King of Sweden.
Sexton	the Imperial ministry.
Shiel	Denmark.
Shihy	Holland.
Sidly	a descent.
Silver	States of Holland.
Simple	the army.
Simpson	Rome.
Sims	the governing party in Holland.
Simson	Lord Townshend.
Slake	the government in Scotland.
Slingsby	Princess of Wales.
Slow	ready.
Sly	Blunt.
Smith	the Presbyterian party in Scotland.
Soho	M. de Prié.
Spencer	Lord North and Grey.
Steele	Gottenburg.
Step	States of Flanders.
Steward	the Emperor's minister in England.
Stokes	a spy.
Stoner	arms.
Stoning	friends in Flanders.
Swift	Danzig.
Temple	Hamburg.
Tomson	Sir H. Crawford.
Tost	Gravelines.
Trade	Rotterdam.
Trapman	Sweden.
Trembleston	Maréchal de Villars.

Trot	stands for	States of Over Yssel.
Trotter	„	Jacobites in Holland formerly in the army.
Trueman	„	the King.
Trusty	„	Dunkirk.
Tunstall	„	Hanover.
Warren	„	Governor of the Austrian Netherlands.
Webb	„	Elector of Cologne.
Whitaker	„	Alberoni.
Williams	„	Lord Stanhope.
Wilson	„	T. Bruce.
Windsor	„	Stirling.
Wine	„	men.
„ a hogshead of	„	1,000 men.
Woods	„	Petersburg.

Any Christian name beginning with A means the King.

„	„	B	„	Queen Mary.
„	„	C	„	Ormonde.
„	„	D	„	Mar.
„	„	E	„	Dillon.
„	„	F	„	Inese.
„	„	G	„	Menzies.
„	„	H	„	Berwick.
„	„	I	„	Earl Marischal.
„	„	K	„	H. Straiton.
„	„	L	„	Dr. Erskine.
„	„	M	„	Sir H. Stirling.
„	„	N	„	the Czar.
„	„	O	„	King of Sweden.
„	„	P	„	Görtz.
„	„	Q	„	Sparre.
„	„	R	„	Gyllenborg.
„	„	S	„	Count Velling.
„	„	T	„	General Rank.
„	„	U	„	Poniatowski.
„	„	W	„	Prince Kurakin.
„	„	X	„	Sir H. Paterson.
„	„	Y	„	money.
„	„	Z	„	ships.

Key to the figure cipher used with this cipher.

a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m	n
41	40	39	38	37	36	35	34	21	22	23	24	25
o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	x	y	z	&	
26	27	28	29	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	

The new words in the cipher used between Mar and Tullibardine, Glendarule and the other Bordeaux Jacobites, the keys of many having been printed in the Introduction to Vol. IV are as follows :—

Abell	stands for	<i>King of France.</i>
Albin	„	<i>King George.</i>
Alby	„	<i>the Regent.</i>
Allin	„	<i>King of Portugal.</i>
Aylmer	„	<i>Prince of Wales.</i>
Barekly	„	<i>Duke of Hamilton.</i>
Beauchamp	„	<i>Glendarule.</i>
Berry	„	<i>Ormonde.</i>
Blunt	„	<i>Duke of Atholl.</i>
Brady	„	<i>Ireland.</i>
Brayan	„	<i>Tullibardine.</i>
Brent	„	<i>Perthshire.</i>
Bruntley	„	
Carney	„	
Cresswell	„	<i>James Murray.</i>
Dalton	„	<i>Lord Panmure.</i>
Davys	„	<i>Earl Marischal.</i>
De l'Isle	„	<i>Brigadier Campbell.</i>
Drapper	„	
Enster, Sir John	„	
Erard	}	<i>Lord Stair.</i>
Ewald		
Esline	„	<i>Lord Lovat. (This is also keyed as Lord Ilay.)</i>
Fingal	„	<i>Lewis Inese.</i>
Fox	„	<i>William Dicconson.</i>
Frenders	„	<i>France.</i>
Gander	„	<i>H. Straiton.</i>
Garton	„	<i>Major McPherson.</i>
Godder	„	<i>Gen. Hamilton.</i>
Hanly	„	<i>major.</i>
Hanlot	„	<i>captain.</i>
Harcot	„	<i>lieutenant.</i>
Hastings	„	<i>general.</i>
Jersey	„	<i>Campbell [of Auchinbreck].</i>
Kenmore	„	<i>John Paterson.</i>
Kerson	„	<i>David Kennedy.</i>
Kilgrave	„	<i>Robert Leslie.</i>
Kilsby	„	<i>Charles Leslie.</i>
Knapper	„	<i>James Murray.</i>
Knot	„	
Knowles	„	<i>Queen Mary.</i>
Lacy	„	
Lanton	„	
Legg	„	<i>Smith of Methven.</i>
Leopold	„	<i>Mc Dougal of Lorne.</i>

Lideot	stands for	Glengarry.
Lifton	„	Robertson of Struan.
Lombard	„	
Looms	„	
Lucan	„	Lochiel.
Maggie Miller	„	<i>Lady Nairn.</i>
Merry and Mifton	„	the Highlands.
Moore and Muntly	„	the Highlanders.
Nagle	„	
Nurnley	„	Flanders.
Olbin	„	<i>Parliament.</i>
Oleron	„	the Whigs.
Omara	„	Duke of Berwick.
Omers	„	
Osselby	„	<i>London.</i>
Orange	„	Lord Stanhope.
Pellmer	„	<i>Prince of Wales.</i>
Philberts	„	<i>Edinburgh.</i>
Piller	„	<i>the Jacobites.</i>
Porter	„	
Praly	„	<i>Queen Mary.</i>
Quelson's	„	Toulouse.
Quelus	„	Bayonne.
Quemps	„	Calais.
Quint	„	<i>Dunkirk.</i>
Quirk	„	St. Germain.
Randle	„	<i>a restoration.</i>
Ratly	„	Protestant.
Rely	„	Popish.
Renny	„	subjects.
Rowland	„	the King.
Seall	„	
Sercots	„	spies.
Shaw	„	transporting.
Tarver or Travers	„	war.
Taylor	„	<i>regiment.</i>
Traly, misprinted Graly in <i>Vol. IV. p. 306.</i>	„	troops.
Turner	„	chief.
Wilkie	„	Major Simon Frazer.

Letter T 15 ammunition.

16 cannon.

17 fusils.

18 pistols.

20 flints.

23 swords.

24 targes.

26 shoes.

A 1 stands for the King.

A 9 „ King of Spain.

C 1 „ Tullibardine.

I 1 „ Inese.

L 11 stands for Glendarule.
 O 1 „ England.
 S 2 „ ships.

Key to the figure cipher used with the above cipher.

a	25	k	14	t	74
b		l	17	u	83, 85
c	22	m	16	v	52
d	20	n	11	w	85
e	12, 23	o	18	x	41
f	19	p	21	y	68
g	13	q		z	26
h	15	r	10		
i	12	s	94, 95		

The following is the cipher used by Thomas Bruce and Charles Kinnaird :—

Ailmer	stands for Lord Ailesbury.
Ainsley	„ the Regent.
Alexander	„ Ormonde.
Anderson	„ Mar.
Andrew	„ King of Spain.
Arles	„ King of Sweden.
Armor	„ the King.
Armstrong	„ Bolingbroke.
Arnot	„
Ballantine	„ <i>King of Prussia.</i>
Bambury	„ Bolingbroke.
Bandon	„ M. de Wilda.
Barefoot	„ Father Græme.
Baskets	„ ships.
Batherstone	„ The Emperor.
Batterton or Betterton	„ Thomas Bruce.
Bayly	„ <i>Bolingbroke.</i>
Bell	„ <i>King George.</i>
Beton	„ King of Denmark.
Bilboa	„ <i>London.</i>
bills	„ memorial.
Bonnor	„ Thomas Bruce.
Broker	„ secretary.
Brown	„ The Czar.
Burnet	„ <i>Prince of Saxony.</i>
Butter	„ King George.
Caldcleugh	„ Duke of Marlborough.
Callendar	„ Sir H. Paterson.
Carmigny	„ <i>Ormonde.</i>
Carse	„ Charles Kinnaird.
Cheyn	„ Cadogan.
Clerk	„ the King.
Coxe	„ <i>Cadogan.</i>
Crescit	„ <i>Mar.</i>

Crosbie	stands for <i>Sir H. Crawford.</i>
Cuttler	„
Dallon	„
Dantrague	„ General Dillon.
Daws	„ Lord Lansdown.
Douglas	„ Lord Stanhope.
Dunstroun	„ <i>Lord Oxford.</i>
Elford	„ Sir W. Wyndham.
Ellington	„ William Erskine.
Farquharson	„ Duke of Perth.
Forbes	„ Earl Marischal.
Frankfort	„ Brussels.
Fuller	„ Col. Falconbridge.
Gardner	„ <i>Menzies.</i>
Genoa	„ The Empire.
Gideon	„
Gray	„
Grub, young	„ <i>Lord Tullibardine.</i>
Haly	„ Harry Maule.
Hardy	„ Spain.
Havre	„ Campveer.
Hewit	„ Scotland.
Hooker	„ George Jerningham.
Howard	„ England.
Hughs	„ France.
Hunter	„ <i>the Regent.</i>
Hurst	„
Janson	„ Italy.
Johns	„ House of Commons.
Johnston	„ House of Lords (in letters of 6 and 9 June, 1718, it must mean the King).
Kemp	„ C. Kinnaird.
Kirton	„
Knight	„ the King.
Knightly	„
La Grange	„
La Haye	„ General Hamilton.
Lauder	„ <i>the restoration.</i>
Langford	„
Leghorn	„ <i>France.</i>
Lidcoat	„ <i>Leslie.</i>
Limberg	„ <i>England.</i>
Lindsay	„ <i>ships.</i>
Lisbon	„ <i>England.</i>
Lumley	„ <i>the King.</i>
Lutsen	„ the Emperor.
Martin	„ <i>the treaty.</i>
Miln	„ <i>Mar.</i>
Morice	„ <i>Mar.</i>
Nagle	„

Nash	stands for Lord Nithsdale.
Newlands	„ arms.
Norris	„ ammunition.
Norton	„ troops.
O'Brien	„ Walkinshaw of Barrow- field.
Ogston	„ Holland.
O'Neil	„ a ship.
Oran	„ Sir D. Dalrymple.
Oswald	„ <i>Ormonde.</i>
Pell	„ M. de Prié.
Penon	„ the Pretender.
Pitcairn and Pittecurr	„ Amsterdam.
Portuguese	„ <i>English.</i>
Pultney	„ States of Holland.
Randel	„ James Murray.
Rankin	„ Inese.
Ratray	„ <i>James Murray.</i>
Rhind	„ Menzies.
Robertson	„ Liége.
Russel's	„ Brussels
Rutherford	„ the Turks.
Short	„ <i>Lord Stair.</i>
Shoes	„ ammunition.
Stanley	„ Sir H. Paterson.
Stockings	„ arms.
Stubbs	„ Flint.
Swift	„ King of Sicily.
Thomson	„ Mr. Campion.
Trail	„ Sir D. Dalrymple.
Turnbull	„ Ezekiel Hamilton.
Watson	„ Zealand.

Key to the letter cipher used with the above cipher.

a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m	n
t	s	r	q	p	o	u	w	v	&	z	y	x

2	A	76	Thomas Bruce
11	agree	81	<i>Bishop of Rochester</i>
17	ambassador	84	can
26	army	87	<i>Cadogan</i>
27	as	91	cipher
51	be	104	Court
54	by	108	the Czar
55	Aix-la-Chapelle	113	Mr. Campion
57	Berwick	129	commission
59	Bolingbroke	130	D
67	but	134	declare
68	Brussels	139	do

142	duke	436	man
150	<i>Dillon</i>	440	N
156	daughter	443	never
166	E	445	not
168	<i>England</i>	447	no
172	the Emperor	459	necessary
177	England	464-468	of
189	father	481	our
196	fleet	506	peace
201	Flanders	509	party
202	friendship	514	Lord Peterborough
203	friends	518	<i>King of Poland</i>
210	G	523	prince
213	general	524	princesses
231	W. Gordon	533	King of Prussia
242	had	541	Princess of Modena
249	have	542	Princess of Hesse
250	hazard	544	<i>Sir Hugh Paterson</i>
251	he	552	<i>the Pope</i>
257	Holland	560	<i>Queen Mary</i>
273	Gen. Hamilton	570	R
285	I	574	the Regent
288	in	583	<i>religion</i>
294	Ireland	594	S
297	it	597	Scotland
298	Italy	602	save
301	jointure	608	ships
307	Inese	619	Spain
316	G. Jerningham	622	Lord Stair
320	King	630	Sweden
321-323	the King	631	King of Sweden
324	King George	646	King of Spain
328	<i>Liège</i>	659	T
329	C. Kinnaird	661	the
332	knows	663	two
340	lady	664	<i>twelvemonth</i>
343	last	673	to
347	letter	675	treaty
354	loss	676	troops
358	<i>Liège</i>	684	true
361	<i>R. Leslie</i>	688	things
371	life	696	time
388	M	704	take
391-393	Mar	705	try
401	may	708	V
410	ministry	717	Venice
411-412	money	724	W
415	<i>marriage</i>	725	war
429	mother	726	wife
431	month	739	will or would
432	Mecklenburg	745	which

751-754 Z

h = 1

n = 2

Also

p = 3

D = *the King*

r = 6

The following is the cipher used with the King of Sicily :—

A

Angleterre

Altena.

Anglois

Anati.

Allemagne

Aspoli.

Argent

Arazzo.

Armée

Alberto.

Armes

Almona.

Le Roy d'Angleterre

{ Mr. Alba.

Mr. Astali.

Mr. Aquino.

Le Roy Auguste

Mr. Armand.

Cardinal Albani

Mr. Alexis.

Cardinal Alberoni

Mr. Acosta

Cardinal Aquaviva

Mr. Alpiggi.

La Reine d'Angleterre

Mr. Amauri.

B

L'Abbé du Bois

Mr. Beretti.

Milord Bolingbroke

Mr. Balby.

La Princesse de Bade

M. Bonerelli.

C

Le Czar

Mr. Corsini.

Le Prince Cellamare

M. Cephal.

Milord Cadogan

M. Carnaro.

Catholique

M. Casoni.

D

Mr. Dillon

Mr. Delbené.

Le Roy de Danemark

M. Durazzo.

E

L'Empereur

Entragues ou Epinal.

L'Espagne

M. Etampes.

Le Roy d'Espagne

M. Egmont.

L'Escosse

Epinay.

Ennemis

Essars.

Prince Eugene

Edelin.

Entreprise

Elvas.

Exprés

Elzivir.

F

La France	Fontana.
Le Roy de France	M. Frejus.
La Flandre	M. Foresto.
La Flote	M. Feltro.

G

Le Grand Duc	M. Gastaldi.
La guerre	M. Goddar.
Le Cardinal Gualterio	M. Guadagne.
Le Comte de Gallas	M. Grillon.

H

L'Elector d'Hanover	Mr. Herve <i>ou</i> M. Hubert.
Maréchal d'Huxelles	M. Herman.
La Hollande	M. Houdan.

J

L'Italie	Icone.
L'Irlande	Istria.
Les Jacobites	Jourdain.

L

Le Duc de Lorraine	Mr. Liberti.
Londre	M. Lima.

M

Le Duc de Modene	Mr. Morati.
Milord Marleborow	M. Maselli.
Les Ministres	M. Mazzoni.
Mariage	M. Monti.
Le Duc de Mar	M. Mirabello.

N

Le Cardinal de Noailles	M. Nivelli.
Le Duc de Noailles	M. Negrone.
Le Nonce	M. Novellara.
Naples	M. Nemone.

O

Le Duc d'Ormond	M. Olina.
Le Comte d'Oxford	M. Ossoni.

P

Le Pape	M. Pico.
Le Cardinal Paulucci	M. Panzachi.
Le Parlement	M. Pinelli.
Les Protestans	M. Petrucci.
La Paix	M. Poussin.

Le Duc de Parme	M. Pignatelli.
Le Comte de Provanne	M. Prudent.
Paris	M. Pompadour.
Pension	M. Palma.
Le Roy de Portugal	M. Persico.

R

Rome	M. Razilly.
Religion	M. Riccardi.
Retablissement	M. Ribera.
M. Le Regent de France	{ M. Ranucci <i>ou</i> M. Ricanati.

S

Le Roy de Sicile	{ M. Stella. M. Sansome, <i>ou</i> M. Salvador.
Le Roy de Suede	M. Stampa.
La Reine de Sicile	MM. Santochi.
La Princesse Sobieski	M. Spada.
La Princesse de Saxe	M. Santini.
Succession	M. Seissac.
Milord Stair	M. Simoni.
Milord Stanhope	M. Saillant.
Sardaigne	M. Sanmarino.
La Suisse	M. Saltarel.

T

Les Tories	Mr. Tarenti.
Cardinal de la Trémoille	M. Tanara.
Mr. de Torcy	M. Tepoli.
Turin	M. Tento.
Les Turques	M. Terracini.
Des Troupes	M. Tiberti.

V

Urbino	Ursini.
Venise	Velino.
Vienne	Veletri.
Maréchal de Villeroy	Mr. Visa.
Maréchal de Villars	M. Valemanni.
Les Whigs	M. Warin.
Voiage	M. Voltera.
Vaisseaux	M. Vaini.

Alphabet à double chiffres.

a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m
48	47	46	45	44	43	42	41	40	39	38	37
49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60
n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	w	x	y	z
36	35	34	33	32	31	30	29	28	27	26	25
61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72

The following is the cipher used with Cardinal Gualterio :—

A

La Princesse Anne	Mr. Anthoine.
Les Anglois	Mr. Adamson.
Les Amis du Roy du Angle- terre	Mr. Alexandre.
Cardinal Albani	Mr. Abel.
Argent	Mr. Arboulin.
Armée	Mr. Alliot.
Armée Navalle	Mr. Ashyon.
Armes	Mr. Alby.
Adresse	Mr. Arnaudin.
Allemands	Mr. Allardin.
Angleterre	Mr. Arthur.
Mr. D. Alexandre Albani	Mr. d'Allegre.
L'Archeveque d'Avignon	Mr. Artamont.
Agent d'Angleterre	Mr. Anat.
Agent d'Escosse	Mr. Exent.
Agent d'Irlande	Mr. Irois.
Alberoni	Mr. D'Almon.
Cardinal Acquaviva	Mr. Aquin.
Mr. Aldrovandi	Mr. Aldermond.

B

Le Duc de Berry	Mr. de Bron.
Le Duc de Berwick	Mr. de Beaujeu.
Milord Bullingbrook	Mr. Beaulieu.
Bar Le Duc	Beaumont.
Abbé Borio	Mr. Boyne.
Mr. Le Marquis Bufalini	Mr. Buvier.
Le frere de Mr. Bufalini } demeurant à Rome	Mr. Bulau.
Bologna	Mr. Basle.
Monsieur Battelli	Mr. Barieu.

C

Les Catholiques	Mr. Chaumont.
Le Clerge d'Angleterre	Mr. Caraman.
Le College de Douay	Mr. Constant.
La Chambre des Seigneurs	Mr. Courtin.
La Chambre des Communes	Mr. Cramail.
Le Connetable Colonna	Mr. Cornelio.
Duca Cesarini	Mr. Corbery.
P. Charle de Neubourgh	Mr. Colomban.
L'Eveque de Cavaillon.	Mr. Carmon.
Cardinal	Mr. Caral.
Congregation	Mr. Contoire.
Consistoire	Mr. Constant.
Cour	Mr. Covon.

Courrier
Comte Castelblanco
Comte Carminati
Czar
Mr. Camocke

Mr. Covin.
Mr. Crosse.
Mr. Carman.
Mr. Caron.
Mr. Colman.

D

Mr. Le Daufin
Douaire de la Reine
Mr. le Maréchal d'Huxelles
Daubanton
Douglas
Mr. Dillon

Mr. Dodar.
Mr. Dormer.
Mr. Husdon.
Mr. Duras.
Dougeÿ.
Mr. del Bene.

E

L'Empereur
Les Etats Generaux
Les Eveques
L'Ecosse
Les Ecossois
Ennemis
Les Elections
Eloignement
L'Eveque d'Ellis
Ecclesiastique
Electeur

Mr. d'Epinois.
Mr. Ellmor.
Mr. d'Estain.
Mr. d'Enermont.
Mr. Edelin.
Mr. d'Epinal.
Mr. Egmont.
Mr. Evington.
Mr. Erart.
Mr. Econis.
Mr. Elens.

F

La France
Les Francois
La Flandre
Flotte
Cardinal Fabroni

Frioul.
Mr. Forestier.
Falsbourg.
Mr. Flemin.
Mr. Fabert.

G

Mr. Le Cardinal Gualterio
L'Abbè Gaultier
La Guerre
Le Gran Duc
Principessa Guastalla

Mr. Grammont ou Gendron.
Mr. Grillon.
Mr. Gordon.
Mr. Gassion.
Mr. Grace.

H

Le Duc d'Hannover
Mr. d'Hamilton
La Hollanda
Mr. L'Abbé Houvert

Mr. Herman.
Mr. Hennel.
Houdan.
Mr. Henri.

I

Cardinal Imperiali
L'Italie

Mr. Jesmin.
Juliers.

L'Irlande
 Les Irlandois
 Les Jacobites
 Les Jesuites

Imola.
 Mr. Jenkins.
 Mr. Janson.
 Mr. Jolly.

L

La Lorraine
 Le Duc de Lorraine
 Le Duc de Lauzun
 Londres
 Chevalier Lily

Liège.
 Mr. Lambert.
 Mr. Launois.
 Limbourg.
 Mr. Lister.

M

Madame de Maintenon
 Les Ministres de France
 Mr. des Maretz
 Milord Middleton
 Milord Marleborough
 La mission
 La mort
 Monsieur Marcolini
 Duc de Mar
 Maréchal D'Huxelles
 Mariage
 Duc de Modene

Mr. Menar.
 Mr. Mornay.
 Mr. du Moulin.
 Mr. Mircour.
 Mr. Martin.
 Mr. Mauroy.
 Mr. Monton.
 Mr. Marenville.
 Mr. Matre.
 Mr. Husdon.
 Mr. Maronis.
 Mr. Maurois.

N

Le Cardinal de Noailles
 Le Nonce en France
 La Nomination
 Negotiation
 Mr. Nairne
 Le Nord

Mr. de Neuville *ou* Nettan-
 cour.
 Mr. Nemon.
 Mr. Nanteville.
 Mr. Nollan.
 Mr. Neutton.
 Mr. Panetier.

O

Le Duc d'Orleans
 Le Duc d'Ormond
 Le Comte d'Oxford
 Les officiers de sa Sainteté en
 Avignon

Mr. Orroy.
 Mr. Osson.
 Mr. Olive.
 Mr. Offin.

P

Le Pape
 Le Cardinal de Polignac
 Le Protectorat
 Le Cardinal Paulucci
 Mr. de Pontchartrain
 Le Parlement

Mr. Parton *ou* Pritchard.
 Mr. Pinal.
 Mr. Pimentel.
 Mr. Pommar.
 Mr. Poussin.
 Mr. Palme.

Les Protestants	Mr. Pelisson.
Parti de la Cour	Mr. Parmantier.
La Paix	Mr. Panetier.
Mr. Prieur	Mr. Picard.
Pension	Mr. Plessis.
Passeports	Mr. Pecourt.
Passe en Angleterre	Mr. Preston.
Pontificat	Mr. Pontois.
Promotion	Mr. Pron.
Propaganda	Mr. Provin.
Duc de Parme	Mr. Perelli <i>ou</i> Porter.
Milord Peterborou	Pontai.
Paris	Poltoa.

R

Le Roy Tres Chrestien	Mr. Richard.
Le Roy d'Angleterre	Mr. Robert <i>ou</i> Renaud.
La Reine d'Angleterre	Mr. Raisin.
Le Roy Catholique	Mr. Remmon.
Le Cardinal de Rohan	Mr. Razilly.
Rome	Riebour.
Religion	Mr. Rolland.
Retablement	Mr. Rigaut.
Roy Auguste	Mr. Rugan.

S

Le Duc de Savoye	Mr. Sanson.
Le Roy de Suede	Mr. Saurois.
La Suisse	Salsbourg.
Milord Shrewsbury	Mr. Sebaste.
Seureté	Mr. Salmon.
Succession	Mr. Saucour.
St. Germain	Paussois.
La Princesse Sobieski	Mr. Sobinay.
Secretaire	Mr. Serluis.
Spagna	Mr. Spanhaim.
Princesse de Saxe	Mr. Stuart.
Père Salerne	Mr. Silly.

T

Mr. de Torcy	Mr. Talmon.
Les Tories	Mr. Talbot.
Le Cardinal de la Trémoille	Mr. Tantonville.

V

L'union d'Angleterre et d'Ecosse	Mr. Urbin.
Les Whigs	Mr. Waldycke.
Versailles	Valogne.

Mr. Voisin
Mr. le Vicelegat
Venise
Urbino

Mr. Valcour.
Mr. Visan.
Mr. Vaucour.
Venetia.

Key to the figure cipher used with the above cipher.

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	L	M
74	72	70	68	66	65	62	61	59	57	55
24	22	71	23	20	18	19	17	14	16	15
N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	V	X	Y	Z
53	50	49	47	45	42	39	33	30	28	25
10	12	11	13	26	27	29	31	32	38	37

The following is the cipher used with the Cardinal de Noailles :—

	A
Anglois	Albert.
Angleterre	Asti.
Albani, Cardinal	Acace.
Allemands	Adrien.
Armée	Alexis.
Argent	Altin.
Alberoni, Cardinal	Amauri.
Aquaviva, Cardinal	Antelmi.

	B
Berwick, Duc	Beauchamp.
Bolingbroke, Milord	Boissac.
Du Bois, Abbé	Bonarelli.

	C
Catholiques	Canaple.
Constitution	Chopin.
Czar	Ciron.

	D
Douaire de la Reine	Dacier.
Davia, Cardinal	Denis.
Dillon, Mr.	Durand.

	E
L'Empereur	Eustase.
L'Espagne	Egmond.
L'Ecosse	Eryce.
Eveques	Etampes.

	F
La France	Favas.
La Flotte	Favre.

Fabroni, Cardinal
La Flandre

Fayette.
Ferrand.

G

Gualterio, Cardinal
Le Grand Duc
La Guerre

Gerard.
Gerbais.
Goddard.

H

Hanover, Elector
Hollande

Hatton.
Hervé.

I

Italie
Imperiali, Cardinal
Irlande
Jacobites
Jesuites
Inese, Mr.
Ingleton, Mr.

Jordan.
Jolly.
Iliers.
Janson.
Justiniani.
Joseph.
Julien.

L

Lorraine, Duc
Londres

Lancelot.
Lascaris.

M

Ministres
Modene, Duc
Mar, Duc
Marleborow, Duc
Mariage

Maillard.
Madera.
Mascaron.
Marin.
Medard.

N

Noailles, Cardinal
Noailles, Duc
Nonce en France
Nomination
Negotiation

Nettancourt.
Neufville.
Noris.
Nelson.
Nolan.

O

Ormond, Duc
Oxford, Comte

Olivier.
Odon.

P

Le Pape
Paulucci, Cardinal
Polignac, Cardinal
Parme, Duc

Palmeran.
Pepoli.
Pallu.
Parpaille.

Peterborow, Comte	Perrault.
Promotion	Pontan.
Paris	Presles.
Parlement	Picard.
Pologne, Roy	Pimentel.
Protestans	Pirot.
Paix	Poussin.
Pension	Pointis.

R

Le Roy de France	Roque.
Le Roy d'Angleterre	Ranuzzi.
La Reine d'Angleterre	Rose.
Le Roy Catholique	Richard.
Rohan, Cardinal	Rigault.
Rome	Regio.
Reilgion	Rassan.
Retablissement	Raimond.
Le Regent	Roche fort.

S

Sicile, Roy de	Salmon.
Suede, Roy de	Scala.
St. Germain	Silene.

T

de Torcy, Mr.	Thomassin.
Les Tories	Tilman.
de la Trémoille, Cardinal	Tonnelier.

V

Urbino	Vieuville.
Venise	Velay.
Whigs	Vaillant.
Villeroy, Ml.	Valery.
Villars, Ml.	Vargas.
d'Uxelles, Ml.	Valette.
Vienne	Veletri.

The following is the key to the cipher used between Mar and Charles Wogan :—

A

The King	{ Mr. Anderson.
	{ Mr. Adams.
	{ Mr. Ashfield.
The Queen	{ Mr. Alison.
	{ Mr. Allen.
Duke of Ormonde	Mr. Andrews.

Duke of Mar	{ Mr. Aisbie.
	{ Mr. Aitkins.
Mr. Dillon	{ Mr. Ashton.
	{ Mr. Ardinson.
Mr. Innes	Mr. Alexander.
Mr. Wogan	{ Mr. Ainsley.
	{ Mr. Germain.
St. Germain's	Mr. Abberton.
Urbino	Mr. Abberfield.

B

The Emperor	{ Mr. Barns.
	{ Mr. Bertram.
Emperor's Court	Mr. Burnet.
Emperor's ministry	Mr. Black.
Emperor's sisters	Mr. Busbie.
Emperor's nieces	Mr. Baron.
Prince Eugene	Mr. Brodie.
Comte Gallas	Mr. Brent.
Germany	Mr. Barry.
Vienna	Mr. Brown.
Rector of the Jesuits at Vienna	Mr. Blair.

C

Catholick Religion	Mr. Cousins.
Protest Religion	Mr. Couper.
Parliament of England	Mr. Canny.
Church of England	Mr. Christie.

D

Prince Lewis of Baden	Mr. Diccons.
His daughter the Princess	{ Mr. Darbie.
	{ Mr. Dallas.
Baden	Mr. Darnton.
Court of Baden	Mr. Darnley.

E

Princess of Saxony	{ Mr. Essex.
	{ Mr. Elford.
Princesses of Saxony	Mr. Elmore.
King of Poland	Mr. Edinsfield.
Electoral Prince of Saxony	Mr. Ebington.
Princess Dowager of Saxony	Mr. Edgworth.
Landgrave of Hesse	Mr. Ellingsford.
Electeur of Bavaria	Mr. Edingsley.
Electeur Palatine	Mr. Ersfield.
Prince James Sobieski	Mr. Ellies.
His daughters	Mr. Errington.

F

The Pope	Mr. Francis.
Rome	Mr. Fennel.
Court of Rome	Mr. Freeman.
Cardinal Albani	Mr. Franch.
Cardinal Gualterio	Mr. Forrest.
Father Salern	Mr. Fenton.

G

Marriage	{ Mr. Gordon.
	{ Mr. Gold.
	{ Mr. Geddes.
Marriage settlement or dowry	Mr. Gardner.
Provision	Mr. Grahams.
Succession	Mr. George.
Restoration	Mr. Gasper.
Children	Mr. Gresham.
Heir of succession	Mr. Gray.
Heirs male	Mr. Gideon.
Heirs female	Mr. Gibbs.
Handsome	Mr. Ginkle.
Homely or Coarse	Mr. Gentley.
Young	Mr. Gayden.
Old	Mr. Gelliflower.
Tall of stature	Mr. Grant.
Low of stature	Mr. Gasfield.
Fair complexion	Mr. Gaston.
Black	Mr. Garton.
Brown	Mr. Gumley.
Swarthy	Mr. Germins.
Lean	Mr. Gay.
Lusty or plump	Mr. Gart.
Morose temper	Mr. Gedford.
Cheerful	Mr. Goldfield.

K

Regent of France	Mr. Hilcox.
France	Mr. Hasty.
Paris	Mr. Hardie.
England	Mr. Harris.
London	Mr. Howison.
Holland	Mr. Hue's.
Flanders	Mr. Homes.
Elector of Hanover	Mr. Hurry.
Prince Electoral of Hanover	Mr. Hall.
Princess Electress of Han- over	Mr. Hayes.
Present Government of Eng- land	Mr. Henry.

King's friends in England	Mr. Hill.
Heritage	Mr. Horsfield.
Land inheritance	Mr. Hunter.
Money	Mr. Hart.
One thousand pounds sterling	One last of herrings and one, two, three, &c.
One year old	One parcel of calicoes, a so one, two, three, &c.
Health	Mr. Hornby.
Alliance or Relation	Mr. Hull.
Interest	Mr. Harcourt.
A Journey	A Visit.
Power	Acquaintance.

Key to the letter and figure ciphers used with the
above cipher.

a,	b,	c,	d,	e,	f,	g,	h,	i,	k,	l,	m,	n,
u,	w,	v,	x,	y,	z,	&	t,	s,	r,	q,	p,	o.
a,	b,	c,	d,	e,	f,	g,	h,	i,	k,	l,	m,	n,
6,	7,	8,	9,	10,	11,	12,	13,	5,	4,	3,	2,	1.
u,	w,	v,	x,	y,	z,	&	t,	s,	r,	q,	p,	o,
19,	20,	21,	22,	23,	24,	25,	26,	18,	17,	16,	15,	14.

There are also several cipher words not in the key but mostly keyed in the letters themselves as follows :—

Anderton	stands for James Murray.
Apsley	„ John Hay.
Blythe	„ the Nuncio at Vienna.
Davis	„ Bologna.
Dempster	„ an escape.
Devenish	„ Augsburg.
Doyly	„ Brixen.
East	„ the Czar.
Effingham	„ King of Sweden.
Emmet	„ King of Prussia.
Ferryman	„ Venice.
Foley	„ the Council of Innsbruck.
Forbes	„ Innsbruck.
Freebairn	„ territory of Venice.
Fryar	„ Trent.
Godfrey	„ Princess Clementina Sobieska.
Golding	„ her mother.
Grimston	„ her attendants.
Gibson	„ method of escape.
Grindal	„ means of escape.
Greenshields	„ <i>family.</i>
Gordoned	„ married.

Grooby	stands for	confinement.
Lally	„	Prince James' Court.
Lawless	„	Prince Constantine Sobieski.
Legh	„	Breslau.
Lemington	„	Ohlau.
10 Louis d'ors	„	10,000 men.
Molesworth	„	King of Spain.
O'Brien	„	Walkinshaw of Barrow- field.

F. H. BLACKBURNE DANIELL.

CORRIGENDUM.

p. 385, line 18, *for* " Mr. Newington's " *read* " Lord Dupplin's."

THE STUART PAPERS
AT
WINDSOR CASTLE.
BELONGING TO
HIS MAJESTY THE KING.
VOL. VI.

I

AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT of some remarkable matters concerning King James the Second's succession, Sunderland's contrivances and corruptions, Tyrconnell's getting the Government of Ireland, his proceedings there contrary to his Majesty's positive injunctions, and his particular malice against Sheridan, together with some passages relating to the public, the King's case and the management of affairs in Saint Germain's, by the King's Ministers Lord Melfort, Lord Middleton and Mr., now Lord, Carryll.

(Written in the year 1702.)

King Charles the Second did all along from the very beginning look on Oates's plot to be a fanatic contrivance, to alter and subvert the monarchy, prevent the Duke of York's succession, and make the remainder of his own reign precarious, and therefore underhand discountenanced it all he could, and in common discourse at Whitehall daily ran it down, and, tho' the uneasy circumstances of his affairs made him dissemble his thoughts in public and temporize with his factious Parliament, which by Danby's contrivance had, without his consent, got into their hands the management of it, yet he was heartily incensed against him, and all its promoters, and resolved never to give way to the main end of it, his Royal Brother's exclusion. Wherein, notwithstanding all attempts, he proved steady and immovable, as being a thing to himself of the last consequence; being fully persuaded, if he allowed 'em a power of putting the successor by, he could not but implicitly grant 'em that also of laying aside the present possessor. To which and an open rebellion, their insolent proceedings, seditious and irreverent speeches, and extravagant votes seemed wholly to tend.

He had therefore good reason to be solicitous, and, after he found his endeavours with the Commons ineffectual, to use his utmost to persuade the Lords not to consent to the often insisted on Bill of Exclusion, wherein he proved so successful, that upon the first reading it was thrown out by a plurality of thirty-five voices. Not long after Lord Sunderland, having been found a zealous promoter of that bill, was turned out of his secretaryship, and banished the Court. But he had there so many friends of credit and power, that they prevailed at last for his pardon and return to the same station and honour; which yet his Majesty would not grant, without his Royal Highness's consent and approbation, unhappily obtained, upon great assurances of repentance and promises of amendment in his future conduct and services.

But this nobleman's after proceedings proved, tho' his language was altered, his heart was not changed, for the sense of his crimes making him conclude 'em too great to be really pardoned, and that the Duke's reconciliation was not free and unfeigned, but forced and dissembled, for which hereafter he might come to be punished, he resolved to be beforehand, and under a cloak of extraordinary obsequiousness to his Highness hide his inward purpose of still carrying on his former malicious design against him, which he knew could not be compassed without lessening and weakening his power and interest in Court, and removing as many of his friends as had proved themselves firm in the great business of succession, and bringing into their places men of his own temper and principles, which by all means possible he intended to do. The first he began with was Lord Rochester, whom under pretence of advancement, he got to be displaced from the Treasury and Ministry, and named Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, a politic contrivance to raise his friend Godolphin, an Exclusioner too, to that post, and make a breach between Ormond and Rochester, and render both less powerful in any future exigence to serve his Royal Highness. But, before Lord Rochester could begin his journey, a foul practice was discovered, relating to a bargain he had made with the hearth money farmers, for the surplus they were obliged to pay over and above their annual stated rent, whereby the King was found defrauded and his lordship's integrity became suspected; the scanning and examination of which matter took up so much time, that it was not ended before the sudden and unexpected death of the King surprised the whole Court, which with the Duke of York's immediate succeeding to the crown produced a new and wonderful turn of affairs, broke all Sunderland's measures, and put him and his friends into a mighty consternation. He apprehended that the King's dying a Roman Catholic had made him discover to his brother all his contrivances against him, who in a little time was to have been sent back into Scotland, and a Parliament to be called, under pretext of securing the King's reign

against new plots and conspiracies and quieting the people's minds, by settling the legal religion on such a foundation as should not leave it in the power of a Popish successor, if such a thing should happen, to alter it. But, tho' these were the plausible motives, this cunning Minister had another prospect, the D[uke] of M[onmouth]'s advancement, who he believed, notwithstanding his late behaviour and banishment, was still deeply rooted in his Master's heart and affections, and therefore continued with him a close and secret correspondence and friendship.

The sense of all this and his dread of Rochester's enmity, presently chosen by the new King Lord Treasurer and first Minister, did not a little startle and perplex him, and put him upon making his Court to all the Roman Catholics and entering into a particular and strict league of friendship with Mr. Jermin and Colonel Talbot, persons who had been long reputed favourites to the Duke of York and enemies to Chancellor Hyde and his family. These he assured of his great zeal for the present King's service, and his resolution to declare himself soon of the same religion, to which he pretended to have been long inclined, which last they were easily induced to believe, because he had always been known to have little or no religion at all and to be very indifferent for any.

These two persons, more vain and ambitious than wise and prudent, were as forward to agree, as he to propose. They promised each other their mutual assistance and endeavours to influence and govern in all affairs, to promote their several by-ends, and counterbalance and undermine the Treasurer's growing greatness and power; who, on the other side, forgot not to strengthen his own party, by getting Lord Halifax made President of the Council, and his brother Clarendon Privy Seal in his stead.

Sunderland in pursuance of the agreement soon got his new friends promoted, one was made Viscount Dover in England, the other Earl of Tyrconnell in Ireland, and having given them this earnest of his friendship, drew into his party, by their assistance, all the Catholic lords of consideration, and prevailed with the King to erect them together with himself into a particular Cabinet Council, to meet once a week or oftener, into which he got Father Peters also admitted; a necessary instrument to carry on his designs, as having wrought himself into an extraordinary good opinion with the King, by the care he had taken of the affairs and education of his natural children.

The ordinary time of their meeting was Friday in the evening, on which day at dinner they were all treated by Lord Sunderland without the intermixture of any other company. Which ended, they conferred notes, and agreed what was to be proposed and debated before his Majesty; among which one of the first things resolved, was the discarding

Mrs. Sydly, the King's mistress, the keeping her being a public scandal and dishonour to the religion his Majesty had openly professed himself of. But, besides those specious pretences, Lord Sunderland the first contriver had another end in the matter, which was killing two birds with one stone, the weakening Lord Rochester, in whose interests she was firmly engaged, and gaining the Queen to his own side. Her removal therefore was laboured with great earnestness by the Catholic party, and as stiffly opposed by the lady, Lord Rochester and her Protestant friends; but at last effected, by the co-operation of Lady Powis and Dr. Gifford, to the no small joy and satisfaction of her Majesty, to whom on this account Lord Sunderland and Tyrconnell failed not to make their court, the first affirming he had the honour to be author of it, and that out of particular respect and zeal for her person and service, and the other assuring her, he might in a manner arrogate to himself the glory of bringing it to perfection; having not without great difficulty prevailed with the above named Catholics to join in so ungrateful and ticklish an undertaking, and it is likely they were both believed, for on all occasions they were afterwards much favoured and countenanced by the Queen. Upon the Duke of M[onmouth]'s invasion Tyrconnell was dispatched into Ireland with a commission of Lieutenant General of the army, the government of the kingdom continuing still, as it was put at the King's accession to the throne and Ormond's coming for England, in the hands of Lords Justices, from which Sunderland promised it should soon be transferred and placed in Tyrconnell's.

These proceedings of Sunderland and his new cabinet very much surprised the Lord Treasurer, who still however, carried it outwardly fair to him, without shewing his inward discontent and resentment, but yet to countermine and remove him from court he advised the King to give him the Government of Ireland. This his Majesty offered and told him it was my Lord Treasurer's proposition, which he with acknowledgements for the favour humbly refused, and at the same time, persuaded the motion proceeded from malice not kindness, cunningly told his master he had much rather continue in the station he was near his person, than be removed from it, with that greater advantage and honour, and therefore, to express his gratitude to my Lord Treasurer, advised the sending his brother Clarendon thither, for mending his fortune, of which he stood in need; the proposal was approved by the King, and readily embraced by both the brothers, to the disoblige ment of Lord Ormond, who, finding Lord Rochester in the Treasury, expected to have been sent back in his former post, nor was Lord Tyrconnell less displeased at this new designation, having been himself lately assured by Sunderland of that promotion. But Monmouth's rebellion in England, and Argyle's in Scotland being soon quashed,

Tyrconnell returns to Court very much dissatisfied with Sunderland, who quickly appeased him by fresh promises, and telling him that the sending Clarendon at that time into Ireland was necessary, and the only way to gain their end, by the ruin of both the brothers; which could not easily be effected without separating them, and that once done, he might assure himself of the government of that kingdom. Tyrconnell informs the King his Irish army was full of Cromwellians and disaffected officers, and that he could not be secure against another rebellion, without removing them and putting Catholics into their places. This advice the King was persuaded to follow, and he ordered a second time into Ireland, to reform and model the army; but, before he began his journey, he told Sheridan Lord Sunderland and he had an extraordinary opinion of him, and desired his friendship and assistance to lessen Lord Rochester's credit with the King, for that he was a professed enemy to Sheridan in particular, as well as to all Catholics in general. Sheridan answered that he was sensible of that lord's unkindness, and would be very glad of his and Lord Sunderland's favour; but knew not how he could any way contribute to what they proposed, having neither post nor character, and found by dear bought experience, in the former reign, how dangerous it was to fall under the displeasure of a minister, or be of any party or faction in Court. He replied the case was altered, and he need not be so cautious in the matter, for that Lord Sunderland and Godolphin, and all the Catholics were bent against Rochester, and fully resolved to out him, to which he might contribute by penny post letters to the King; who received many advices that way relating to the state, as the late King had from the same hand, very pleasing to his Majesty, and of which Sunderland, who saw them, concluded him the author. Sheridan said, whoever thought so was much mistaken, and that he had not need of such a method, the King having at his first accession to the crown, spoken very graciously to him, and commanded him to address to himself immediately, and speak to him freely anything he judged for his service; Tyrconnell said, though he would not own he had writ those letters, yet he was sure, whether he had or not, that he was as able as the author, and since the King was pleased with that way he ought to lay hold on't, which he pressed him to do, telling him Sunderland would give him proper hints for them, and also reward him for his pains; but Sheridan positively refused it, and said, if he did, he believed his fate would be that of the cat in the apologue, drawn in by Esop's monkey to burn his fingers. Next day he carried him to Sunderland, and was then desired, since he would not engage in the way proposed, that he would at certain times named visit Lord Sunderland, and hold a correspondence with Tyrconnell, and, as he found the accounts and advices he should receive from either for the good of his King and

country, discourse them to his Majesty, without discovering whence he had them ; to this Sheridan agreed, and accordingly the correspondence was managed. Tyrconnell goes for Ireland, and carries with him a large list of officers to be removed, and commissions for others to be in their places, most his particular friends and relations, *much to Lord Clarendon's and the army's dissatisfaction, and also to the King's loss ; for afterwards he was forced to give several of them pensions in England, being found always loyal, though then displaced, on pretence of having been Cromwellians and disaffected.*

Within few days after Tyrconnell's departure, his nephew, Lord Limerick, and Lord Carlingford, desired Sheridan to join with them in a proposal for the public good, and help them to word it better than they themselves had done. It was to induce his Majesty to mix in his English army a body of 3 or 4,000 Irish Catholics, descended from the English that first invaded their country, with an exclusion to all the old natives, distinguished from the others by the O's and Macs prefixed to their surnames. Sheridan refused to join in the thing, if they resolved to make any such distinction, telling them that it had been, and ever would be of pernicious consequence, breed ill blood and disoblige the O's and Macs who above ten to one exceeded the others in numbers. Lord Limerick said he was sure the King would not otherwise consent. Well then, if he does not, says Sheridan, I will have nothing to do with it ; advising them at the same time to keep their design secret, of which he assured them, he himself for their sakes would not speak. But they having before shewn their paper to one Mr. Darby Long, whom they mistook, as they did Sheridan, for one of the new Irish, their project was by him discovered to a club of Irish of different tempers, for which the Lords were much reproached and threatened, and therefore were forced to let their address fall, which was judged to have been set on foot by Tyrconnell's advice.

Some months after, Sheridan, by Sunderland's order, writ to Tyrconnell, that matters were well advanced on this side, and that his return was desired to perfect things, upon which intimation he comes to England in August, 1686, and brings with him the Catholic Primate, Bishop Tyrrell, and Mr. Nagle, a lawyer, with observations and accounts of the state and management of the kingdom, not advantageous to Clarendon, all which those 3 were to second and make good. The court was at Windsor, whither Tyrconnell repairing, asked Sheridan how Sunderland stood affected as to Clarendon's removal and his succession into the Government. Sheridan told him by what he perceived this last was not yet thought seasonable. What did he then (says he) send for me ? and, swearing a great oath, if he makes me not Chief Governor, I will not make one step to gratify him by turning out Rochester, and I will go

and tell him so plainly. Next morning, being much out of humour, he sent for Sheridan, and bad him tell Sunderland, if he did not make him Chief Governor of Ireland he would not join against Rochester, but on the contrary, discover to the King all his designs, and his league with Lord Dover and himself, and upon what promises it was founded, the turning out of Lord Rochester, and Sunderland's being made Treasurer, that himself was to be Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Dover to be a captain of the guards in England, and a Lieutenant General; and to the Queen that the true motive of removing Mrs. Sydely was to weaken Rochester, and gain herself to their party, and not the honour of religion; for that Sunderland had assured them there was no leading the King, their main intent, but by a woman, a priest, or both; that her Majesty was pitched on for the one, and Father Peters for the other, who was promised to be made Cardinal. Sheridan startled at the strangeness of the discourse, begged him to consider again of the matter, that it was in effect to break with him, and spoil all his future expectations, and that it could not but less anger Sunderland to hear that expostulation from himself or Lord Dover, than from him, to whom Sunderland could not but be very much offended to have a secret of that nature revealed. Go, says he, I have fully considered it, and you must tell him this, for, if Sunderland refuses to gratify me in my demands, you shall own to the King I sent him by you such a message.

Sheridan not being able to get himself freed from so ungrateful an office, went and, as near as he could, repeated Tyrconnell's own words, during which he observed in Sunderland a great emotion and change of colour, who, when he had ended, asked if Tyrconnell was not mad, without saying one word against the truth of it. Sheridan answered, he was in great passion and more than ordinarily disturbed, and that it was much against his own will he was employed in the matter. Nay, says Sunderland, since he would send the message, I am glad he has employed you in it, and desired him to tell him, if he would dine with him he doubted not to give him satisfaction. What, says Tyrconnell to Sheridan, is that all his answer? And did he take no notice of what I bad you tell him concerning our agreement? No, replied Sheridan, this was all he said. Then, says he, go you back and tell him I will never dine with him, without having better satisfaction, which if he does not give me by you, I will go straight to the King, and pursue my fixed resolution. Sheridan goes back and tells Sunderland what he said, whereupon Sunderland told Sheridan he would state the case to him, and make an offer to Tyrconnell, which in his opinion was reasonable, and, if he found it so, prayed him to use his endeavour to bring him to a compliance. I will, says he, undertake to get him made a Lieutenant General in England, as already he is in Ireland, and over and above the pay of those two

commands, a pension of 5,000*l.* a year, and that he shall as absolutely govern all the affairs of that kingdom, as Lauderdale, in England, had done all those of Scotland, and I do farther promise, after the penal laws are abrogated in England, he shall be Lord Lieutenant, if he shall think that more advantageous than what I now propose, which gives him the whole power and as much profit, since he is not obliged to the great expense of this post, nor would he be by that way loaded with envy, nor obstruct the King's affairs, as he could not but do, were he now advanced to it, for he is a known enemy to the Act of Settlement in which the Protestants of the 3 kingdoms hold themselves concerned, and reputed so devoted a servant to the French King that to place him there now would make the people cry out there was a design to dismember it from England, and put it into the power of France, and besides all this, says he, the King has lately declared he will never put the Government of Ireland into the hands of a native. But, if what I offer will satisfy and make him join in the common business, the removal of Rochester and Clarendon, to whom for the present Lord Powis is designed to succeed, I will undertake that after a good issue here, the repeal of the penal laws, Lord Powis shall be removed and he come into his room.

Sheridan told all this to Tyrconnell, who declared nothing would content him, but what he asked, and said, if they were afraid if he were Lord Lieutenant he would give up the kingdom to France, he could do it as well without that title, and they could not be secure if they distrusted his loyalty, but by banishing him the kingdom, which he desired they would do, provided they would give him 10,000*l.* over and above the 4,000*l.* his two journeys into Ireland had cost him, but yet, said he, before you tell this to Sunderland, propose the Duke of Berwick's being Lord Lieutenant and me his deputy, to whom I will give my daughter for wife, and all my fortune. Sheridan repeated the whole to Sunderland, who said that was but to give the Duke of Berwick the name, and to Tyrconnell all the power, which he was confident the King would never consent to; however he charged Sheridan never to make the motion known to the King, and for the other of banishment it was all madness, but, says he, I perceive you cannot bring him to reason, and therefore I will try what Lord Dover and others of his friends can do.

Whilst Tyrconnell remained at Windsor, he still continued out of humour, and one day, carrying Sheridan to take the air, he fell into exclamations against Sunderland's falsehood and breach of promises, and afterwards into a discourse of the King's declining age, and the improbability of the Queen's having any more children, at least any that should live, and then swore the Irish would be fools or madmen, if after his death they should submit to be governed by the Prince of Orange or Hyde's daughter, or be longer slaves to

England, but rather set up a King of their own, and put themselves under the protection of France, which he was sure would be readily granted, and said this was his own opinion, and believed all the men of sense and quality were of the same mind, as he supposed he also was. Sheridan answered, he did not know other men's thoughts, and that the thing was new to him, having never before heard it discoursed, and judged his lordship had not spoken it seriously, but only in jest, to divert his melancholy, and hear what he could say against it. Upon which he swore he had spoke it in good earnest, and had often heard it debated both by clergy and laymen as a thing most advantageous to Ireland and ruinous to England, for that their trade, by which they were supported, would become wholly precarious, if France and Ireland came to be united. Sheridan replied, he was of a contrary opinion, as he believed others would be, whenever they should calmly consider the matter, for reasons too many and too tedious to be then insisted on; well, says he, in some heat, let me hear if you can give one good one against it: whereupon he answered, that he looked upon it as an empty project, unlawful in itself, and impossible to be effected, considering the weakness of Ireland, its distance from France and nearness to England and Scotland, for by a new rebellion the Irish could not but lose entirely the small remainder they had yet left of their country, for that they were worsted in all their former rebellions, when much richer and more powerful and assisted by Spain, when England alone contended and wanted the power of Scotland, with which it was now united both by interest and affections in that particular. His Lordship replied the Irish were then divided and some of them joined with their enemies, and that the assistance they had from Spain was not to be compared with what they might be assured of from France, a much nearer neighbour and more powerful monarch, that it was no rebellion to endeavour the recovery of what was unjustly and by force taken from them, and that no wise man could think otherwise. Sheridan said, as there was a certain time of prescription to quiet men in their private possessions; so there was for princes in their dominions, and that there could hardly be found any state or kingdom in the world, whose first and original title was not founded on force, fraud, or open injustice, and therefore it was as lawful for all other subjects, as for the Irish, to rebel against the race of their present English Kings; to whom by often repeated oaths they had sworn allegiance, from which no power on earth could absolve them, and, if they should happen to prove successful, which in their present circumstances was not possible, considering that the Protestants within that kingdom have the greatest part of the wealth and lands and as one man would all join against them, yet they would fare but like the gardener's ass in Esop, change their masters for the worse; since the Government of France

is known to be more heavy and tyrannical than that much more moderate one of England; well, says Tyrconnell, in a great huff, I will no longer dispute this matter with you, who I thought was my countryman, but now perceive you are an Englishman. Sheridan protested he had spoken his conscience as a subject and a Christian, without more regard to the good of England, than that of Ireland, and was fully persuaded his countrymen would be happier, in remaining as they were, than they could be, by pretending at the hazards they must run, to mend their condition.

Some days after Tyrconnell desired Sheridan to draw up reasons to shew it would not be in the Chief Governor's power, though a native, to give up the kingdom to France, which he found the King's main objection against him. Next day Sheridan gave him his thoughts on that subject, one of which was, that the Governor must be one of the new, or one of the old Irish, between whom as to that point, there could never be any union or agreement, the old being friends to Spain, whence they were descended, and enemies to France, and exceeding the new above ten to one in number, and, though the new had greater estate and more wealth, yet the others had more hands and more strength, and would never yield to set up a king from among the new, no more than the new would have one of the old, and that this opposition and balance between the two parties, would secure the crown of England against any change, whichsoever of the two the King should make deputy. He read the paper, and told Sheridan he did not like it, there being nothing in it to induce the King to trust a native, but rather on the contrary, not to trust any, whether new or old, since he had said nothing that might persuade neither of them would attempt it. He answered he had done his best, and thought it would never be endeavoured, since it could not but be believed it was impossible to prove successful, and that he judged the King would never make any man Chief Governor, of whose loyalty and fidelity he was not fully satisfied, in both which points he supposed his Lordship fair in his Majesty's opinion; but this did not discourage him from pursuing his design, in order to which he got one to propose to the King immediately what he had before by him to Sunderland, the matching his daughter to the Duke of Berwick, with which the King acquainted Sunderland, who, fancying it was by Sheridan, chid him for doing it contrary to his promise, but he convinced him he had no hand in it. Well, said Sunderland, it will signify nothing, for the King will not be drawn by that bait to ruin his affairs and gratify Tyrconnell's unreasonable ambition; it was afterwards found Lord Peterborough conveyed the proposition. Which not succeeding, Tyrconnell found other means to obtain his end, for some time after, with a more cheerful countenance than ordinary, he told Sheridan his heart was now at rest as to his

promotion, but busied how to get the Irish Act of Settlement broken, whereto he had already gained Lord Sunderland and Father Peters, who were now become his zealous friends, and after some more discourse on the subject, bad Sheridan tell Father Peters, that Sunderland and he had the night afore spoke to the King for the bishopric he desired, and would again, and doubted not to get it granted. Father Peters seemed surprised, and said he knew not what he meant, asking Sheridan if he had named the bishopric. He told him no. Oh then, says he, recollecting himself, I remember I spake to him about a bishop to be made in Ireland, which when Sheridan told Tyrconnell, well, says he, smiling, he knew very well I meant the Archbishopric of York, which he desires to support the Cardinalship he was before promised, which he would not you should know. Sometime after Mr. Ellis preached at Saint James's a sermon, wherein he urged several reasons to the King for breaking the Irish Act of Settlement. After the sermon was over, Mr. Carryll and Mr. Brent told Sheridan they believed the preacher was hired by some of his countrymen; next day Tyrconnell asked Sheridan what he thought of that sermon, who said he did not think it so proper a discourse for a pulpit, as for the King's closet; and told him what Mr. Carryll and Mr. Brent had said on that subject. Indeed, says he, they were not much out, I put him upon it, and promised for reward the Bishopric of Waterford. He then told him Lord Sunderland desired he would not put in for Mr. Guy's place, Secretary of the Treasury, wherein he resolved he should be continued, but would do him as good a turn some other way, if he would decline that, which my Lord Sunderland himself next day confirmed to Sheridan, to which he yielded. Not long after Tyrconnell told Sheridan, Lord Sunderland and he had the night before much discourse about him, and that he found he had a great deal of kindness for him, asking him at the same time, if he did not think the Irish would be glad to give 50,000*l.* to have the Act of Settlement broke. No doubt on't, answered he, since those concerned to get it passed, gave Lord Ormond three times that sum. Well then, continues he, go you to Sunderland and tell him I will undertake to give him 50,000*l.* in money, or 5,000*l.* a year in land to him and his for this service, and bring me word how he relishes the motion, which was no sooner made, than his Lordship said, he would take the money, not the land, not as a new thing, but what seemed to Sheridan to have been before concerted between them, telling him he was very well pleased to receive that offer by him, having a very good opinion of his understanding and secrecy, which the thing required, and desired no other but he should be privy to it, through whose hands he would have the money to pass, making him great professions of friendship, of which he assured him he should soon find the effect. Sheridan told Tyrconnell what he had said, and that he was sure the proposal of 50,000*l.*

was not new to him. What, says he, have you then offered him 50,000*l.*? He said he had having been so ordered. It is true, says he, but, since you went, I thought 40,000*l.* would have been enough, but, since it is done, there is no remedy, it will be no bad bargain. Three or four days after Mr. Fitton gets Sheridan to introduce him to Tyrconnell, between whom and Sunderland he would divide 10,000*l.* on condition to get his estate possessed by Earl Macclesfield, fled on account of the Rye House conspiracy, and Lord Brandon his son in the Tower, as partisan in Monmouth's rebellion. Sheridan goes with him and meeting Tyrconnell in the gallery, whispered his business. Tyrconnell goes back to his lodgings and, without giving Mr. Fitton, whom he had never before seen, leave to speak, asked if he had that morning heard nothing of a matter relating to himself, who answered he had not. Why then I tell you the King was last night pleased to name me Deputy of Ireland, and you, at my instance, Lord Chancellor, for, though I know you not myself, I heard so good a character of you, that I proposed you rather than several others that were named to me, and of this Father Peters, who is your friend, promised to give you notice, but neither of you must say anything of it, because not yet declared in Council, but will be this evening, when between 8 and 9, says he to Sheridan, I would have you be here, having something to say to you also. Mr Fitton surprised told him he was confounded with the greatness of the favour, and wondered he should lay such an obligation on one, that was wholly a stranger to him. Tyrconnell answered, he owed it to his merits and the report he had of them, and that this was but the beginning of the kindness, which on all occasions he should receive from him. After returning the compliment, Mr. Fitton told him his business, wherein he promised his assistance, which came to nothing. That day Father Peters assured Mr. Fitton Tyrconnell had no hand in it, that he had first gained Sunderland and after they both the King.

At the hour appointed this lord tells Sheridan, though his nephew Sir Wm. T[albot] was very desirous to be his secretary, yet he named him for that office, as judging him of the two the better qualified, yet he could not but give him two advices, one to leave off drinking, the other to avoid corruption, and not imitate Sir Ellis Leighton or Mr. Ellis, the first having ruined Lord Berkeley, and the other, the blackest and most corrupt of villains, my Lord Arran. Sheridan not only surprised, but also offended at the discourse said he wondered he should prefer to his nephew one he knew so little as to think he stood in need of such cautions, that he was never given to drinking, but known for one of the most abstemious men living, and that he had as great an abhorrence of corruption, and defied the world to tax him with any thing of it, though he had gone through many employments, wherein he could not want temptations, had he had

any inclination to that vice, and therefore told his Lordship he might give that honour to his nephew, for he was resolved not to accept it. He told him the King had approved of his choice, and therefore he must take it. Sheridan answered he was sure the King would not oblige him to any thing he himself did not desire. Just then Tyrconnell was called to supper, when Sheridan would have taken his leave, which he would by no means suffer, telling him he must stay and eat with him. Sheridan said he could eat nothing. Whether you do or not, says he, you must stay, for I have more to say to you. His Lady, taking notice that Sheridan was out of humour, asked him if he was displeased at the good news wherein he himself had so great a share. He said, he wished her and my Lord all possible joy, but as for himself he knew of no share he had in it, or, if he had, no cause to be pleased. She surprised at this, looked earnestly on her Lord, who calling for a glass of wine, drank to Sheridan, telling him, though he could not eat, he must drink to their good journey. When supper was over, his Lordship carried Sheridan to his closet and took a bundle of papers tied in a napkin, relating, he said, to Ireland, and bad him take them home as a badge of his new office. Sheridan desired to be excused, protesting he would never take it, unless the King forced him. His Lordship answered the thing was already resolved, and he knew the King would not alter it, and swore a bloody oath, if he would not let his footman carry them, he would send them by one of his own. Upon which he took them very unwillingly and was bid by my Lord to come to him next morning. All that night he continued out of humour, refusing to tell his wife, that desired it, the reason. Next morning she pressed him again, whereupon he told her the King had made Tyrconnell Lord Deputy, and advised her to go and wish his Lady joy. But this, says she, could not make you so extraordinary melancholy and thoughtful and therefore pray tell me the matter. Whereupon he told her this Lord's discourse, with which she was as little pleased as her husband. Sheridan, going to the King's levée, was told he was gone a hunting, then he went to Tyrconnell's lodgings, where there was a crowd to wish him joy. He took him into his closet, and bid him write a letter for him to sign to my Lord Lieutenant's Secretary for the yacht, to meet him by a certain day at Holyhead. When he had read it, he told him, before all the company, he could not spell. Sheridan prayed him to name the word misspelt, he instanced *move* which he said should be with a double, not a single o. Sheridan appealed to F[ather] Marsh, who stood next him, and judged it was spelt right. Well then, says he, I do not like your style. Sheridan answered he was sorry it did not please him, but, if he would tell him what to say, he would write his own words, but instead of that he subscribed what was written.

Next morning Sheridan waited on him again, as he had him, who took him into his closet and asked him why he complained to his wife (Lady Tyrconnell) of the advices he had in kindness given him. He said, he did not, and that she must have it from his wife, from whom he could not conceal the trouble those unnecessary cautions gave him. Well, says he, I charge you never to speak to mine of any business relating to the Government. As for that, answered he, I shall be sure to avoid it, in case I go with you, of which I am yet far from being resolved. It seems then you have not seen the King. Sheridan told him he had not, but was to have that honour in the evening.

The day after Tyrconnell was declared, Sir Maurice Eustace asked him, if Sheridan was not appointed Secretary. He told him that was talked of, but he did not yet know whether it would be so or no, but, if he goes, says he, he wont be of the Council. Sir Maurice said he knew Sheridan too well to think he would take it, without that customary mark of honour. When Sheridan waited on the King and told him that Lord Tyrconnell said he had pitched on him for Secretary, and that his Majesty had approved of his choice, that he was now come to beseech his leave to refuse it, for he was sure they two could never agree, the King was pleased to say, it was not Tyrconnell but I have named you, and you go not his, but my Secretary. Sheridan humbly thanked his Majesty for the favour, but begged he would not oblige him to what was so much against his inclination. The King told him he must not deny him a thing so much for his service, and that he would make it worth his while, that he knew Tyrconnell too well, to trust him with the Government, without obliging him to consult with Mr. Fitton and him in everything relating to it, and that he was to have an account by Sunderland, if they happened to differ, and determine himself which of the opinions he would have followed. Sheridan assured his Majesty he had rather go to the Indies than to Ireland with Tyrconnell, whose temper he not only knew, but also that he had some selfish designs wherein he could never comply, and that he believed his Majestie might find a fitter person for that post than he, who was desirous to stay in England, till some thing else fell, since he was disappointed of what his Majesty had promised at his accession to the crown, and where he was sure he should be able to do him better service than he could in Ireland. The King told him his going with Tyrconnell was absolutely necessary to help to bring about with prudence the rough part he was to act, which was reforming the army, calling in the old charters, and setting the corporations so, as he might be sure of having a good Parliament, which he was persuaded no English peer could effect, and that he would dispatch this work in 12 or 18 months, which should be the longest of his stay, after which he would provide for him to his own satisfaction, and, if what

he aimed at fell sooner, he should have it upon being reminded by either of his friends Lord Sunderland and Godolphin. Hereupon Sheridan, though very unwillingly, submitted.

Next day Tyrconnell asked Sheridan if he had spoken to the King, and being answered he had, well then, says he, you are, I suppose, satisfied he has approved my choice and that you are to go with me. Sheridan answered he thought he might, but yet not unless he was to be of the Council, which he heard his Lordship said he was not. It is true, says he, I did so, for I asked the King and he refused it. Sheridan replied he might then assure himself he would not go with less honour than all others in that post had. For that, says he, you may do as you please, I will not be denied a second time for you, and no doubt nothing could better please him than that Sheridan would not go. But, notwithstanding his all visible coldness to Sheridan from the time he was named Secretary, next morning meeting him at the foot of the back stairs and taking him into the Privy Garden, he tells him, but with a discontented look, I have just now done you a kindness, though a prejudice to myself; several were putting in for Lord Longford's place, Mr. Mathews, Lord Ormond's brother, and others, yet I prevailed with the King, but with much ado to give it you; Sheridan said he was much obliged by so unexpected a favour, and wondered how he should come to ask for him unsought so profitable a place, when the day before he had told him he would not desire, though he should request it, an honour without any profit, that of the Council, to which making no answer, Sheridan after a little pause went on and prayed him to tell him, how this could be a prejudice to him. Because, said he, you can never attend both, and therefore I shall lose the assistance I expected from you as Secretary. If that be so, says Sheridan, it is strange you should move the King without my seeking, for what would hinder you of it, and yet would not speak for my being of the Council, without which I told you I would not go, but, since the King has done me the honour, I will endeavour to discharge both, as I ought, but, if I find myself unable, I will quit one of them. Well, says he, we shall see, but forget not to tell Lord Sunderland I sent you to give him thanks, for without his assistance I could not have done it. Sheridan going on that errand met Mr. Monstevens, who told him his Lord had sent for him; Sheridan no sooner came, then his Lordship told him the King had a quarter of an hour before made him First Commissioner of his Revenue, with more extraordinary and obliging terms than ever he had known him do any one a favour, and that he had sent for him to tell him he ought immediately to give his Majesty thanks. Sheridan answered he held himself much obliged to the King and also to his Lordship, who, he believed, persuaded the King to it, to quit himself of the promise he had lately made him. No indeed, says my Lord, it was the King's own act, I am yet your debtor,

for, to tell you the truth, my Lord Tyrconnell disappointed by the King's naming you, of Sir William T[albot's] being Secretary, engaged me to join with him to out Lord Longford, and put his nephew into his place; the King had no sooner heard our reasons for his removal, than he said, Well, since it is so, my Lord is out, Mr. Sheridan shall have his employment, I owe him a kindness, and I am glad of this opportunity to pay him. And having done this thing so handsomely, says my Lord, he will expect your acknowledgements, and pray let him know I told you the obligation is wholly owing to his own bounty and goodness. Whereupon Sheridan acquainted his Lordship with what Lord Tyrconnell had just before said to him on this subject. Well, says he, I have told you the truth, and neither he nor I had any thoughts of you, but I see he is more a courtier than I am, and, whatever face he puts upon it, he is heartily vexed at the double disappointment he has met for his nephew, of whom his Majesty has but an indifferent opinion.

When Sheridan made his acknowledgements to the King, he was pleased to tell him what he had done proceeded from the sense he had of his former services, when abandoned by many others he had obliged, *that he would have him still in his thoughts and make his fortune*, and expected he would now go cheerfully into Ireland, and study and promote his interest there, where he was to take notice, *no man was to be put out or into any employment, civil or military, on account of religion, and that one of his chief injunctions to Tyrconnell was not to disoblige his Protestant subjects*. Sheridan assured him he would do his utmost to obey his commands, but was convinced he could not long agree with Tyrconnell, who, he found, was displeased at his going with him, and who he feared had some particular views and designs of his own contrary to his Majesty's interest and service; whatever he may have of that sort, says the King, his time will not be long, and it is yours and the Chancellor's business to watch and hinder them. I send you two as a restraint upon the violence of his temper and inclinations, and I depend upon your fidelities and prudence. Tyrconnell next day commanded Sheridan not to tell the Primate anything of public affairs, for, says he, I know him curious and inquisitive and too open to be trusted with a secret. Sheridan assured him he would not fail to obey him, but yet he was much surprised considering their former familiarity and the great use he had made of him for his advancement. The Primate quickly perceived Tyrconnell's change and coldness, of which complaining to Sheridan he asked him if he could tell him the reason, who answered he could not, but wondered at it as much as he himself did. Whereupon his Grace told him that Tyrconnell had lately said, when soliciting him for some Ulster men to be made officers in the army in presence of Bishop Tyrrell, that the King did not love those of that

Province nor indeed any O or Mac ; which he, disbelieving though not contradicting, went straight to the King carrying the bishop with him, and told his Majesty what that Lord had said to them two, not half an hour before. The King answered it was false, he never made any difference between the old and new Irish Catholics, but I know Tyrconnell hates the O's and Macs, and in particular the Ulster men ; you ought no longer to seek for a reason of the alteration, says Sheridan, for you may be assured the bishop gave him an account of this your proceeding. I do not doubt it, answered the Primate, and I am heartily vexed a man of his malicious temper and great falsehood should be entrusted with the Government of our kingdom.

The alterations made before in the army only were inconsiderable in comparison of those to be now made, both in that, and in civil affairs, in the courts of law and the council table, for which letters and commissions were expedited and put into Sheridan's hands by Mr. Bridgeman, who told him there were two for himself for which his Lord would take no fees. Sheridan answered, he believed he was indebted to his Lord not only for the fees, but also for the honour of being of the Council, for he was told the King had denied it. That cannot be, says he, for I am confident it was never asked, being a thing to which you are doubly entitled both as Secretary and First Commissioner. Tyrconnell having dispatched his affairs begins his journey, for which Sheridan could not so soon get himself ready. When some days after he took his leave of Lord Sunderland and Godolphin, he told them he had undertaken an ungrateful office, much against his own will, in pure obedience to the King's commands, and that by what he saw already, he was sure Lord Tyrconnell and he could not long agree, but he hoped they would, when occasion offered, put the King in mind, as he himself had desired, of the gracious promise he had made of providing for him in England, when the place aimed at fell, or his business in Ireland was over, which both of them promised and advised him to go cheerfully and mind his business and believe they would always be his friends.

Sheridan overtook Tyrconnell at Chester, who told him what he did not credit, that he was glad to see him, and that he intended to consult in all public affairs only with him, the Chancellor and Mr. Nagle, whom he got named Attorney-General (a promise he soon forgot) not saying any thing of the King's commands as to the two first. The contrary winds obliged him to a longer stay at Holyhead than he expected, where he often talked to the Chancellor and Sheridan, but severally, of his designs of taking Christ Church in Dublin from the Protestants to his own use, as being the church in a manner appropriated to the Chief Governor, of whom it might rather be called the State Chapel than a cathedral, and of bringing Catholics by little and little as

fast as possible into all employments, especially in the Revenue, of disarming all Protestants and raising, arming, and training a Catholic militia. To all which he received no satisfactory answer, both of them knowing those things were contrary to his Majesty's intentions and interest.

On Sunday, the 6th of February, he arrives in Dublin and presently sends Sheridan to Lord Clarendon with the King's letter, requiring him to cause a patent to be passed making Tyrconnell Deputy and afterwards to return for England, which his Lordship promised to obey. That night one of his gentlemen said in company it was the dog Talbot that had caused this alteration, which it is certain put all the Protestants of the kingdom into a mighty consternation, which every day increased by finding the Government become wholly popish by removal of Protestants. Tyrconnell, being told what Lord Clarendon's servant had called him, sent Sheridan contrary to the advice of Lord Limerick, Sir William Talbot and all his friends, who would have had him pass it over, to Lord Clarendon to complain and require the person to be immediately sent to himself, to be punished as he should judge the affront did merit. Sheridan went and told Lord Clarendon (not thinking proper to repeat Tyrconnell's words, he being yet but a private person, to the King's Lieutenant,) that one of his servants had spoken reflectingly of Tyrconnell, for which he expected by his punishment a reparation. His Lordship answered he had heard nothing of it, but would enquire into it, and, if found guilty, would punish him accordingly. Sheridan returned and told Tyrconnell what Lord Clarendon had said. What, said he aloud, I perceive by this answer you have not delivered my message in the words I commanded, but pretend to be wiser than I, so that I see you and I shall not long agree but must part. Sheridan replied, my Lord, if we must, the sooner the better, I shall go back more willingly than I came. Nor did he afterwards miss any occasion he could lay hold of to disgust and tire out Sheridan and force him to return, as he had done in England to hinder him from coming. He had got the King to write a letter forbidding the appointing of sheriffs until his arrival, pursuant to which he called his first cabinet, which consisted of the Chancellor, Mr. Nugent, Mr. Rice and Mr. Nagle, all three newly advanced, Nugent to be a justice, Rice to be a baron, and Nagle to be Attorney-General, and of Sheridan. His Lordship bad them consider whether it was not fit the sheriffs should be Catholics, which all were for, except the Chancellor and Sheridan, who believed the direct contrary, unless in counties where a loyal Protestant could not be found, for that no parliament was that year to be expected, and that to do it without that prospect was but to alarm and exasperate the Protestants to no purpose, who were already affrighted and surprised at the great changes made, and in their opinion would be more agreeable to the

King's intentions ; Tyrconnell was much enraged, and particularly stormed against Sheridan for daring to cross his will, and thenceforward added two others, Mr. Daly, whom he got made judge in the Common Pleas, and Mr. Barnwall, whom he advanced to be King's Serjeant. So that his cabinet, instead of three, came to consist of seven, five of them all his own creatures, to whom he soon bragged of his mighty power with the King and his ministers, whom he said he had all in a string, and could lead by the nose just as he pleased, that they should see the Act of Settlement broken, for which he had by Sheridan promised Sunderland 50,000*l*. and that he himself had besides promised the Queen a pearl-necklace Prince Rupert had left his mistress Peg Hughes, which would cost 10,000*l*. more. Sheridan was surprised to hear this secret made public, which his Lordship afterwards in this cabinet frequently mentioned, to magnify his own power and strike an awe into his hearers, and intimidate them to a compliance in all things with his will. The Chancellor complained to Sheridan that he had kept him a stranger to it. Sheridan answered he was obliged to secrecy, and that he had never before heard anything of the 10,000*l*. for the Queen, which he would not believe, and indeed after this none was more forward to agree to his pleasure than the Chancellor, who, however honest he might be, never after opposed him in anything, for he was a most poor and timorous man, having nothing to maintain him but his office, to which dignity he was surprisingly raised from a tedious imprisonment of many years in the King's Bench in England for debt and pretended forgery in the business of the estate in dispute between him and Lord Macclesfield. On the 12th of February 168*2* Tyrconnell received the sword, and that evening told Sheridan he had made Mr. Ellis Secretary, and desired he would live well with him ; he answered he could not but be surprised at his choice, considering the black character he had so lately given him, and to whom for that reason he resolved still to keep himself, as he was, a stranger. It is true, said he, I know him to be a great knave and villain, but yet he is a useful knave and being a Protestant can do me good, but no hurt.

Soon after Ellis told Sheridan he had a matter of moment to acquaint him with and prayed they might eat together at a tavern ; Sheridan told him, he did not go to such places, and that, if he had any thing to say, he might speak it then ; he answered it would require more time, and earnestly pressed him not to refuse him. This being the first discourse they had together, Sheridan consented, but on condition to pay his club, and, that he might have a witness of what passed, he desired Mr. Ellis's brother, Secretary to the Commissioners of the Revenue, to be his guest, which accordingly he was, but his presence hindered his declaring the business. Next day Ellis, meeting Sheridan in the Castle Court, asked why he carried his brother with him, before whom he would not speak what

he had to say, and desired they two alone might that day dine together, which Sheridan absolutely refused, telling him it looked odd he should have any thing to say to him he would conceal from his brother, but whatever it was, he might then speak or let it alone, for it was to him indifferent. Whereupon Ellis proposed how each of them might get 1,500*l.* sterling a year over and above their employments, which was by engrossing the agency of the army and joining his interest to get the reversions of the Custom House employments, he had in the last reign obtained, confirmed in this, in which as also in the agency he should go halves with him. Sheridan answered he liked neither of his proposals, that the reversions were odious and inconsistent, and the agency injurious to the particular persons that now enjoyed them, upon which, he offering to make the contrary clear, Sheridan told him he might spare the labour, for he would not be any way concerned and so left him.

The first Council Tyrconnell called after the letters for the new members were read, the clerk told Sheridan his place was to sit on a stool at a small distance from the Chief Governor's seat, to be ready to answer any question he should put, or to give him any paper he might call for; whither accordingly Sheridan went, of which Tyrconnell taking notice, asked him aloud what he did there. He answered the Clerk said it was his proper place, to which his Lordship replied I have no need of a monitor, and will have no instructor, go and take your place at the board; yet after that day he constantly brought in Mr. Ellis to stand behind his chair, at which, he being not a Councillor nor sworn to keep their debates secret, the old members were offended, and spoke to Sheridan to tell his Excellency it was a thing not fit to be done, which he absolutely refused, telling them, it was much more proper for them, who knew the custom, than for him, who was but a novice, and might be thought to have ends of his own in it.

Tyrconnell whilst in England had prevailed with the King, besides the great changes in the army, to make the Chancellor, Secretary, one judge in every of the Law Courts, Attorney-General and several Privy Councillors Roman Catholics. But, to show the absoluteness of his power and drive on his own designs, he was not many days in Ireland, before he got more and greater alterations to be made, without consulting the Chancellor or Sheridan; not only in the army, but also in the Privy Council and judges, among whom instead of one Catholic judge he got two and but one Protestant to be left, the King's law counsel was also all Catholics except Sir John Temple, the Solicitor, so that the Privy Council and the bench were in a manner wholly become popish, as well as the army, the persons advanced were his creatures, dependants and relations, all of his own nomination, and not only poor and indigent persons, but also for the most part

scandalously ignorant in the laws ; he falsely giving out it was the King's pleasure to have it so, *contrary to his Majesty's express commands and injunctions to himself at parting, and afterwards confirmed in a letter written with his own hand the 15th of February 1687 and frequently repeated in his name by Sunderland*, who hitherto complied in every thing he desired, in hopes of the 50 thousand pound bribe, or else with malicious purpose to ruin his master's affairs. In the army no Protestants were left, except a very few of the best quality and interest, and to remove them also he bad Ellis to advise them to sell, for fear of being moved out, as the others were, for nothing. *Several of the officers acquainted Sheridan with this intimation, who assured them it was not the King's intention to remove any one that was and would continue loyal.* But yet they were so intimidated, that most of them begged leave, which they had on condition to sell to particular men named by the Deputy, by which restriction they held themselves doubly disobliged, as being not only forced to sell, but also to sell at what rates the buyers pleased, which were far short of what their respective employments were used to be sold at formerly. And to instance but in one for the rest, the Earl of Donegall, whose family had been always loyal, could get but 600*l.* for a troop of horse, which cost himself not two years before 1,800 *guineas*. For the army he recommended few or none but Leinster men or such as had served in France, despising all that served in Flanders or Holland, and the first Sunday after he was sworn, he ordered Mr. Wholochan to preach before him and the State, in the Jesuits' church, a French sermon, to which language the whole auditory, except his own domestics which were mostly French, were in a manner strangers, which the Protestants judged an argument of his inclinations for the interest of France, and the Catholics condemned as a vain and ridiculous affectation. *Many of the disbanded officers went for England where some got pensions from the King and others as good commands as those they lost, but the greatest part went into Holland and instigated the Prince of Orange to the invasion, which the year afterwards was made.* This Jehu-like proceeding and his over hasty making all Catholic sheriffs and issuing out *quo warrantos* against the Corporation Charters together with the Catholic natives indiscreetly giving out they were soon to be restored, not only to their ancient possessions, but were also to engross all the civil as well as military employments, put the Protestants into a mighty consternation and made vast numbers of all sorts, gentlemen, artificers, tradesmen and merchants as well as the disbanded officers of the army quit the kingdom, apprehending a bloody persecution and the breaking the Act of Settlement, of which Lord Clarendon, at his coming into the Government, had assured them the King had no intention. This they thought might now be

done under form of law, without an Act of Repeal, or by force, in case that failed, by popish judges, sheriffs, juries and army. And they were confirmed in this opinion by the copies spread about of a letter written by Mr. Nagle in October 1686 from Coventry to Tyrconnell giving reasons to induce the King to break that Act. The report coming to Nagle's ears, he complained to Tyrconnell, who thereupon calling for Sheridan asked him, if he had seen any copy of such a pretended letter, who answered, he had neither seen nor heard anything of it before. Go then, says he, and fetch me this minute the bundle of papers I gave you the night I was declared Deputy, which he immediately brought him from the office, assuring him what was true, that he had never opened, seen, or read one paper in it. He presently untied the napkin and found the original, which he neither shewed nor said more of to Sheridan, but about a fortnight after he was told on't by his sister Gwylims, who desired to know whether the King had any such design, which from that letter and the old proprietors boasting was generally concluded. That which makes me so inquisitive, says she, is that if the Act be to be broken, we had better keep in our pockets the 500*l*. we have ready to lay out in a new addition to our old house, than lose it together with our estate. He assured her he knew of no such intention of the King, but advised her to depend on his justice and public declaration by Clarendon, and not to be frightened with foolish reports, but go on with their designed building. She followed this advice, for which she has since often reproached him, her new and old house being after the invasion first plundered and made a garrison by the Irish, and afterwards abandoned and burnt to the ground.

This sudden change of the whole face of affairs in Ireland, proved a great stop and discouragement to the trade and improvement of the kingdom, both in cities, towns and country, which to this time was in a very fair and flourishing condition. Sheridan, apprehending the ill effects these noises and rumours might have on the Revenue, declared to his brethren commissioners, the first day he sat among them, *that it was the King's positive command that no man should be put in or out of employment on account of religion*, and therefore prayed them to join with him in a circular letter to all the officers, not to be disturbed with any reports they might possibly hear, but go on cheerfully in their respective offices, from which no man was to be outed, but on positive proof and conviction of fraud, or negligence in their respective duties, which he no sooner proposed than it was joyfully agreed to, and this he judged necessary for the King's service and interest, to quiet the officers' minds, allay their fears and incite them to a strict and greater care in their business, having been, even before his patent was passed, often advised by Tyrconnell to turn out all the fanatics and Protestants and put in Catholic natives, among whom he recommended

several of his own friends and relations, who with many more in crowds daily solicited and importuned him. But this letter dated the 5th of March was not more welcome to the Protestants than displeasing to his Excellency and the Catholics, whereupon they gave out he was not a real convert but a Protestant in masquerade, and several of them told himself they found no advantage by having the King and Government of their religion, since the Protestants were still to be continued in their employments and the Catholics excluded. *He answered they mistook the matter, the King did not intend any man should be put out, or in, purely on account of religion, and that theirs would not for the future be a bar, as formerly it had been, to preferment, but whenever vacancies happened, the best qualified for the place, whether Protestant or Papist, should indifferently be advanced.* But this did not satisfy unreasonable men, nor stop their clamours against Sheridan, who being still daily tormented with vast numbers of expectants and solicitors for employments, he got the Commissioners to join with him in fixing a public paper over the door of their usual meeting place dated the 12th of May, 1687, directing all such to repair to their several dwellings, and forbear any further applications; for that the Commissioners had resolved to choose, when any vacancy happened, such as they should find upon examination best qualified and that therefore it was in vain for them to attend longer or use any solicitation. The circular letter had before very much incensed Tyrconnell and the Catholic natives, but this declaration quite distracted them and put them out of all patience. Whereupon Sheridan was everywhere traduced for a hypocrite, a trimmer and a spy by Tyrconnell and his creatures, to the raising of which calumny, besides this proceeding of his about employments, several other accidents had before concurred.

Tyrconnell knew he was put upon him, against his will, by way of check; and therefore, all along, from his being first named, had used him very ill, both in England and Ireland, and found in him an opposition and counter-inclination in all the propositions he made for the discouragement of the Protestants. *But Sheridan did all this in pursuance of the King's positive injunctions and service and not out of any spirit of contradiction to that Lord's contrary judgment or pleasure.* Being therefore desirous to have a more complying Secretary, he often proposed that Ellis might have the entire execution of that office, and at last gave him a most unreasonable and extravagant proposal in Ellis's hand, to that purpose, insomuch that Ellis next day threatened Sheridan he should soon repent his non-compliance, and indeed thenceforward Tyrconnell put most of Sheridan's business into Ellis's hands, who took to himself all the profits, of which Sheridan often complained, but without redress. But besides this particular injustice,

Tyrconnell, sensible what the Chancellor and Sheridan were placed about him for, had from his landing all the letters to both brought to himself every post, and, after he had them in his own hands, sent for them two, on pretence he might consult them, in case there were in his own or their letters anything relating to the Government, all which letters it's most probable he opened beforehand, which Sheridan had several reasons to suspect ; besides this, that one night giving Sheridan several letters, he asked him, if one of them, pointing to it, was not from Lord Godolphin, to whose character he was before that time a perfect stranger, and if there was any secret between them he might not know. Sheridan having read the letter told him it was about his own private concerns, and contained no secret ; well then, says he, let me see it. Sheridan gave him the letter, which was dated the 7th March and which he read without saying anything then of it. Next morning he sent for him, and asked him, if he was not mad to shew him that letter ; Sheridan answered he knew no hurt in it, but believed he would have been more displeased, if he had refused it. Why, says he, is it not plain by it you are not satisfied here, and expect to go back in a little time ? I see now why your wife is not come, but, whatever you or others think of the shortness of my Government, *I will, says he, swearing a great oath, cut out work shall keep me here seven years at least, if not all my life.* Sheridan replied his Excellency might continue as long as he thought fit, but that he well knew he had not chosen his employments, nor accepted them, but on promise to be soon recalled and promoted in England, but it was not from that expectation but her own indisposition that his wife's stay in England proceeded. From that time forward he never more sent for Sheridan at the coming in of the English letters, which were all first constantly carried to him and opened with the help of his emissary Brown of the Post Office, who afterwards carried such as he thought fit to Sheridan, as he also constantly did to the Deputy those which Sheridan wrote into England. Nor was he content with this base and unworthy practice, but also employed several spies to observe and relate to him Sheridan's company, actions and conversation, and among others one who passed by the name of Johnson, a Jesuit, whom presently for that end he made chaplain, though he had upon his arrival denied that favour to Lord Limerick and two other friends he employed to beg it, as knowing him a lewd and profligate wretch, who was to have been banished the society in Oates's plot, which for fear was not done, he having got himself protected by the Duke of Ormond. This man, a proper tool for any wickedness, and wholly before a stranger to Sheridan, insinuated himself into his acquaintance on pretence of being some way related to him. He failed not to come to his house three or four times a day on pretence of kindness and visiting his niece, whom for his crooked ends

he had persuaded his wife to take into her family as a good servant and skilful market woman. He told him among other things, he might enrich himself and him too, for the use of the society, which he said was poor, by putting men for money into employments in the Revenue, and that he would be his instrument, being acquainted with many that had already offered him considerable sums on that account. Sheridan answered, he wondered he could propose so unlawful a thing, and that he resolved never to employ any man that would offer money, though otherwise never so well qualified. Johnson told him he was too scrupulous, and that it was now and at all times the common practice and very just for money to prefer one concurrent before another, supposing all equally skilful and able to discharge their offices. Sheridan replied he supposed what was not to be supposed, for that it was impossible for able judges to find two, much less several, equally fit for any employment, where honesty, skill and diligence were required, and desired him never more to mention any such thing to him, for that he had a natural aversion to corruption and bribery, and had already from some intimate friends and near relations, rejected such kind of offers with indignation. Johnson said, he hoped he would think better of the matter, and do himself and others good. Afterwards, finding himself more coldly received and treated by Sheridan, he complained of this his resolution, which he called folly, to several of his servants, and some of his relations, and said he could not persuade him to do himself or others good; as was sworn at the examination of witnesses in the after dispute between Tyrconnell and Sheridan. After this Johnson tells Sheridan he had by twenty years drudgery in teaching school got 300*l.*, which was at interest and lately paid in to him, which he would lend him without interest, till he could find a mortgage to lay it out upon. Sheridan told him he had no need of his money, and advised him to put it into some goldsmith's or merchant's hand at interest, till he could meet the occasion he expected. Johnson answered he was not sure of having it back at that time from such men, and judged it safer in his hands, who should have twenty or thirty days notice to provide it, and that he would oblige him by taking it, being unwilling longer to keep it in his lodgings. Sheridan told him he might better lodge it with the Jesuits; upon which he said they were not to know he had so much money, for their society did not live in Ireland, as in other places, in common, but every one shifted for himself, as well as he could, and had a right of propriety in their acquisitions, at least during life. Sheridan, persuaded by these arguments, unluckily took his money, by which seeming act of kindness Johnson fancied he should get a greater interest in him, and therefore came frequently to his house.

Some time after he pressed Sheridan to employ such as he should name who would give him money for the use of the

society, which was he said very poor, and judged not (as he did) the practice unlawful. Sheridan told him the Jesuits might enrich themselves a fairer way, that he could not serve them in that, that there were no places vacant nor any to be removed but on conviction of fraud or neglect of duty. What, says he, are you then resolved to continue all the fanatics? Sheridan answered, he would make no distinction on account of men's opinions in religion, and that it was vain to urge that matter farther. Johnson telling this to Tyrconnell, he was enraged and finding by his answer to Ellis's paper, he would not quit his Secretaryship, he wrote to Sunderland to remove him, and give him a Government in some part of the West Indies, being no less willing he should return to England, for fear he should discover his indirect and unjustifiable proceedings, than that he should still continue in Ireland. Sheridan had an account of this his motion, and was also informed by a letter from an incognito in Dublin dated the 3rd of April, 1687, to be on his guard, for that Tyrconnell hated him, and had set several spies to pry into his actions, and resolved by hook or by crook to get him out. Among other of his unkindnesses a new establishment being to be made, he wrote unknown to Sheridan, that, he having two good employments, the 550*l*. he had by patent from King Charles II might very well be struck off and saved, of which by a letter 22nd of April, 1687, Lord Godolphin gave him notice. *But upon the reasons given by Sheridan in answer, his pension was still continued by King James to Tyrconnell's great vexation.*

About this time, the business of the Charters being vigorously pushed on, the Recorder of Dublin was sent to London to state their particular case; upon whose representation Tyrconnell was ordered, to his great disturbance, to have a clause inserted in all the new charters, that every future new Governor should have power to make what alterations he should think fit, and change or turn out any of the members in every corporation; several letters passed between him and Sunderland on this subject, whose non-compliance with his desire in this and in that against Sheridan made him suspect and storm against him, and conclude Sheridan had found means to inform the King and him of his violent proceedings, and farther intentions against the Protestants and the independence he designed of that kingdom upon England. Upon this he wrote privately by F[athe]r la Mar, *alias* Forbes, a Scotch Jesuit, then by accident in Ireland, to the King and Queen, and begged him to make use of all his interest to make the Charters, as he had projected them, unalterable; but all to no purpose. He was also crossed in his design of making Dublin College presently popish, in order to which, as soon as he was sure of the Government of that kingdom, he sent for Mr. Moor from Paris to be Provost, a person suspected for Jansenism, and twice forced to abjure that heresy; and for a beginning he recommended one Jordan, a convert, to be

made a fellow by *mandamus*, against which Sheridan advised him, assuring him nothing could more startle the Protestants than that, and was confident the King would not yet at least think it proper. However he wrote and was in this also denied. Soon after he got the Catholic bishops of Dublin, Meath, Clogher and others, to recommend Mr. Moor to the King and pray that the management and conduct of that house might be put into the hands of seculars; which the King refused, either as unreasonable, or else persuaded the Jesuits were fitter for that function.

Not long after one Shapland and Archer, having by some means gained the Deputy, petitioned the Council, that a judgment in a matter of the Revenue given in Lord Clarendon's time might be repealed. The Commissioners appearing for the King against them, and Sheridan speaking at the Board what he judged for his Majesty's service, was commanded by Tyrconnell to rise from his place and stand with his brethren, that, in case it came to a vote, his might not be received, on pretence of being a party. Whereas indeed the parties were the King on one side, and the two merchants on the other; the thing happened before Sheridan was concerned, but being fully possessed of it, he gave such reasons for confirming the judgment, that with much ado the Board was prevailed with to grant a second hearing and to order the Commissioners to give their reasons in writing, but Tyrconnell was so vexed at what he said, that he publicly called him insolent, which double affront Sheridan bore patiently without any reply, which encouraged his Excellency to repeat the same language after the reasons were read signed by himself and brethren for confirming the former judgment, which were so clear and satisfactory that the Council without a vote declared it valid and unrepealable, much to Tyrconnell's dissatisfaction, who afterwards told about, that Sheridan did this to cross him, and shew his wit, and not for zeal to the King's interest.

That summer an account was given to Tyrconnell that above 4,000 Scotch fanatics, many of them besides the preacher come from Scotland, had a meeting for several days in Ulster, and discoursed many things tending to sedition and rebellion; for which the preacher was taken and sent prisoner into Scotland; from whence he escaped into Holland. Hereupon Sheridan advised his Excellency after the rendezvous of the army at the Curragh of Kildare, to send the regiments of Mountjoy and Forbes, the only two Scotch protestant colonels, to winter quarters in Munster, and Irish Catholics into Ulster, which he followed, but soon after, on Mountjoy's solicitation with his lady, altered to the King's damage, and sent them back to Derry, where in the revolution they joined with the townsmen, turned out all the Catholics and declared for the Usurper. When he had found all his endeavours to alter the clause commanded to be inserted in the new charters vain,

he declared to his cabinet he would get the Parliament to expunge it, and repeal Poynings' Act, and grant a liberty to transport their wool into France, and import tobacco and other plantation commodities into Ireland, without unlading first in England, as by a late Act of Parliament there they were obliged, and, *unless the King would consent to all these things, as well as to an alteration of the Irish Act of Settlement, they should pass no money bills.*

Not long after Tyrconnell received a command to meet the King in August in his progress at Chester, whither Sheridan asked his leave to wait on him, but was refused, but the next post he received a letter from Sunderland telling him the King likewise commanded his attendance, at which Tyrconnell shewed much dissatisfaction, who apprehended he would give the King and Sunderland a full account of all his proceedings. He carried with him his two creatures Rice and Nagle and Ellis, and his chaplain Johnson, but arriving before the King he went to meet him at Shrewsbury and obliged Sheridan to lodge there in the same house with himself, the more narrowly to watch his motions, and prevent, if possible, his speaking privately with the King or Sunderland. When Sheridan kissed the King's hand the night of his arrival there, he commanded him to be at his levée next morning, whither he went before Tyrconnell was stirring. The King took Sheridan aside and told him he would stay longer at Chester than he intended at Shrewsbury, where he could discourse him at large of all his affairs, of which he expected from him a full account. Tyrconnell, being told Sheridan was gone out, followed him to the King's lodgings, and not seeing him there went presently to Lord Sunderland, where finding him, he ordered him immediately to return to Chester, and with Rice and Nagle prepare the things that were to be proposed to the King. Sheridan answered, that was already done in Dublin. Not fully enough, says he, and therefore you must needs go back. Well, says Sunderland to Sheridan, we shall there have more time to discourse matters.

The day following the King arrived at Chester, and that night Tyrconnell sent for Sheridan and asked for the minutes of what was to be discoursed with his Majesty; among which coming to the point of the Act of Settlement, his Lordship said he was of opinion the Act was in part to be broken, and in part to be confirmed by a new Act, that should cut off one half or one third from all the new interested men and divide what should be so cut off among some particular sufferers to be named, reserving a sufficient fund of reprisals for all *bona fide* Catholics purchasers. To this the other two readily assented, as a thing before concerted among them. Sheridan being silent was asked whether he was not of the same opinion, who answered he was not, for that the great grievances and palpable injustices of the old Act could never be that way redressed, and that such a new one would be as unjust as the

former, and that the Protestant purchasers ought in all reason to be reprimanded as well as the Catholics, that there were above 8,000 innocent claimants cut off by the former, most of whom, by this now intended, would be still and for ever excluded, contrary to all methods of equity, policy and prudence. Upon which Tyrconnell flew into a passion, and cried, God damn you for an impudent saucy fellow, and him that made you a privy councillor; how dare you be of a different opinion from mine or pretend to be a better patriot than I? Sheridan answered it was the King made him a privy councillor, and, whilst he had that honour, he judged him bound in conscience, being sworn to it, to speak his thoughts freely, as he had then done, and ever would on all occasions, that what he said was for the King's honour, and the public good, and that he himself, being a younger brother, was neither to get or lose by the repeal or alteration of the settlement, by which his father, though a Protestant, was a loser, his claim having never been heard. Well, says he, rising up in fury, God damn me for making you Secretary, whom after this I will never more consult, upon which Sheridan answered, I see then, my Lord, I have no more business here, and therefore I'll go home. Go, says he, and the devil go with you. That night, after Sheridan was in bed, his servant goes in and tells him Baron Rice and Nagle pressed earnestly then to speak with him, who in that instant following told him, they were much troubled at Tyrconnell's behaviour, and were persuaded his passion was the effect of wine, for, after he was gone, he told them he had supped with Sunderland, whom he found averse to every thing he proposed, which put him out of humour, that he was very sorry for what he had said to him, and would next day ask his pardon for it. Sheridan answered he was not in drink, and that they were much mistaken, if they thought the ill treatment he had received was the effect of wine, it was but a farther continuance of what he gave him all along from the moment he was named Secretary, a post he had unwillingly accepted, and which he was resolved next morning to give up, being no longer able to bear the great affronts and harsh usage he had hitherto suffered. They laboured much to dissuade him, but he told them his resolution was fixed, begged them to retire and leave him to his rest.

Next morning Sheridan went to the King's Levée with intention as soon as he was dressed, to beg an audience and leave to quit the service, and give him a full account of all matters. But Tyrconnell, being told by Rice and Nagle of Sheridan's resolution, sent for him thither; Sheridan told his messenger he would wait on him after the Levée was over; but this not satisfying he sends again to tell him he must that moment come to him, for he had something to say to him from the King which he forgot to tell him last night, which was necessary for him to know before he spoke to his Majesty. Sheridan thereupon goes to him; whom as soon as he saw,

he took into another room, and told him he was heartily sorry for what he said the night before, and begged his pardon, assuring him, what his two creatures had done before, that Sunderland had put him out of all patience, having found him entirely changed, and swearing by God, if he would but pass that by, and say nothing of it to the King or him, they two, for the future, should live as well and kindly together as two brothers born of the same mother. Sheridan answered, his usage of him had made him weary, not only of his employments, but also of his life, that he could no longer endure it; that he was absolutely determined that very morning to beg the King's leave to quit, and never return in the same stations, wherein from the beginning he found his Excellency was angry at his being placed; upon which this Lord swore bloodily, he was much mistaken, and that he desired nothing more, than that for the public good he should still continue in those posts, and swearing again by God, you must not, says he, deny me, and in token you shall have no cause to repent, I embrace you, taking him about the neck and hugging him, and without more ado, dear Sheridan, says he, you must forget all that's past, stay and dine with me, and in a glass of wine bury all your discontents. Sheridan was so simple as to believe him sincere and told him he would for this time be satisfied with his oaths and promises, and forbear speaking what he intended to the King, but could not dine with him, being pre-engaged by Lord Huntingdon to eat with Lord Powis and some other friends that day. You must, says he, send your excuse, for you must not stir from me, the King having ordered me to wait on him after dinner, and bring you with me. Sheridan begged his leave to go, and assured him he would meet him at the King's dinner. Tyrconnell told him he must not stir from him, till they two appeared before his Majesty, suspecting perhaps, as from his after proceedings may be guessed, that Sheridan was no more sincere than himself, but, if he got away, would go directly to the King and pursue his first resolution.

Sheridan was therefore forced to remain his prisoner, and going with him to Court, after Mass and dinner ended, they were both called into the King's bed-chamber, where his Majesty asked Sheridan of the state of his Irish Revenue, of which he gave him the best account he was able. Tyrconnell, laying hold on that occasion, extremely commended Sheridan's zeal and ability in that affair, to which the King was pleased to answer, you need not tell me anything of him, it was my knowledge of his understanding and honesty in that and other matters, that made me send him with you, and I do not doubt his answering my expectations in all things. Being dismissed and going to dinner Tyrconnell bragged of the kindness he had done him with the King, and that for the future, on all occasions he should find cause to be pleased. When dinner was done, where besides them two were Sir Thomas Newcomen

and Colonel Richard Hamilton, Sheridan slipping away was called back by my Lord, and told he must not leave him till he went to Court, which soon after he did, with Rice and Nagle. His Lordship went into the bed-chamber, came out again, and called those two. Presently after Lord Sunderland comes to the door and seeing Sheridan there, took him in. The King then asked Tyrconnell what he had to offer, who, after several other matters, fell at last upon the Act of Settlement, and proposed the alteration to be made, in the manner he had mentioned the night before to those his creatures and Sheridan. They two told his Majesty they were of the same opinion. Are you also, says the King, to Sheridan? Who answered he was not, for the reasons he had before given, which he then repeated, adding that he judged it necessary for his Majesty's honour and vindication to the world, to break that Act entirely, and frame such a new one as should best answer the ends King Charles II proposed by it, and be most agreeable to justice and conscience and the peace of '48, and rectify the palpable injustices of the old one, by which about 8,000 innocent claimants, without ever being heard or convicted, were condemned and suffered as nocent. The two lawyers begged leave to answer what Sheridan had offered, but the King told them he was not at leisure, nor was it proper there to hear that matter debated, but, since they did not all agree, he ordered two drafts to be made of a new Act, one after their way, and another after Sheridan's, and him to bring both over next Christmas, when his Majesty with his council would severally and fully consider them, and cause such a new one to be made as should be most agreeable to reason and prudence.

But this determination (though wise) Tyrconnell resolved not to follow, because by that method he could not come by the great estate he designed himself, and therefore was infinitely enraged at Sheridan for crossing his will and being the occasion on't. Next day the King went to Holywell, whither Tyrconnell attended him, and Sheridan waited on Sunderland, who told him that, when Tyrconnell brought in his two lawyers, the King asked him, why is not Sheridan here? Did I not bid you order him to come at this hour? Yes sir, says he, and I desired Lord Tyrconnell to bring him, who answered he had given him notice of the hour, and wondered he should forget it. Upon which the King bad me go and call you, and finding you at the door I brought you in. Sheridan assured his lordship Tyrconnell had not told him one word of that meeting, though he would not let him stir from him all that day, and brought him with him to the Court, but I now perceive the reason was, he knew I was in the point of the Act of a different opinion from his and his lawyers, who, he hoped, would in my absence have persuaded the King to approve of their project. But, says Sunderland, the King would not enter upon any of their matters till you came,

though Tyrconnell offered it, and I assure you he thinks what you said the most reasonable, and expects to see you at Christmas with the two schemes for a new Act. Sheridan told him he would do his best to serve his Majesty, but was very uneasy in his stations, Tyrconnell having treated him very harshly on all occasions both in public and private ever since he came into them, that he was quite tired and very desirous to be discharged and return for England. Sunderland preached patience to him, and advised him by all means to continue where he was, undertaking at the same time that Tyrconnell should for the future be very civil and kind to him. Sheridan told him it was impossible for them to agree, for he could not consent to the turning out any Protestant only for being so, out of the Revenue, contrary to the King's positive command and injunction, which Lord Tyrconnell desired should be done, as he had already removed almost all out of the army, intending the Catholics should fill all places both civil and military. Sunderland told Sheridan he must still be obliging and kind to the Protestants, that this was the King's intention, and for his interest and service to have them well treated. Sheridan answered it was his own opinion, but his befriending them was his great crime, and made Tyrconnell and his creatures give out he was a Protestant in masquerade, and a spy upon him, which last Tyrconnell perhaps did not only suspect, but also believe, from his being named Secretary and Commissioner contrary to his intentions. Sunderland advised him not to be troubled at that, but go on cheerfully in his business, for the little time he was to stay, that his doing so was necessary for the King's service, as well as for his own in particular, meaning the 50,000 pound that was to pass through his hands, and that Sheridan should in the end be a gainer by it, who, because of his promise the day before to Tyrconnell, said nothing of their late falling out, but assured Lord Sunderland he would, to please him, continue a while longer, though much against his own inclination, and depend on his protection. But it was impossible to hope for any kindness from Tyrconnell, especially since the King seemed more inclined to his opinion about the settlement than to Tyrconnell's, who had set his heart upon it.

Sunderland told him he was convinced Tyrconnell was in the wrong in that, and in his violent proceedings against the Protestants and his pressing the alteration of the clause in the new charters, which tended to the lessening of the King's honour and power. Sheridan said his lordship's not gratifying him in that, and in the mandate he had designed for a Catholic Fellow in the College, together with some other things, had put him much out of humour, and made him complain he was much changed, and that he apprehended his removal from the government was designed, and feared Sheridan had already given, or would give such account of his actions, as might really cause it, if he went to Chester,

whither he resolved he should not come, if his lordship had not written the King required it, which was so displeasing to him that he endeavoured since his arrival, to hinder him from any private access to his Majesty both here and at Shrewsbury, from whence he purposely sent him back on a groundless and frivolous pretence. Sunderland told him he had for some time found Tyrconnell was not his friend, but that he knew the King was fully satisfied with him, and that he himself would charge Tyrconnell to use him better for the time to come, and was sure he would not refuse him, and therefore earnestly pressed Sheridan again to be content till all matters for which he was sent were finished, which would in a little time be done, when he should come back and be fully recompensed in England.

The King returned that evening to Chester and next morning left it, to pursue the remainder of his progress. Tyrconnell bad Sheridan be ready to go away with him at one a clock, who coming to his lodgings found my lord went away before twelve. Sheridan followed, but, falling into another road than that he had taken, saw him not till he got to Holyhead, where his lordship took very little notice of him, but, however cold he was there, after landing in Dublin he perceived him wholly estranged, notwithstanding his late promises of kindness at Chester, confirmed with so many oaths and imprecations. From this time forward Sheridan was never called to any of his cabinet consultations, nor spoken to, but in the ordinary business of his office as Secretary, and in that as little as he could, employing Ellis in most things belonging to Sheridan's province, of which he often complained but without redress. Some time after upon a letter from Mr. Bridgeman, telling him Lord Sunderland said he was to come to Whitehall about Christmas, Sheridan took occasion to ask my Lord Tyrconnell when he intended to proceed about the new Act of Settlement. He answered he could not tell, nor was he yet sure that he was to go then thither. Sheridan was not a little surprised at this, but more in a few days when he heard Tyrconnell and he were quite out, and that he had sworn before next May Sheridan should be out of his Secretaryship, or himself out of the Government and reported he had betrayed all his secrets to the fanatics for money, and given them copies of Nagle's letter from Coventry about breaking the Act of Settlement, and was very corrupt and had taken several bribes by the hands of Father Johnson and others. Yet Sheridan knowing his own innocence, took little notice of these things. But Tyrconnell, sensible his project about the new Act, by which in hopes he had grasped a vast estate, would fall to the ground, if Sheridan should on that subject go for England, left nothing unattempted to make or find him guilty of corruption, for which end, and to be a spy, he had from the beginning employed Johnson, and in October '87 sent Colonel Sheldon to England

to suggest to his Catholic friends all that malice could invent against him, and prevailed with Johnson to write to Father Peters to the same purpose, of which he gave Sunderland notice.

In November Sheridan, having intimation from Court in general terms, that there were foul practices on foot against him, and many whispers to his disadvantage, wrote back that he defied the world to prove him guilty of the least crime and desired nothing more than to know what was, and by whom, objected against him, to which he could receive no other answer, but that Sheldon and his sisters had spoken very reflectingly of him, and said that he sold all places for money, and that this also was given out by one Netterville, a shattered-brained fellow, and Tyrconnell's relation and correspondent. The noise increasing both in London and Dublin, Sheridan wrote for leave to go for England, where he had a law suit of six thousand pounds depending. Tyrconnell, who had a long time made a trade by his instrument Brown, of opening Sheridan's letters for England, got a view of this, and by the same post wrote to Sunderland that his request might not be granted. But this lord and Lord Godolphin, to whom Sheridan had written, conferring notes, judged Tyrconnell's desire unreasonable and therefore moved the King in Sheridan's behalf, but at the same time told him Tyrconnell writ against it. Notwithstanding that, says the King, I give him leave to come when he pleases.

But, before Sheridan got this answer, the Chancellor told him Tyrconnell was informed of his many corruptions in the Revenue, yet he was willing he should still be continued in his place of Commissioner, provided he would resign the Secretaryship, in which, for some reasons he was obliged not to tell him, it was not fit he should remain, but that in lieu of it he should have 500*l.* a year added to his former pension during life, and be restored to his Excellency's favour and friendship; from which by several things, particularly his being never called to any cabinet consultations, since his having been at Chester, it appeared he was fallen. Sheridan answered, he was much surprised at the proposition for, if Tyrconnell had without his seeking made him Secretary, as he pretended, he might again unmake him without his resignation, but, if the King, contrary to his will, had named him Secretary, as it's certain he did, it was strange he should be desired to quit that office, wherein it was not pretended he had done amiss, and yet be continued in the Revenue, wherein he was said to be corrupt, which if he were, he was unfit to remain in either, but he defied mankind to prove he had been corrupt or unfaithful in the one or the other and was determined never to resign. The Chancellor replied, he would repent, if he did not, for Tyrconnell was too powerful with the King to be contended with by him, and was fully resolved not to suffer him to be Secretary, which

he desired he would of himself quit, rather than be turned out with disgrace. Sheridan told him, he pretended not to rival his Excellency in power or interest, but was confident of his own innocence, and doubted not the King's justice, who, he was sure, would not condemn him unheard, upon any private suggestion, that was or should be made. The Chancellor answered, that a dispute between them two in the present conjuncture would be of ill consequence to his Majesty's affairs, and he was sure Tyrconnell would be supported by the chief minister right or wrong, that he was prepared that very day to receive him into his favour, on the condition he proposed, which would be more advantageous to him, than to keep the Secretaryship with his disfavour, since in this case the profits would be lessened, and the continuance in it uncertain. Sheridan replied, he was positive in his resolution, and not to be moved by any arguments, for, since the King had trusted him in that post, he would not part with it without his command. Well, says the Chancellor, I would have you think better of it as we go along, for I'll carry you to the Castle, where I know you and your brethren commissioners are as I am, by invitation to dine, and I will tell my lord, if you please, after dinner, that you'll comply, and he will then call you in and before me confirm all I have told you. But Sheridan assured him, it was in vain to urge him farther, for he was unalterable.

At dinner his Excellency and Lady were more than ordinary obliging in drinking and carving to Sheridan, but a little after dinner he dismissed the other commissioners and bad Sheridan stay, and took the Chancellor into his closet, who, telling him Sheridan's discourse and resolution, put his lordship into a violent fit of the spleen. Sheridan waited above an hour, at last the Chancellor came out and told him his Excellency was highly displeased at his non-compliance and would not speak with him that day. Sheridan, much alarmed at this proceeding and having no answer about the leave he had desired, wrote again privately for it, by Mr. Culliford, one of the commissioners then sent for to England, and gave an account of this proposal of Tyrconnell's by the Chancellor. Some days after Brown called on Sheridan for his letters to England, and told him the mail was ready, and stayed only for his, whereupon Sheridan making haste gave him his packet, but, presently reflecting he had forgot a material business, he sent for it back. At the office his servant was told Brown was gone out and they could not give it him in his absence. Sheridan sent again and required to have it delivered immediately, but was answered it was searched for and could not be found, but that it should be returned as soon as Brown came in. Upon this Sheridan, not suspecting the true reason, went himself to the office, and asked the postmaster Warburton for his letters, who told him they had not yet been brought to the office; how, says he, not yet brought, though

Brown told me above 2 hours ago the Deputy's letters were come, and mine only stayed for? Warburton said he knew nothing of the matter, but could assure him Brown had not yet brought the letters to the office, which as soon as he did, he should have [his] back again. But before this, Warburton, knowing where Brown was, gave him notice Sheridan had sent for his packet and no doubt would discover its being opened. About an hour after Tyrconnell sent for Sheridan and asked him before the Chancellor, Nugent, Rice, Daly, and Nagle, how he came to write without his leave those letters, shewing him his packet open. He answered there was no need to desire it for writing about his own private business, but wondered why his Excellency should open his letters without his own consent, especially letters written to the King's ministers, the Lord Sunderland, Privy Seal and Godolphin. What, says he, may I not open my Secretaries' letters? Sheridan replied it was hard that a Privy Councillor's letters should be opened, that there was not one of them written as by his Secretary, nor had relation to the State, but all about his own private affairs. Well, says he, what I have done, I have done, and there they are again for you, but I perceive by them you are running away for England, being unwilling to defend yourself against the crimes you are accused of. No, my lord, says Sheridan, I am not running away, nor afraid to justify my innocence, which I will do before I stir, if I may but know my pretended crimes and my accusers. Well, says he, go your way for this time, I'll send for you again, and tell you more. The packet from England was some hours before come in, and with it a letter to Sheridan from Sunderland telling him he had the King's licence to come over, but for form's sake, he was to ask the Deputy's leave, which if he denied, he might come without it. This letter was sent him next morning by Tyrconnell, who at the same time ordered him to attend him that evening, where he found the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Keating, together with those present the night before. As soon as he came in, he told him he had an account from England of his corruptions as Commissioner and for that reason had opened his letters thither, that he had upon that intimation made inquiries here and found they would be proved, that he knew not till the night before he would have the impudence to stand upon his justification, that he had now sent for him to know how he would have the matter tried, whether in public or in private, and, since he had got leave to go for England, he would let him enjoy both his offices till he were either convicted or acquitted, and desired to know how soon he would come back to his trial. Sheridan answered, he also had an account from England of his corruptions, and that the account was first sent from hence thither, and by somebody's directions there published, that his Excellency knew three weeks before from the Chancellor

then present, that he would stand upon his justification, who had then in his Excellency's name made him a proposition of resigning his Secretaryship for a pension of 500*l.* a year during life, and keeping still his place of Commissioner, notwithstanding his pretended corruptions in it, which he rejected with indignation, and told him he was innocent and defied the world as he now also did, to prove the contrary. Here Sheridan paused, and the Chancellor owned he had then said so much to him. Sheridan went on and said, though he had leave, and that his business was pressing, which he believed would take up six weeks time, yet, if he might have a copy of what was objected against him he would immediately answer it, and not stir till the controversy was determined, which he desired might be heard in public, not in private. His Excellency said the articles were not yet drawn, nor could be in some weeks, for it is to be observed, though he had evidence ready, he wanted the matter; he therefore told Sheridan, since his stay would be so short, things should remain as they were till his return, and, since he desired it, that the trial should be public and asked him when he intended to part. Sheridan said in two or three days, if his Excellency would permit him, who declared he would.

Next morning Mr. Fergus Farrell, an intimate friend of Judge Daly's, came to Sheridan and told him he was sent by him, at Tyrconnell's instance, to renew the Chancellor's proposition, with this alteration, that instead of the 500*l.* then offered, he should have a 1,000*l.* pension and continue Commissioner, but, if he refused, there was a bundle of sticks provided, and he was the dog to be beaten. Sheridan answered him as he had done the Chancellor, but with this difference, that since the business was made public, he would not for 10,000*l.* a year resign his Secretaryship. That evening Sir Neal O'Neill, an intimate friend of Sheridan, though Tyrconnell's nephew, came to him in his uncle's name, and proposed the same things to him, but he answered he was fixed in his resolution, then he told him he had orders to assure him, Tyrconnell would be friends with him, if he would but quite put off his journey, at last if he would but defer it for two months. Sheridan told him, there was no believing Tyrconnell after his many oaths and imprecations at Chester, that the matter was made so public, it could not with honour be huddled up privately, that his journey was necessary and that he resolved to go off next day in the packet-boat. Tyrconnell upon this stormed mightily and commanded the packet-boat to be stopped till farther orders; of which Sheridan having notice next day hired for himself a dogger boat. Tyrconnell hearing this sent Ellis for all papers relating to the public, which he had as Secretary, and which Sheridan, though surprised at so unexpected a message, delivered, save that letter before mentioned, written with the King's own

hand the 15th of February, 1686, which he himself carried to Tyrconnell, because there was something in it not proper to be seen by a Protestant.

That evening Sheridan put to sea and landed next day at Holyhead and posted to London, where as soon as arrived, he was told by his sister-in-law Mrs. White, that Lord Sunderland directed he should come to him before he went to the King or any body else. Next morning he waited on this lord, who told him he was very sorry there was so great a misunderstanding between him and Tyrconnell, who had accused him of several corruptions in the Revenue, and had written he might not have leave to come over, but neither the King nor he could believe him guilty, and thought it unreasonable to refuse him, that, now he was come, it was the King's positive command he should not speak a word against Tyrconnell's management of affairs, *either to Catholics or Protestants*, that he would go with him to the King, who would himself tell him the same thing. Sheridan answered that Tyrconnell's guilt and proceedings contrary to his Majesty's injunctions, made him fear his admission to Court, but, since he had got the start by accusing him first, he would not recriminate him till he had justified himself, which he was confident of doing, in spite of all his malice; he assured him Tyrconnell was the only person that accused him of bribery or injustice, that he had sworn some months before, that he would not continue Governor, if Sheridan was not turned out of the Secretaryship before May, and then told him of the offer made him by the Chancellor and two others to resign it, of their dispute at Chester and his after treatment, and his practice of opening his letters, of his telling his numerous cabinet of the 50,000*l.* his lordship was to have and the 10,000*l.* necklace to the Queen, and that he was grown jealous of his lordship's friendship, for refusing to gratify him about the clause in the new charters and some other matters, and to convince him all this was true, he told him Tyrconnell could keep no secret; for he had shewn the letter his lordship had lately written advising him not to be afraid of Sheridan's coming, for, if he offered to say one word against him, he would ruin him. Your knowing this, says my lord, makes me believe you in all the rest, for, unless he were mad, you could not have this from himself, as he must be for discovering the other great secret. No, my lord, says Sheridan, he bragged on't to one he took to be his friend, who told him he was afraid for him of the ill consequences on his falling out with me, and I could hardly believe, continues Sheridan, your lordship could have written such a letter. I did it, says Sunderland, for your sake, concluding, without that assurance, he would not have suffered you to come away. After this his lordship went with Sheridan to the King who received him very graciously, and told him, though he had heard he was accused of corruption, he could not believe it, knowing that he had

too much honesty and sense to be guilty of any such thing, but was sorry to find so great a misunderstanding between Tyrconnell and him ; however, says he, I charge you to say nothing of his management *either to Catholic or Protestant, the very words which Sunderland had spoken before*, and no doubt persuaded his Majesty to make use of ; Sheridan thanked his Majesty for his good opinion, and told him the true cause of Tyrconnell's difference with him was his acting in obedience to his Majesty's commands in reference to Protestants now in employments, who for being such only, Tyrconnell would have turned out, which he judged not for his service, and his differing in opinion about the Act of Settlement. That as to the crimes pretended against him, he asked no favour, but impartial justice, that he was never accused or complained of but by Tyrconnell himself, and that only in general terms ; that he desired to know what was objected, and, before he came away, would put in his answer and stand the trial, but his lordship said they were not yet ready, nor could be drawn up under some time, and, since Tyrconnell had been beforehand in his accusation, he would not recriminate him, till after his own vindication, and, since 'twas his Majesty's pleasure he should not speak against him, he would not fail to obey him, but he hoped he would order him a fair trial, which he could not expect, if Tyrconnell his accuser should be both judge and party ; fear not that, said the King, I myself will be the judge, and see all with my own eyes.

Some days after Lord Dungan, Tyrconnell's nephew, arrived, with articles against Sheridan drawn up by his cabinet, who were afterwards commissioned to hear the cause, and a letter desiring Sheridan might not be admitted to kiss the King's hand, which was to have been at Court before Sheridan, for which end the packet-boat was stopped in which 'twas hoped he would have made his passage. Sheridan was thereupon sent for by Sunderland and desired Tyrconnell and he might be friends, which he said he would undertake. Sheridan having an account, that Tyrconnell, contrary to his promise at parting, had named the Bishop of Clogher Secretary, answered, if the King would have it so, he was content, provided he were restored to the Secretaryship, without which to consent was to own himself guilty ; his quitting that office being what Tyrconnell desired, and for it offered him first 500*l.* and afterwards a 1,000*l.* a year. Sunderland said since he had put a bishop in his place, 'twould be an affront to remove him, but he should have some other way a full reparation. Sheridan answered he would rather stand his trial, and after his justification, which he doubted not, expect to be restored to both or recalled to England, and there be gratified with something else, which was what he most desired. Well, says Sunderland, I'll write to Tyrconnell and advise him to lay aside his new Secretary, and let things continue as they are, and he promised, till your return and trial ; but how do

you expect, continues he, that this shall be managed, since I perceive the whole dispute is only between Tyrconnell and you? Sheridan told him he thought the best way was to commission six of the Privy Council to hear the examinations and report the whole to his Majesty, the three he named were the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, the Earl of Granard and Keating, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, to whom three others of Tyrconnell's naming might be joined, that thus the King would be enabled to pass his judgment, to which he would willingly submit, and which he had assured him he would do, and see all with his own eyes. Sunderland thought this reasonable, and so did Lord Godolphin, as did also the King himself, to whom, lest Sunderland should not, Sheridan proposed it, who concluded it would be so ordered, and in the mean time got Mr. Pollexfen and other counsels' opinion on his case, stated under feigned names, as if the matter lay in the West Indies, who declared Tyrconnell's proceedings tyrannical, unjust and punishable by law. But Tyrconnell prevailed with Sunderland, that the cause should be heard by the Chancellor, Nugent, Keating, Rice and Daly, instead of the six Privy Councillors proposed by Sheridan, who having an account of this complained to the King and his ministers, as not expecting any justice to be that way done him, three of them being Tyrconnell's creatures, and the Chancellor too timorous not to comply with him in any thing right or wrong. But both the King and they assured him he need not fear, their business being only to report at length the evidence on both sides, and that the King himself, as he had promised, would be the judge. Sheridan, though advised to the contrary, confident in his own innocence and the King's impartial justice, submitted to this determination, and having ended his business at London posted to Dublin, and arrived there sooner by a week than he promised. During his absence the Commission of the Revenue was renewed on Mr. Plowden's coming into the place of Mr. Culliford, and Sheridan named, as in the former, first Commissioner. As soon as he landed he went to the Bishop of Clogher, and prayed him to acquaint the Deputy he desired his charge, that he might presently put in his answer. Next day he took his place at the Board, at which Tyrconnell was enraged, and commanded him, by his new Secretary, to forbear going any more till his cause were heard, nor did he stop there, but also ordered the clerk of the Council to tell him he had suspended him from sitting there, so that, contrary to justice, and his own promise at parting before the judges, that he should be continued in his employments till convicted or acquitted, he deprived him of the Secretaryship as soon as his back was turned, and on his landing suspended him from acting as Commissioner or Privy Councillor before he gave him any particular charge of his pretended corruptions; though during his absence his commission was renewed under

the Great Seal by his Majesty's particular directions ; publishing that all this was done by the King's express command, who knew nothing of it, whereas he did it of his own head, to encourage his hired witnesses against him, and intimidate Sheridan from appearing, for a man already condemned and ruined.

Some days after, on the 2nd of March, Sheridan received the articles of his charge drawn by the Attorney-General Nagle, to which he immediately drew up an answer, but, no lawyer daring to sign it or appear for him without an order, he could not put it in till the 19th, when he desired the matter might be brought to a speedy issue : but he was answered they were not ready for that, as it appeared they were not, for one Mr. Osborn, an attorney, was employed by Ellis in the Lent circuits, as was Judge Daly himself and others by the Deputy, to fish out matters of accusation, crimes and witnesses against Sheridan, so that from the 2nd of March, when the articles were exhibited, the hearing and examination of evidence was delayed till the 8th of May following, and made private at the Chancellor's house, contrary to Sheridan's desire and Tyrconnell's promise, and the committee's own resolution and order signed and delivered the 9th of March, by which it was appointed to be at the King's Inns in Dublin. Sheridan complained in three several letters to Sunderland of his suspension from all employments and other great hardships, but could have no answer, except from his Secretary Bridgeman, the 22nd of March, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$, in these words. My Lord President commands me to tell you, he has yours of the 11th and that, the King having thought fit to put your business into that method of examination it now is, he can only say you must submit to and acquiesce in it. I am yours, &c., William Bridgeman. Sheridan had reason to believe Sunderland said that of his own head, and never acquainted the King with the matter, though he made use of his name, and therefore on the 31st answered the foregoing letter in these following words. This morning I received yours of the 22nd instant giving my Lord President's answer in these words, that the King having thought fit to put your business into that method of examination it now is, he can only say you must submit to and acquiesce in it. In that letter, another before and a third since, I complained that the proceedings here were very different from what I understood by the King, Lord President and Lord Godolphin, setting down in them fully what I apprehended, and what I have found, and, though your letter takes no notice whether I was mistaken, or whether the King had since altered his measures, yet upon the whole I am, I perceive, to submit to what laws and rules my only prosecutor and judge thinks fit to impose, and, since this is the King's or Lord President's will, I will give his lordship no more trouble in this matter ; yet allow me to tell you, though it be now too late, that I wish I had never consented, as I did

against my own inclinations, to come into this kingdom, with one that would fain have had another in my place, and whose passion and power I find so great, that he is allowed to do what he pleases, in my case at least, contrary to justice, reason and religion. But I forgot, I must not even to you murmur against my destiny, but endeavour, like a good Christian, to bear with patience my cross, my long hatched and contrived ruin, contenting myself in the satisfaction of my own innocence, and my not having any way contributed to this great misfortune. Give, I pray, my duty to Lord President and assure him of my entire resignation to his commands. Yours, T. S.

Whilst people were solicited all over Ireland to accuse Sheridan, Nugent and Rice were dispatched into England, to move the King to call a Parliament for the alteration of the old and making a new Act of Settlement, who were ordered to offer Sunderland 40,000*l.* instead of the 50,000*l.* before promised, who was now fully convinced, Tyrconnell had divulged, as Sheridan assured him in January before, that secret. He rejected their proposal with indignation, and they returned without success, to Tyrconnell's great mortification, who imputed this to Sheridan's practices and gave out that the new interested men had bribed Sunderland with 120,000*l.* and Sheridan with 20,000*l.* and that he had betrayed all his secrets to the fanatics for this money. Whereas indeed this was the effect of his own indiscretion in publishing the 50,000*l.* secret, and not sending Sheridan over by Christmas, as was resolved at Chester, with the two draughts of the act of repeal, which even these men did not carry. Sheridan, being never after consulted upon that matter, had not made one, nor perhaps was that proposed by Tyrconnell drawn at all, nor was it ever intended by the King any new one should be enacted during his Government, which was to last but till the army was settled and the business of the charters finished. Sheridan was also clamoured against for making use of Protestant lawyers, though no one Catholic for fear of Tyrconnell durst take his fee, they seeing him both judge and party, accuser and prosecutor, and so cruel he was in the matter as to command several of Sheridan's witnesses not to appear, of whom many went out of town to please him, and finding by comparing the articles (wherein a liberty was desired to add more if need were) with Sheridan's answer, that this was full and satisfactory, he sent to the Primate to take up the business and prevent a hearing; which he refused to do, knowing things were gone too far, and that Sheridan would not consent to it, he having no other way, but that, left to vindicate his reputation, so much blown upon, and run down.

Several were privately sworn and examined by the Deputy himself and Justice Nugent, and courted and invited by hopes of reward and promises of preferment to accuse and witness against Sheridan and those that refused, threatened and

injuriously treated long before the articles against him were drawn; Sheridan, understanding the witnesses against him were commanded by Ellis in the Deputy's name to appear, desired from the Commissioners that he might have the same kind of summons. But this, though promised when the articles were exhibited, was refused, as not in their power, the summons they gave him was not compulsory, being without any penalty, nor would they grant him even that, till he had first given in the names of all, among whom there being several not before tampered with, the Deputy sent for some of them, and told them they were not obliged to appear and commanded they should not, and assured them, if they did, he would resent their needless officiousness, so that not a few others, as well as Tyrconnell's own nephew, W. T[albot], and the rest, though summoned by him, refused to appear and give their testimony. But, farther to complete this mystery of iniquity, the hearing, though promised by the Deputy and the Commissioners to be public, was ordered to be private at the Chancellor's house, as is before said. Sheridan urged the contrary, but to no purpose, all he could obtain was a liberty to bring any three he pleased of his friends to be present, and for one they named his brother the Bishop of Kilmore, but he pitched upon the Catholic Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, and Mr. John Ussher, and knowing the Commissioners' business was only to examine the witnesses and send at length the depositions to the King, who promised to see all with his own eyes, and be himself the judge, he brought two shorthand writers to take all fully, but these they would by no means admit; Nugent declaring that he would thereby be enabled to send the whole depositions into England before they could agree and make their report. Sheridan answered, if he should do so, there could be no harm in it, since it would be but the matter of fact, and since they were not judges but bare examiners, the King, who reserved to himself the judgment, could not otherwise be rightly informed, since, if they would write nothing but the heads or part of what was sworn, they might probably differ in their notes, one thinking a particular material which another might not, and so their notes prove different, lame or partial, to which they said in that case they would depend on his lawyers' notes, whom they esteemed men of integrity, who indeed had so much of that virtue, as that they advised him not to proceed on those terms, but appeal to his Majesty, who, they did not doubt, would grant his request of the shorthand writers at least; but he, assured of his own innocence and the King's justice, at last declined it, and went on in their own unreasonable way.

But, besides this injustice of theirs, they added another that was shameful and injurious. His 3 friends, whom they suffered to be present for 4 days during the examinations against him, they turned out when those for him came to be heard,

they, and perhaps his counsel and solicitor being supposed to have been authors of the report, that was spread about the city, that Sheridan was fully justified and cleared even by the testimony of the witnesses against him. All swore they gave Johnson money at his solicitation, which he told them was for Sheridan, but none of them said they gave Sheridan any, on the contrary, several of them owned, they had by others offered him greater sums, which were rejected with anger, that finding nothing done for them, they called on Johnson for their money and had it back from him long before any noise of this matter. Johnson and Stafford, both the Deputy's chaplains and both of infamous reputation, were found in their evidence not only to contradict one another, but also to be plainly perjured. And Stafford owned he resolved to tempt Sheridan by Johnson, and try whether he would take money, that Johnson took his money, said it was for Sheridan and that the employ should be obtained, though he had before offered Sheridan much greater sums by himself and another person for this and another employment, which were rejected with indignation. Johnson said he had received money from several others on the same account, and told some of them it was for Sheridan, but on cross interrogatories he was forced to confess he was a stranger to Sheridan till March, 1686, when made one of the Deputy's chaplains, and yet pretended in the very next following months of April, May and June to have such an intimacy and interest with him, as to get any man he pleased put into office, and this so publicly, as that it was common alehouse talk, and that he solicited many to give him money for that end. This part was afterwards fully proved by several of Sheridan's witnesses. He likewise confessed that he did all this unknown to Sheridan and without his direction or consent, and that he often endeavoured, but in vain to persuade him, that it was lawful to take money for employments, with much more to Sheridan's advantage. The same thing was also proved afterwards by some of Sheridan's witnesses, and that Johnson told them he could not prevail with him to do himself or any others good, and that in the month of May and June, when he was most busy in carrying on his trade of soliciting men to give him money for employments. Johnson was so stunned and confounded by Sheridan's cross interrogatories, that at last he turned pale, fainted and sunk down, like Oates in his false evidence at the Council Board, to the vexation of most of the Commissioners, Nagle and Ellis, and the joy of Sheridan and his friends, nor could he go on in the rest of his villainous contrivance, till his drooping spirits were revived by a cordial brought him, and the repose he was for half an hour allowed to take in a chair. Stafford did not faint, but was so staggered and puzzled at Sheridan's questions, that he could not proceed in his ill-concerted story, without pulling out a paper, containing the rest of his

testimony, which he was allowed to read. He confessed that he had offered Sheridan greater sums for employments and was rejected, but, understanding by Johnson he took money, he was resolved by him to tempt him, and yet at that very time of giving money, and for 2 months before, and as many after, it was proved by Sheridan's witnesses, that he and Johnson were at great enmity and variance.

The first day was spent in the examination of these two. The next day the Commissioners, who the night before had given the Deputy an account of those two profligate wretches' behaviour, refused Sheridan the liberty of cross interrogating any more Johnson, or any of the other witnesses, of which he and his lawyers complaining as contrary to all justice, were answered, it was his Excellency's will, and they could not help it. But they resolved to carry their partiality and injustice yet farther, for several of Sheridan's witnesses, among whom Stafford though summoned would not appear, were stopped and affronted, brow-beaten and not suffered to go on in their evidence, and having resolved on so infamous and shameful an act, it is not to be wondered, that they excluded Sheridan's friends from being present at the examination of his witnesses, lest they should hear him fully justified, and observe their own scandalous partiality. But yet they could not hinder Sheridan's innocence from being clearly proved by persons of honour and quality, Privy Councillors and others of his nearest friends and relations, among whom his own sister was one, and that he had from them refused much greater sums than those pretended to be taken by Johnson, and from several of those he agreed with, and that he always declared himself with passion averse from preferring any man for money, and that he could not think well of any that made the offer. His brethren, the Commissioners of the Revenue, made oath that not one of those pretended to have given money was ever proposed by Sheridan, and but two of them employed, the one recommended by the Lord Treasurer of England and promised before Sheridan came into the Commission, and the other recommended by the Deputy himself, that he was very just and equal in all his proceedings and that his heart was set upon doing the King's business. Here Rice interposed and said the reason Sheridan mentioned none of them was, they had not employed nor intended any Catholics; but he was much out of countenance, when Sheridan thereupon produced a list of above three score put into office since his coming into Commission. He also proved the offer made him by Fergus Farell, Esq., from the Deputy of a thousand pounds a year, if he would but quit the Secretaryship, at which Judge Daly was not a little offended because he could not by threats deter him from giving that evidence. Sheridan then prayed the Chancellor and Daly to give an account of the proposals the Deputy ordered them to make him upon the same account last Christmas and the

following January. Daly asked who could give them an oath. Sheridan answered he would be satisfied without it, with their declaration of what passed on that subject; this they both absolutely refused to do, the Chancellor adding that he well remembered all, but did not think fit to publish it, and that he always believed him an honest upright gentleman, and that he still had the same opinion of him, notwithstanding all that had been sworn against him. Johnson was proved to have been all along a spy upon Sheridan and to have run into his closet and peeped into his papers when he was absent or elsewhere busied, and to have said that Sheridan was a fool for not taking money for places in his dispose, as well as Lady Tyrconnell and Ellis for all others and that he could never persuade him to follow their example, and that money was but a pretence, that his crime was befriending the Protestants, discovering Nagle's letter from Coventry, and designing with the Primate and others to have Tyrconnell turned out and an Englishman to succeed, which, though commonly bruited abroad, was never charged in any of the Attorney's articles against him: two of the witnesses, Mr. Dowling, a gentleman of estate and reputation, and Alderman Pippard, Mayor of Drogheda, swore that Johnson assured them money was but a pretence, that Mr. Sheridan's real crime was his contriving with the Catholic Primate and others to get Lord Tyrconnell out and an Englishman into the Government, and for this reason he determined to be beforehand and ruin them. And it is most certain that to compass this design, he wrote to Sunderland and others, to remove the Primate from Armagh to the Highlands of Scotland, and Sheridan from his stations in Ireland to some Government in the West Indies, but being in both disappointed he endeavoured to destroy their reputations and defame them and therefore told Lord Mountjoy and Sir Thomas Newcomen and several Protestants that Sheridan was a fiery zealous convert and resolved in conjunction with this grave Prelate, whom he thought fit to style a hot-headed fellow, to bring in Popery by violent methods; but blowing hot and cold he represented Sheridan to the Catholics quite contrary, a Protestant in masquerade, a betrayer of his secrets and the King's counsels as is beforesaid. Those things he gave out to each party as reasons for his new-become open enmity to both, and to recommend and reconcile himself to the Protestants' good opinion as a much more moderate person than either. But to give his true character in few words, he was a tall, proper, handsome man, but publicly known to be most insolent in prosperity, and most abject in adversity, a cunning dissembling courtier, of mean judgment and small understanding, uncertain and unsteady in his resolutions, turning with every wind to bring about his ambitious ends and purposes; on which he was so intent that to compass them he would stick at nothing, and so false that a most

impudent notorious lie, was called at Whitehall and Saint James's one of Dick Talbot's ordinary truths. Several depositions taken by Masters of Chancery in England relating to Sheridan's business, were not suffered to be read, though Stafford, who was present, being distracted by Sheridan's cross interrogatories, was allowed to read his testimony, nor would the Commissioners be persuaded to examine the witnesses Sheridan produced to prove Johnson a lewd and wicked fellow and altogether unworthy of any credit, though he was the single evidence that accused or swore against Sheridan nor would they suffer Sheridan or his lawyers to make any reflections on his testimony, or shew the contradictions and incoherencies of his and Stafford's evidence with one another, alleging for their refusal that they were not judges, but only appointed to hear and report what was said on both sides. Sheridan asked how that could be done exactly, since neither the Chancellor nor Keating took any notes, the other 3 were Tyrconnell's creatures entirely devoted to his will and pleasure, and was answered they would confer with one another and agree on that subject, which he answered was impossible to be done exactly and impartially, considering the frailty of memory and the length of the examinations, so that in effect it had been as well for him there had been but three as five Commissioners. But no reason could work on men beforehand resolved to gratify the Deputy's malice and injustice, and to find or make, what he desired, Sheridan guilty, who could have made it fully appear, had he been suffered farther to cross interrogate Johnson, that he was set on by the Deputy to tempt and corrupt Sheridan if possible, to which purpose, to be after made use of, he lent Sheridan the 300*l*. He also could have proved by two witnesses, whom the Commissioners would not examine, because it touched Johnson's fame and was no matter of fact within their articles against Sheridan, that Johnson owned he had reason for what he did against Sheridan, and was forced to it by a power he could not resist, and that he intended the money, which he found Sheridan would not take, for the use of his society, but, though the Commissioners would not suffer Johnson's reputation to be run down by Sheridan, yet they did not hinder its being entirely destroyed by Tyrconnell himself, who, as soon as the business was over, enraged that he had given Sheridan a receipt for the money he lent him, and had not more cunningly managed his malicious and diabolical intrigues, turned him off from being chaplain, and banished him into the Highlands of Scotland, telling the fathers in Dublin it was his respect to the society that hindered him from doing it with beat of drum and all the marks of infamy so great a villain as he was, deserved. So natural it is for bad men in power to make use of wicked instruments to compass an unjust design and punish them when they have done, as if that could clear him in the opinion of honest and

disinterested persons from being himself the contriver and make them fancy Johnson the real author of this work of darkness. Sheridan intended, if the Commissioners would have heard him after the examinations were over, to have shewn how improbable it was after Lord Tyreconnell's own cautions at the beginning in December, 1686, and that advice he had of the 3rd of April following, that there was spies upon him, and designs to remove him, to be corrupted by Johnson, a stranger, when he resisted the offers and importunities of his intimate friends, old acquaintances and relations; or that, if Johnson had not been made an instrument to ruin him, he could have solicited men to give him money for Sheridan, and to make his traffic public and common talk about the town. It is certain that after Johnson lent Sheridan the money he began again to importune him for employments for several of his friends, though Sheridan had before enjoined him not to trouble him on that subject. He therefore bid him give him a list of those he was concerned for, among whom Johnson's own brother was one, with a resolution to provide for none of them, having before good reason to suspect him the spy and engine employed against him, and his brethren, the Commissioners, swore there was not one of them ever named or proposed by Sheridan, nor preferred by the Board. But he proved that Johnson had considerable sums of money at interest several years before, and that 200*l.* of it was paid him in before he lent Sheridan any, and this by him lent was repaid him long before there was any noise of the matter, which Johnson unwillingly received. The very witnesses by him called, owned, that they finding nothing done called for, and had from Johnson their money. The examiners having thus unfairly carried the whole matter, Lady Tyreconnell was posted to Court and commanded to report all things to Sheridan's disadvantage; who could not get leave to go for England on pretence that the Commissioners' representation of the matter was not yet finished, the Chancellor and Keating not being easily drawn to join with the other three in what they had framed to please the Deputy, who with his own hand had made several alterations in their rough draft, yet after 14 days time being hectorred and threatened with the loss of their places, they complied and signed the most false and unjust report that ever was invented, for being under no obligation of an oath they chose rather to contribute to Sheridan's ruin than offend Tyreconnell. Sheridan, having notice it was at last finished, desired a copy, but was denied, though hitherto stayed from his journey on pretence of it, but he was now told he might begin it when he pleased. He carried into England Johnson's receipt for the money and several unexamined witnesses and the depositions sworn before the Commissioners on both sides at large, compared every night and attested under his counsel's hands, together with his solicitor, Mr. Darling, who by an oath

confirmed the truth of them, he also carried with him the depositions given in London before Masters of Chancery, refused to be read or taken in evidence, and a certificate that the copy of Nagle's letter from Coventry, was shewn in the Common Pleas in Dublin in November '86, above a month before it was put, among other papers tied up in the napkin, into Sheridan's hands, who never saw it or heard of it, till the February after. But all to little purpose, for instead of the impartial justice he was promised he found himself forbid the King's presence, on pretence he had lampooned Lord Tyrconnell and his lady, as she had affirmed, though the author, Colonel Felix O'Neill, had owned to the Bishop of Clogher it was his own entire composition without the knowledge or privity of Sheridan, wherein he compared his mock justice trial to Oates's plot, and ridiculed Johnson, and some of the Deputy's relations, his, and their proceedings, especially a nephew and another that challenged Sheridan to fight, because he would not alter a part of his answer to the articles, which Sheridan accepted, but was accidentally met and hindered from drawing their swords. Sunderland told him he must have patience, be silent and wholly depend on him, and he should in a little time have right done him. This was about the later end of June '88, when there was a noise of the intended invasion, but, though not fully credited, it was in that conjuncture judged good policy to disoblige Sheridan rather than disgust Tyrconnell.

Sheridan's patience being quite tired with several weeks waiting for his hearing, wrote to Sunderland, and having no satisfaction from him, to Lord Godolphin and Mr. Penn, who owned the severity and injustice of his treatment, and told him that Tyrconnell and his lady had taken as much pains to run him down, as another would have done to gain a kingdom; that all depended on Sunderland, to whom both, as they promised, spoke in his favour, but without effect, for soon after Lady Tyrconnell prevailed to have another Commissioner named in his stead. Seeing himself thus stripped of his employments and condemned unheard, for he was assured neither the King, nor any of his ministers had read one word of the biassed Commissioners' report, as full of flattery to Tyrconnell, as of falsehood against Sheridan, he petitioned the King 3 several times praying the justice he himself had promised, but all in vain. The invasion was by this time no longer doubted, and Tyrconnell was not to be displeased, to whose rage and malice an innocent person must therefore be sacrificed against all the rules of law and reason. In October Sunderland, before he was turned out, finding himself declining in his master's favour, told Sheridan, lest he also should increase the number of his enemies, that he had not power to serve him as he expected, and therefore bad him now to get all the friends he could to move the King in his behalf, who, he said, would not hear, though he endeavoured it, any one

of his 3 petitions. But Sheridan has reason to believe he never shewed one of them to his Majesty. After this the Catholic Irish Primate spoke to the King of the hardships of his case, and the ill usage Sheridan had to his own knowledge received, as appears by his certificate. He therefore wrote to Lord Castlemaine his resolution to publish his case in French and English, having no other means left to justify himself, but by an appeal to the public. He answered this would be a mortal reflection on the King fit only for the worst of his enemies in a time the Prince of Orange was preparing for an invasion, and begged his patience for a little time longer, till he could prevail to have justice done him.

Soon after Sunderland was turned out, and the King, preparing for his journey to Salisbury, sent privately for Sheridan and told him he believed him innocent and extremely wronged, and laid the whole blame on Sunderland for complying with Tyrconnell's violence, whom however in his present circumstances he was not to disoblige, but desired he would forbear publishing his case till after his return, when he assured him of justice and a full compensation for all his sufferings. Whereupon Sheridan, seeing no hopes of a speedy hearing in the public distractions, dismissed into Ireland the persons he had thence brought with him, and hitherto kept at no small expense in London. About this time Sheridan, being looked upon as discontented, was much courted by several both English and Irish Protestants to join the Prince of Orange, who, they assured him, did not so much depend on the troops he brought, as on those by whom he was invited, the nobility, clergy and army, that he could render him good service in Ireland, particularly by discovering how Tyrconnell came to get the Government of that country, after the King had declared he would never trust it in a native's hand; Sir Oliver Saint George and his brother Sir George was most solicitous with him, and the first assured him the King would be soon abandoned and ruined, and would undertake, if he would but go with him to the Prince of Orange, his fortune should be made, and that he himself intended to go in the King's train as a volunteer to Salisbury, and thence to steal away. He named abundance of those that resolved to join him, among the rest Prince George, Duke of Ormond, Churchill and his two brothers, the Bishop of London, Lord Sunderland, Cornbury, Clarendon, Rochester, Newport, Kirk, Trelawny, Lanear and Kendal, captains in the Guards, with many more, whose names he has forgot. All this Sheridan recounted to the King but was not believed, except as to Kendal, though his Majesty afterwards found all he said was true; he also discovered to Melfort how the King might seize a packet one Foxon was carrying to the Prince of Orange and thereby discover all the courtiers and others that corresponded with him, by the means of one Bradbury, a little crooked lawyer, afterwards made Baron in the Exchequer, but this was not

done, on the contrary Foxon was told it was Sheridan's nephew that gave the information, who threatened him for it, and went away in safety.

Sheridan, finding the King's affairs grown desperate, and also by Lord Peterborough that he was immediately to follow the Queen and Prince of Wales into France, got his pass to go beyond seas, and was by Col. Dorrington carried on board an East India ship, whereon he intended to transport his battalion, but, this design not taking, Col. Tufton, Governor of Tilbury Fort, told Sheridan the King was gone, and an embargo laid on all ships, and advised him to return to London, where he arrived next day, after much hazard from the rabble, out of whose hands he escaped after seven hours patience, and the expense of some money among their leaders and the mob at Woolwich. While he lay privately in London, Sir Oliver Saint George, who had given the Prince of Orange an advantageous character of his abilities to serve him especially in Ireland, made great inquiries after him, in order to present him to his Highness. Sunderland also took pains to speak to him, being frightened with the report that was raised, that he was to discover the reasons of Tyrconnell getting the Government of Ireland; Monstevens, this Lord's private Secretary, met with Macabe, a servant of Sheridan's, and told him he had earnest business to communicate to him from his Lord; Sheridan, receiving this account, appointed a time and place for meeting, where he assured him of his Lordship's friendship and his endeavours to have served him in his dispute with Tyrconnell, making use of the same words this Lord afterwards printed in his scandalous letter, *that he wanted power to hinder some of his own friends from the last oppression and injustice*, and, since he could not prevent his misfortune, prayed he would not discover any secret, as he was told he intended, that might reflect on him. Sheridan answered the King had lately assured him the contrary and said Sunderland had undone him, and that he was well informed he had sent him into Ireland to get him from Court and for some by-ends of his own. However, if he would procure him a pass for Flanders, he would say nothing to his prejudice, nor discover the secret he was intrusted with, though he had more than ordinary provocations. This Lord never heartily forgave Sheridan for the Letter of a Member of Parliament, found when his papers were searched in the time of Oates's plot, reflecting on him, Godolphin and Churchill, though he well knew the letter was not from him. He also concluded him the author of the penny post letters to both the Kings, as indeed he was, though he would not own it, having often in them reflected on him as a person altogether unfit to be confided in. He knew Charles II intended to have made Sheridan Secretary of State in the room of Sir Lionel Jenkins from which he was diverted by the Duchess of Portsmouth, at his, and Lord Rochester's instance, who was become his

enemy for crossing him, though upon the King's command, in winter, 1681, in the farm of the Revenue of Ireland, by which he was to have got during the term of nine years 6,000*l.* a year, and the Crown to have lost above half a million. And, lest K[ing] J[ames] should bring Sheridan into that post, he advised his being sent into Ireland, to help to moderate Tyrconnell's hot and fiery temper, but finding, after their falling out and Nugent and Rice's offer, that he was to be disappointed of his 50,000*l.* bribe, and unwilling Sheridan should come off with flying colours, he persuaded the King it was not fit to countenance him, though in the right, against the other, his superior officer, though in the wrong. He was thereupon forbid the King's presence and not long after stripped of his employments, pretending all the time to be Sheridan's friend, and promising him, if he would be but silent and patient, apply to none other but entirely depend on him, he would, in few weeks, as soon as Lady Tyrconnell's back was turned, see justice done him, all which Sheridan foolishly did, except to his two friends, Godolphin and Penn. During Sheridan's dependance on him, his uncle, H. Sydney, made by the Usurper Earl of Romney, told Lady Oxford in the hearing of her woman and confidant Mrs. Doyly that Sheridan was deceived in trusting Sunderland, and thinking him his friend, who had occasioned his being sent into Ireland, for fear the present King should make him Secretary in England, as the late King intended, and that he was certain he would so order things, that Tyrconnell should get the better, rather than Sheridan. But to return to Monstevens' business. The pass was in a few days obtained by Lord Godolphin, and by him as well as by the Prince of Orange signed not to Flanders, but France. This Lord sent for Sheridan's wife, gave it to her and advised her, though she herself might not so soon be ready, that her husband should immediately go away lest the pass should be recalled, from which words one might infer the Prince himself had not read it. Sheridan took post and next day arrived at Calais, being the 19th of January, 1688, from whence he went to Paris and thence wrote to the King at Saint Germain's begging leave to appear before him. This letter with a copy of it he enclosed to Melfort, to which he delaying an answer for several days, at last Mr. Patrick Farelly, who carried it and knew the contents, pressing him for one, he sent him a few lines, wherein he told him as from the King that his Majesty, though fully satisfied of his innocence, would not admit him unto his presence, lest he should displease Tyrconnell. This was after the King had resolved on his voyage for Ireland. Sheridan displeased at this, presently writes another to this Lord, desiring to be heard by the King or himself, having something to impart which nearly concerned his Majesty's crown and dignity. Mr. Farelly believing this too sharp, refused to carry it, but Father Corker was of another opinion and delivered it, and

several times pressing for an answer was put off from time to time until the evening before the King resolved to set out, when by word of mouth he told him, the King would not see him, and he himself was so full of business, he could not be sure of leisure to hear him. This answer Father Corker wrote to him by an express, who arrived not till he was in bed between 11 and 12 at night. Sheridan concluding it no purpose to stir on so uncertain grounds, stayed at Paris, extremely grieved and vexed at his not seeing the King nor his Lordship.

Not long after Monsieur Talon, one of the King of France's Cabinet Secretaries, found him out, it being a custom in Paris as well as other towns in France to give to the commissaries of the quarters the names of all lodgers and prayed him in Secretary Croissy's name to English a French letter he had writ, so as that it might seem to have been originally written in that language. Sheridan, succeeding in that and in a second also wherein he was employed, told Monsieur Talon, he thought he might write one in English, that might not be unuseful, if the Secretary pleased, who liked the motion, to which Sheridan consented on condition it should not be published without the approbation of the Court of Saint Germain also, and without his being made known to them for the author. This was accepted, and the letter written as from the Marquess of Halifax, which was so well liked, that it was printed both in France and England, and also translated and printed in French. Upon this Monsieur Talon told Sheridan Monsieur de Croissy was very desirous to see him, and the grounds of the difference between Tyrconnell and him, of which he said he had heard; Sheridan immediately drew up an extract of his case, which being shewn to his confessor, Father Corker, he enjoined him not to deliver it, since the denial of a hearing and justice, after the King had promised it, could not but much reflect on his Majesty's reputation, and, as things then stood, could be of no advantage to himself. Monsieur Talon often pressed to see his case, but instead of it he shewed him Lord Melfort's before mentioned letter, with whose hand he was acquainted, wherein he might find the King's good opinion of him, and that the Prince of Orange's invasion had hindered the decision of the controversy, which being between them two, as things then were, it was in vain to stir farther in it. Some months after Sheridan had notice from Ireland by Mr. Plowden and Mr. White, that the King had asked them where he was, who assured his Majesty of his being at Paris, and that the King had thereupon said he was glad on't, for that he could not believe what Tyrconnell and his friends had given out, that he was gone over to the Prince of Orange. This account convinced Sheridan Lord Melfort had never given his Majesty the letter he wrote him, whereupon he sent to Lord Powis, to be shewn the King, copies of that, and of his two to Lord Melfort, together with the printed one, supposed to have been Lord Halifax's, without telling

who was the real author, of which last one printed in London was sent before to the King with an assurance it was generally believed, that nobleman had written it, as Sheridan designed it should, having for that end the best he could endeavoured to imitate his style, with which he was well acquainted. Melfort and Tyrconnell not agreeing, Melfort was forced to return into France. At his arrival in Paris, Sheridan shewed him a letter Lord Peterborough writ him, enquiring into the reasons of his disgrace, and at the same time asked him, if he had given the King his letter. He said he had, but had not shewn the second he wrote to himself, for which he told him he was sorry, and begged his pardon. Sheridan answered he ought rather to beg the King's, for, had he been heard, many of the evils that happened might have been prevented. He then went about to justify himself of all the miscarriages laid to his charge, of which he heard he was accused by several letters into France, written by Tyrconnell's nephews and emissaries, and through his sides the King very much reflected on and wounded. Sheridan told him there were many such letters published in the French Court, and that the Queen could shew him one of them. He very much blamed Tyrconnell for suffering the shipping to go out of the kingdom and affirmed there were neither men ready, nor, had there been, any vessels to transport them into Scotland, and for forcing the King to call a Parliament unseasonably to repeal the Act of Settlement. He also said the two brothers Hamiltons deserved to be hanged, Richard for the loss of Londonderry, and Anthony for running away at the action of Crom Castle, and, supposing Sheridan an English man, he told him Tyrconnell and the Irish had behaved themselves so insolently and disrespectfully to the King that it would occasion another war or rebellion to reduce them to the duty and obedience of subjects, unjustly attributing the particular actions of that Lord and his faction to the whole nation, of which the best and greatest part abhorred his proceedings.

Soon after in winter, 1689, before this Lord went to Rome, he told Sheridan the Queen had shewed him the letter he mentioned, that it was all false, and that he would send him an answer to every part of it from Lyons, and that, to make him some amends for not shewing his second letter to the King, he had recommended him to her Majesty as a person very able to do her service. Some days after the Duchess of Powis told Sheridan in Paris, that the Queen bad her ask him what was the service she had heard from Lord Melfort, he could do the King and her Majesty. He answered it was of such a nature as required more audiences and debates perhaps than one with the Queen and her Council, and, if the Queen pleased, he would wait on her at St. Germain's, where he would be more particular. The Duchess thence wrote for him, but, when he went, told him, the Queen thought not fit to see him herself, since the King had not done it, but, if he would, by

her Grace, tell her any thing of moment, she would acquaint his Majesty with it. Sheridan thereupon, as briefly as he could, represented to her Grace the severities he had met already mentioned in this paper; that the King had seen him privately at Whitehall, and no doubt would have done it publicly at Saint Germain's, and it is probable have taken him into Ireland, had Lord Melfort given him his letter or shewn the second he had written to him, which was certain he had not done, by the King's enquiring of Mr. Plowden and White in what part of the world he was, and, as for his second letter, Lord Melfort had lately owned to himself that he had not shewn it. All which the Duchess represented to the Queen, and also offered her a short extract he had drawn up of his case, but her Majesty, being still Tyrconnell's great friend, would not be persuaded to read the paper, nor see Sheridan, who therefore judged it to no purpose to acquaint her, by a second hand, what he knew of the Lord's sinister designs before, and what he had farther discovered since his coming into France, or anything he believed for the King's service, and therefore after 3 days he returned to Paris, where he remained till July, 1690; when for the recovery of his wife's health he removed to St. Germain's, where in few days he heard the unlucky news of the defeat at the Boyne and the King's arrival at Brest.

As soon as his Majesty came to St. Germain's, Sheridan begged by Lady Powis the honour of kissing the King's hand, which was readily and immediately granted, the King telling the Duchess what he was afterwards pleased to repeat to himself, that he well knew how violently and unjustly matters were carried against him in Ireland, and that that was Tyrconnell's usual way of proceeding against all he did not like. After this his Majesty was very gracious to Sheridan and often discoursed him in private of his affairs, and with heat and reflection on Tyrconnell's practices and actings there, and among other things he told him he had forced him, contrary to his own judgment, to call a Parliament and break the Act of Settlement very unseasonably, and all for his own particular ends, and that he was prevailed with to grant him a vast estate, much greater than ever he intended, which he was informed amounted to 50,000*l.* a year, and that what he designed him was not to exceed 12,000*l.* of which he was assured half would but compensate for the estate he must lose by the new Act, the other half he gave him as a reward for preserving the kingdom, which he said he found was more owing to his subjects' general duty, than his particular zeal, and that this additional 6,000*l.* should only be, as his new honour, for him and the heirs of his body, not to descend to his heirs general, but to revert to the Crown; but that he perceived too late, they had put a trick upon him and deceived him in his grant, which, if he lived, he would by another Act revoke. Among other things his Majesty asked Sheridan, if he had seen Halifax's letter,

which he said was sent him from France and England, and which he had ordered to be reprinted in Ireland, where he hoped it would do some of the great good it had done him in England, that he resolved to have his manifest now written, which that letter supposed to have been done, as it ought to have been, at the beginning of the revolution, and that he had pitched on him to write it. Sheridan said, he had seen the letter his Majesty mentioned, and with that letter supposed, till this minute, his manifest had been written upon his landing in France, that he believed it would even now prove very useful for his service, if well done, but that he could assure him Lord Halifax was not author of that letter. The King said he heard from several that he was, and the Prince of Orange was very angry with him on account of it, and that he and everybody else believed it his style, and that it could be written by no other. Sheridan then told his Majesty he himself was the true author, and the occasion of it, as Monsieur Talon could satisfy him, and that the Queen, Mr. Carryll and Mr. Innis had seen it in his own handwriting before it was printed, and that for his case he was sorry it was yet to be done, that Mr. Carryll was much fitter than he to write it; the King said he had in his thoughts designed him before, but that now he was fully resolved to have it done by no other hand; then Sheridan begged it might be secret, and that he would be pleased to order his Council to draw up the heads of what was most proper for the work. This the King approved and accordingly spoke to his Council, who being displeased (as it's like) Sheridan should have that honour, delayed the matter from time to time for above eight months. In the meanwhile Mr. Carryll bid his clerk, Mr. Meredith, an ingenious man, to draw up a manifest. Mr. Brown intrusted with the Privy Signet, but not intended to be Secretary, desired Mr. Brent and old fanatic Roberts to do as much; Mr. Meredith, being overrun with the spleen, and complaining sometimes of the heat of the weather, and sometimes of the cold, wholly neglected it, which put Mr. Carryll himself upon writing a paper tending towards it, intituled the League of Augsbourg, translated into Latin by Mr. Wyburn and printed, but it was short of the King's expectations, and there were in it some gross mistakes. Mr. Brown reads the longer paper drawn by Brent and Roberts but it was rejected by the King and his Council, as weak, flat and insipid.

After the first siege of Limerick, Tyrconnell comes into France, and before his arrival at Saint Germain's Bishop Maloony proposed a reconciliation between him and Sheridan, and assured him, if he refused it, he would, when too late, repent it; but, if he agreed to it, Tyrconnell in token of a sincere friendship, would, within ten days after his coming to Court, get the King to put him into some good employment. Sheridan answered he would never be reconciled to him, till his cause was heard and his innocence vindicated from his

false calumny and aspersions. The same proposition was made from Bishop Ellis, by one Forestal, a friar and a great intimate of his, to whom Sheridan said the same thing. Two days after Lady Powis told Sheridan the Queen had desired to know, as from herself, whether he made it a frequent practice to speak reflectingly of Lord Tyrconnell and exaggerate his faults in all companies, particularly six or seven days past to several together. Sheridan assured her Grace he had not spoken reflectingly of him since he came into France to any but the King himself, Mr. Carryll, Mr. Brown, Sir Edward Hales, Father Warner and Mr. Innis, and that he had said nothing to them but real truths and referred it to them to give an account of his discourses, and in proof of it he told her Grace that Mr. Nihil had brought him letters from Colonel Cusack, Tyrconnell's nephew, and several of Sheridan's friends, desiring him to join his interest with Nihil, to represent the mismanagements of that Lord, that when he read the letters he told Mr. Nihil that, having an undecided controversy with him, he would not meddle in the matter, that he ought rather to address himself to Rice and Nagle than to him, but Nihil answered they were both his creatures, and would not engage against him, though for the good of their country. Sheridan said they were much more proper to be applied to than he was, who was resolved not so much as to hear the particulars that were to be laid to his charge. The Duchess writ all he said with her own hand, and shewed it to the Queen, who, after she had read it, said she heard other persons named to whom he had spoken very maliciously of him. 4 days after the King sent for Sheridan and told him he was to tax him with some things he was reported to have said of Tyrconnell, of which he believed not a word, but for the Queen's satisfaction, to whom the complaint was made, he could not avoid speaking to him of it. Sheridan answered he thought the Queen would have been satisfied with what he had said to the Duchess of Powis lately on that subject, but, if she was not, he was ready to answer truly to any question his Majesty should put him. The King then asked, if he had not within ten days spoken reflectingly of Tyrconnell in a cabaret in this town before Mr. Barry, Mr. Farely, Doctor Day and some others. Sheridan assured him he had not, but would own himself guilty of that, or what else the informer pleased, if it could be proved he had ever been with those 3 in a cabaret, or with any others in St. Germain's these six months, and prayed he might know his accuser, and that both might be confronted, and whoever was found in the wrong punished with uttermost severity, as was most just and reasonable, that it was a great crime to abuse their Majesties' ears with secret calumniations and falsehoods, and that those proved guilty, if exemplarily punished, would deter them and all others from such unjust practices for the future. The King said he was in the right and would endeavour to make the informer appear and justify

his accusation, but he believed he would not do it, that he was fully satisfied he was falsely accused. Sheridan begged at least he might know his name, which the King being unwilling to do, Sheridan told him it could be none but Bishop Ellis ; why, says the King smiling, do you guess him to be the person ? Sheridan replied because a proposition of friendship and reconciliation between Tyrconnell and him was lately made him by this bishop and by Bishop Maloony, and that upon refusal he was threatened with the Bastille or banishment. His Majesty bid him fear neither. But, says Sheridan, if you'll give me leave to be friends with him, you shall find, notwithstanding our former differences that he will soon become a solicitor for my preferment. No, No, says the King, I know you were infinitely wronged in Ireland, where I was told you were gone in to the Prince of Orange, which I then said was false, being convinced you were too honest, and too loyal, to quit my interest and turn rebel, and I do not desire you should be reconciled to Tyrconnell, but only as a Christian to be in charity with him, but to have no farther dealings with him, and so went with him to his closet door, where seeing Mr. Farely he took him in, and asked him what Sheridan lately said in a cabaret to him, Mr. Barry, Doctor Day and others against Tyrconnell. Upon which Farely earnestly begged his accuser and he might be brought together face to face, as the law required, and he would then clear himself of any charge he should make against him. The King told him he would try to do so, but in the mean time required he would answer the question put him. Farely hereupon protested, as he was ready to do on oath, that Sheridan had never been in any cabaret with him and that company, nor did he ever hear him speak in France reflectingly or disrespectfully of Tyrconnell and pressed his Majesty for justice against his informer. The King told him he was before, as well as now, fully satisfied his answer was true, and so dismissed him ; whether the King examined Mr. Barry or Dr. Day, Sheridan knows not.

Next day the King called Sheridan into his closet, and told him the Queen was entirely satisfied, and believed the whole story not only false, but also a malicious contrivance, and the rather that Bishop Ellis would not appear, as she had desired, but said he was told it by another whom he would not name, though often required. Sheridan then begged his Majesty would put some mark of his displeasure on him, for the love of justice and his own ease for the time to come, and that he hoped he would the rather do it, for his indiscreet sermon at Saint James's about the Act of Settlement, for which service Tyrconnell had promised him the Bishopric of Waterford, and in order to it had recommended him to Sunderland, he farther added that he was an ambitious, factious, intriguing person, and had lately given out, that Tyrconnell would get Sheridan sent to the Bastille. Fear not that, says the King,

Tyrconnell, who deserves to be sent thither himself, shall never be able to hurt you more than he has done, and the truth is he deserved to be sent thither for what he had actually done in Ireland, and further designed, of which Sheridan had before given his Majesty a full account.

But, notwithstanding this assurance of the King's, Tyrconnell was not many days in Saint Germain's before he shewed both his malice and power against Sheridan, who, going into the King's dinner, met him and Mr. Skelton coming out about the middle of the King's ante-chamber, where he made him a bow, at which Tyrconnell scornfully turned away his head and walked on to the guardchamber door, where they both stopped awhile, and then went back into the bedchamber. After dinner was ended, Sheridan with the rest of the company followed the King thither, where Tyrconnell takes him and the Queen aside, and, as Sheridan was afterwards told, complained he had a little before affronted him by not pulling off his hat to him, and therefore desired he might be banished the Court. The King said he could not believe Sheridan would do so (as he had reason to conclude from his knowledge of his manners, but Tyrconnell was too crafty to name the place, where it was pretended he was so rude, in the great presence where none ever appears covered) and that it was however unjust to condemn or punish him unheard, at the same time commending Sheridan for his honesty, loyalty and usefulness to his service. Tyrconnell insolently asked, whether he doubted the truth of what he affirmed, or intended to confront or compare Sheridan's services with his, and insisted so much on it, that, the Queen seconding him, Sheridan was in the evening commanded by Lord Powis in the King's name to forbear, till further orders, coming to Court, or into the garden, for affronting Tyrconnell in the manner before mentioned. Sheridan, surprised at this unexpected command, wrote to the King and Lord Powis, assuring them of his innocence and praying for justice both in this and the former yet undecided dispute. The King sent him word he should be fully satisfied in both points within a few days. But Sheridan, finding several days expired, and also hearing that Tyrconnell was to return soon for Ireland, wrote again and again to the King and Lord Powis, pressing the matter might first be determined, which his Majesty again promised, but such was Tyrconnell's power with the Queen, that this was not done, but on the contrary his banishment was continued, this lord, as the King himself afterwards told Sheridan, having made it his last request to her Majesty, that he should not be readmitted to Court, till after his own arrival in Ireland. Sheridan, enraged at this new injustice, wrote to the King for a pass for England, whereupon his Majesty sent his confessor, Father Warner, to him to excuse the proceeding, to preach patience, and to assure him he had a better opinion of, and greater value for him, than for Tyrconnell, but he

must either please him in this matter, or run the hazard of losing his kingdom, the King of France having resolved to trust no succours for Ireland in any hands but his, for which reason he hoped Sheridan would be satisfied, and not think of leaving his Majesty, who was resolved in a short time to make him full reparation, and shew the world he was still in his good graces. Sheridan answered, since the case was so, he could not be dissatisfied, but would wait for those marks of the King's favour. It is plain Sheridan was at this time forbid the Court, for reason of state, which, by way of compensation, got him a pension without his own seeking. But it is hard to find for what reason of state Tyrconnell was allowed to turn him out of the stations the King had put him into in Ireland against his own inclination, unless Tyrconnell's malice and sinister ends may pass for such. Upon which occasion it is not impertinent to mention what Mr. Robert Power, a lawyer, told Sheridan he had from Mr. Coleman himself, who having one day invited to dinner the Irish Chancellor and Sir Richard Nagle asked them what was the ground of Mr. Sheridan's removal, who to his knowledge was a very honest person in his dealings between man and man, and in Oates's plot was very loyal and zealous for the truth, for the King and Duke of York. The Chancellor answered he was of the same opinion both before and after the examination of the affair. Nagle advised Coleman to inquire no farther into that matter, Sheridan was not removed for corruptions, but for reasons of state, which were not fit to be divulged. What those were he would not name but the reader may easily guess from this narrative.

Soon after the King told Lady Powis he knew no reason why Sheridan, as well as others, should not have a pension, and desired her to know how much would content him. The Duchess sent for his wife, and told her what the King had said, and advised her to consider with her husband what to ask; she did so, and told my lady that less than 200 *Louis d'ors* would do them no good, her Grace went with this answer to the King, who said, since he desired no more, he should have that sum, and, whilst himself had any thing, neither he nor his should ever want, and at the same time gave her for the first quarter a roulet of 50 *Louis's*.

In some days after Father Warner came and told Sheridan, the King desired he would write his case; Sheridan answered he was ready to do it, whenever he had the heads the King promised him the summer before, when he first spoke to him of it; whereupon the King called to his Council for those heads, which not being done, Mr. Stafford lately come from England and admitted into the number of Council drew up some heads of the manner, not matter, of writing, which when he read, Mr. Brown told the King he believed Sheridan looked on himself as a master-workman, and would not be pleased to be limited by a bare scheme and method of writing as that was, contrary

perhaps to his own fancy and judgment, that he thought it were better Mr. Stafford should write a case in his way, and Mr. Sheridan another after his fashion, and then the King might choose which he liked best, or get another drawn out of both. Mr. Stafford answered he did not doubt, but he and Sheridan would agree in the matter. Well, says the King, let it be done by you or him singly, or together as you please, so it be but speedily done. That very evening Sheridan had notice of this from Mr. Brown 5 or 6 days after Stafford read to Sheridan the preface, as he called it, to the case which he had drawn, together with the heads of the whole. Sheridan told him those were only general things relating to the method, and no matters of fact, which was what he had expected, and had waited for above 8 months, and, since he had begun the case, it was fit he should go on with it, for their two styles were very different, and he thought the whole ought to be of a piece. He answered he would not for a 1,000*l.* sterling write it all, that the King expected that from Sheridan and ordered him to give him the heads, of which Sheridan took a copy, leaving his preface to himself. He shewed them Father Warner, who plainly saw with Sheridan they signified nothing to the purpose intended, as he had observed in a letter to this Father to be shewn the King, together with these heads, which Father Warner took and read to his Majesty, whereby he perceived Sheridan's design in writing, and bad him tell him he should lose no more time, but go on in his own way.

Sheridan on this notice set himself to the work and soon finished it, gave Father Warner a copy for the King and shewed Mr. Stafford another, which he read and wondered Sheridan had done it so soon, and said it was well, but he thought he had not in it made reflections enough; Sheridan answered, he and the rest of the Council might make what additions or alterations they pleased, but desired to be present when that was a doing. This was in June, 1691. Two days after Lord Powis sent word to Sheridan he had the King's leave to come to Court when he pleased, who had the honour of kissing both their Majesties' hands next day, when the King was pleased to excuse the severity of the treatment he was forced to give him for the same reasons Father Warner had before expressed. The Queen likewise told him, she was much pleased with his patience and resignation and would hereafter remember them to his advantage. Soon after the King told Sheridan he had read the case he had drawn, and was much pleased with it, and had lodged it with his Council to hear what they could say to it, but they made no haste to give his Majesty their opinion, whereupon, as he was going to Fontainebleau, he bad Mr. Inniss carry it to Abbé Revedau, and pray him to put it into French.

Sheridan had before Tyrconnell's coming into France told the King as before mentioned he had not been so loyal as he ought to have been, that there were too many grounds for

believing he intended to lop off Ireland from the Crown, and put it at least under the protection of France, that Bishop Maloony was his agent in it, and that Bishop Tyrrel kept a correspondence with him in cipher, and had by Tyrconnell's directions offered the King of France, unknown to his own King, four ports, viz. Kinsale, Waterford, Limerick and either Galway or Coleraine, which he should choose, for his security for the succours he should send him; that Sheridan had read these letters and several other papers of projects relating to the independence of Ireland on England, and breaking the Act of Settlement, and expelling all the English and Scots that were not Catholics, and several letters reflecting on the King's management in Ireland and his indulgence to Protestants, written by Tyrconnell's orders, and put into French, and shewn in that Court by Maloony, who, being ordered by the Queen to go for Ireland, which he would not do, had put those papers into Doctor Smith, Superior of Montague's hands, to be secured in case his own chamber in that college should be searched or himself forced to be gone. Doctor Smith desired the bishop to seal them up in a box directed for himself, which he refused to do, telling him they would be safer behind his books, and were not fit to be seen by the enemies of his country, nor known to belong to him, who was suspected by the court of St. Germain's to be too busy for the public good of his mother kingdom. Dr. Smith, knowing the bishop to be a very intriguing man, and concerned in the plot of 1667, was curious to see them, and being struck with horror shewed them to Sheridan. In that year the Duke of Beaufort was to carry men and arms and other necessities into Ireland, for an army to be raised there, by a certain number agreed on in every parish by the influence of Primate Reilly, Colonel O'Reilly, Colonel Mortagh O'Brien, Colonel Burn and others; all which was discovered by one Taafe, an Irish Friar in Paris, to the Queen Mother, and by her in person to King Charles the Second, for which it was suspected she was poisoned after her return into France. The friars were banished on pretence of defrauding the Post Office, by covering other men's letters; Nangle and others in Ireland were executed, and the Duke of Ormond ordered to march to Kinsale with the regular forces, and to raise a Protestant militia all over the kingdom. The King of France disowned his having any hand in the matter, and said, if there was any such design, it proceeded from the ambition of his cousin Beaufort his admiral, who soon after lost his life at the siege of Candia. The foresaid gentleman, knowing all this and being full of zeal and loyalty, shewed them to Sheridan, who told him he was bound in conscience to discover them to the Queen. He answered that would be a breach of trust, and stigmatize himself with a brand of treachery, and expose him to great danger from the hot-headed rage, and folly of his countrymen; but he thought he had discharged his duty in letting him see

them, who was a Privy Councillor of the kingdom, and left it to him to act as in prudence and conscience he should judge fit. Sheridan, living at this time at Paris, would have given the Queen an account of it, had she not refused to admit him to her presence, as is before said, but afterwards he told all to the King and assured his Majesty the papers would be found in Maloony's closet, who after his Majesty's arrival in France concluded all danger over, and took them out of Dr. Smith's hands.

The King believed the whole matter, but said, whilst he was in France, and in such bad circumstances, it was not fit to enquire farther into it. Sheridan also told his Majesty Maloony had bragged to himself that he had written from London to Tyrconnell and sent this letter by a trusty man between the inner and outward sole of his shoe, not to give up Ireland to the Prince of Orange, that he was just going for France and promised he would get succours sent him from thence. Sheridan also assured the King the most spiteful of all the reflective letters from Ireland was written by Sir D. O'Neill, Tyrconnell's nephew. That Maloony had sent a copy of it to the Queen, which was by her given to Melfort, who had promised Sheridan as is before hinted, to refute it, and which hitherto he had neglected to do, nor did he omit to give a full account of all the seditious discourse Tyrconnell held with him, when soliciting the Government of Ireland, set down before in this paper, and not necessary to be here again repeated. The King said he doubted not but Tyrconnell had those ambitious designs, and believed what he said of the 50,000*l.* to Sunderland, who, he was satisfied, was a false and a covetous villain, the King of France having assured him, he had been all along in his own and brother's reign, his pensioner; and that the money passed through Monsieur Beauvilliers' hands, and that he was lately convinced by Ferguson, that he was privy to Monmouth's contrivance, and also to the Prince of Orange's invasion; that Tyrconnell had belied him in saying he hated an O or a Mac, that he never made any difference between his loyal subjects, whether new or old Irish, but long knew Tyrconnell did, and in particular hated the Ulstermen, and that therefore, to prevent the impression he might make on Monsieur Lauzun, he told him at his arrival in Dublin that he must not be misled by Tyrconnell's partiality, and the character he might give of his Irish troops, for that his Ulster foot and his Leinster horse, were by far the best men of his kingdom (Sheridan has some reason to believe the King might have spoken some thing to his Council of Tyrconnell's ill designs, for that Mr. Inniss, one of them, told him Tyrconnell deserved to be Bastilled and lose his head). Not long after the surrender of Limerick, and the coming over of about twenty thousand Irish troops, Lord Melfort returns from Rome, who forgot to send Sheridan, as he promised, an answer of the reflective letter on the King and himself before

mentioned in this paper, and of which Sheridan had spoken to Mr. Inniss the summer before, who seemed surprised, and about two months after told him, he had a letter from Lord Melfort, wherein he said he had sent him the answer, and thought he had some confused notion of it, however no such thing appeared. This lord was no sooner come, than the former Council was dissolved, and the management of all affairs put into his single hands. His project was that of the Hogue, but matters were so ill concerted, that there was neither men sufficient nor shipping provided to transport the few designed, which at most exceeded not 18,000, though he had told Sheridan they were to be 34,000. The declaration then published in England was his sole contrivance, without the privity of the King's confessor, as Father Warner himself assured Sheridan. His lordship had persuaded the court of France that none of the first or second rate would be ready to sail before the 10th of June, old style, and that Carter's squadron would join the French and declare for the King, which made the King of France order Tourville to fight *fort ou foible*, but the whole fleet was out, and in the engagement, which happened the 19th May, old style, Carter fought as heartily as any of the English, yet after the fight, Lord Melfort affirmed before the Duke of Berwick, Lord Lucan, Sir Randal MacDonnel and Sheridan there was not one of the first and second rate ships at sea, but within 2 hours after the contrary was found true, as one Mr. Clark, sent purposely by Lord Peterborough, had before affirmed, and for his reward was confined at la Hogue as a false intelligencer. After the defeat Lord Melfort was much reflected on by French and English for his wrong information, which cost to France seventeen men-of-war, burnt and destroyed at Cherbourg and la Hogue.

The King's declaration pleased none and was turned into ridicule, burlesque rimes in England, where several other scandalous and defamatory pamphlets were dispersed to the King's dishonour. Whereupon Father Warner moved the King that Sheridan might answer them, but his Majesty told him he had another work for Sheridan more to his purpose. Father Warner asked Sheridan afterwards what that was, who assured him the King had not spoken one word to him of any such matter; some considerable time after Father Warner sent for Sheridan, and shewed him a paper entitled, as the King's case he had written, was, viz., a Letter from a Gentleman in London to his Friend in Vienna; Sheridan was putting it in his pocket to read it at his own lodging, when Father Warner told him they were then both to read and consider it together, for that the King expected it back that very night, with their opinions of it, and after it was read he asked Sheridan what he thought of it, who answered he believed a fool or knave writ it, for no man of sense or honesty could think such a paper could do the King good, but on the

contrary, much harm, since it owned, what his enemies had affirmed, that he had broken the laws, but that he was now very sorry for it, and would, if called home, observe them more exactly for the future. I am of the same opinion, says Father Warner, and will do what I can, that the King consent not to its publication; to which he is mightily pressed by Lord Melfort, who pretends to be the author. I know not that, says Sheridan, but, let who will be the author, it is a very dull piece, and I observe one or two Scotch expressions in it, but I wonder he could think it for the King's service. He judges it so, says the father, but I wonder at nothing he does, knowing how many things he has already done contrary to prudence and his master's interest. But this extraordinary letter never saw the light, and it was afterwards discovered, that not liking what Sheridan had drawn, and which the King would fain have published, he got this done very different in form and substance.

Some time after, the day before the King went to Fontainebleau, Lord Melfort desired Sheridan to come to him that night at 7 a clock, at which hour he had Mr. Nairne tell him he was busy in reading the English letters with Mr. Brent and one Nosworthy, who went by the name of Powell, and could not speak with him that night. After the King's return from Fontainebleau this lord whispered Sheridan in the King's presence, that he would speak with him next morning; after several mornings' attendance he told him, at last, the King desired to have his case written, and that he had recommended him to his Majesty for that work. Sheridan answered he had a year before done it at the King's command, and could not now make it better, and that he had reason to think his lordship had seen it. He said he had seen it, and that it would be known to have been written by a Papist, and that the King desired it should be written as by a Protestant. Sheridan replied that it could not be more truly written than it was, whether Protestant or Papist undertook it, and that, to do it faithfully, the author could not but renounce the present Protestant principles and practice. He said the King would have it done so as to please that party, and for a model of it gave him Great Britain's Complaint. Sheridan told him he could not justify the King, which he thought necessary, and please his subjects that renounced their allegiance, and called in an usurper, on presence of his having broken the laws; but really and truly because he was a Catholic, and blessed with a son, who was like to be bred in the same religion, for which sole reason they would suffer him no longer to rule over them. After Sheridan had read the book, he told his lordship it was writ by some anti-monarchical person, who favoured neither the King nor Prince of Orange, but extremely blamed the conduct of both; and affirmed each of them had broken the laws, and that for his part he could not write the King's case to do him any service, otherwise than he had done it before, which

not pleasing his lordship, Sheridan told the King all that passed between them, and asked him whether he designed his own vindication, or his rebel subjects' justification, for this last seemed to be aimed at by Lord Melfort's discourse. He therefore prayed his Majesty would be pleased to hear them both together on that subject, that so he might know how to govern himself; the King said he might be sure his design was to have himself, not his subjects, justified; and that he approved what he had written, but thought it too short, and in some instances not full enough; that he might make a show of being a Protestant in the new one, and desired he would bring the book Lord Melfort gave him, which he said he had not read, and that it was written by Sir James Montgomery, who was one of the Scotch Commissioners that presented the Crown to the Prince of Orange, but was now disobliged and become his enemy. Sheridan answered he was sure, if he was his enemy, he was not his Majesty's friend in what he had written; that may be like enough, says the King, adding he would speak to Melfort, and endeavour to hear 'em both discourse the matter before himself. But 2 or 3 days after the King called Sheridan and told him he had spoken to Lord Melfort what he had said to him, but found him unwilling to come to a further debate of the matter; and therefore he left it wholly to his own judgement and desired it might be full enough. Sheridan went about it and finished it in December, 1692, and read it to Mr. Carryll and Mr. Inniss, who approved on't; whereupon he gave it to the King, who, after he had read it and made some additions in his own hand, gave it back to Sheridan to insert them in it; who, having accordingly done it returned it to his Majesty; who being satisfied with it put it into Lord Melfort's hands and bad Sheridan wait on him and know his thoughts of it.

In July following, 1693, the King asked Sheridan what was become of his case; Sheridan answered he thought Lord Melfort had told him his opinion of it. No, says the King, he has not, tell me you what he said; Sheridan replied he had said to him he found no fault in it, but that it was too well written and had too fully vindicated his Majesty and would not please the people of England; by his favour, answered the King, he is not so good a judge. The Scots shall not make me, as they would my brother, stand in the stool of repentance; carry it to Mr. Carryll and bid him from me read and consider it. Some time after the King told Sheridan Mr. Carryll said it was extraordinarily well done; and that there was nothing in it amiss, except being too severe on the Bishops sent to the Tower. Sheridan answered he had not made the change of one word in reference to them; that what related to them was approved by his Majesty as appeared by comparing the new copies with the old his Majesty had altered in some places with his own hand; however, says the King, we must let it rest awhile, and not publish it yet;

Sheridan replied his Majesty was master and might do what he thought fit ; but that Mr. Carryll had long before read and approved the whole, even that paragraph relating to the bishops ; but the reason of his being now of another opinion was to wait the issue of your late Declaration ; which, he had good grounds to conclude, would do him more hurt than good, to which this paper was in the main a perfect contradiction ; well, says the King, you have guessed right, and we must yet wait for some time, as we hitherto done, to see its effects ; Sheridan answered his Majesty's pleasure should always be a law to him ; who designed nothing by it but his service alone, having from the beginning begged he might not be known the author ; which if his Majesty had concealed from his Ministers, perhaps it had been better liked.

About a year after in June, 1694, the King sent him by Father Sanders a paper of objections against it, and desired to see his solutions of 'em ; Sheridan immediately answered the objections, which were indeed very weak and without knowing then the author, which by accident he afterwards found was Sir R. Nagle, and told Father Sanders he guessed they came from an Irish lawyer. The King, it seems, resolved to know the sense of his 3 nations, and therefore shewed it to his English, Scotch, and Irish Secretaries. The King, having found the objections fully answered, told Sheridan some time after, he resolved to publish his case in English, French, and Latin ; and had spoken to Mr. Carryll to see it done into French, and ordered it to be shewn sheet by sheet to Sheridan, that he might see whether Dempster, the translator, had exactly taken and expressed his meaning. Near 3 months after, this clerk tells Sheridan he had in 3 weeks finished the translation and found it still in Mr. Carryll's hands ; who, he believed, had not yet shewn it the King nor told him it was done, and therefore prayed him to do it. Sheridan answered he expected to have had it brought him as it was a doing, and since it was not, he would say nothing of it to the King. The matter lay till September, 1695, when the King told Sheridan before the Queen he was sorry his case had not been long since published ; that he now found the necessity of doing it and desired him to write a preface, wherein he might give the best reasons he could for its delay. The Queen asked Sheridan, why he had not (as she desired) sent her a copy of that paper, which she had not yet seen either in English, or French ? Sheridan answered he thought her Majesty had seen it, for that he had sent it together with a letter by Father Sanders above a year ago, who told him, the King seeing it asked what it was, took it from him and said he himself would deliver it ; 'tis very true, says the King, I have it still in my closet and you shall see it in English, wherein 'tis very well written, but the French translation is not good ; but, says the King, besides your writing this preface, I have determined to send you to the Elector

Palatine, who offers me his service and interest with the Emperor, the King of Spain and the Catholic allies, you must get yourself ready immediately, and no person must know of it, but the two secretaries and Father Sanders, you must go under another name, and contrive things so that it may be thought you are only at Paris; in two days your instructions shall be prepared. Sheridan was ordered to correspond with Mr. Carryll, and to take his leave of Lord Middleton, the other Secretary, who gave him a pass by the name of Arden. Sheridan waited on Lord Middleton and prayed him to give him some directions for his conduct, his lordship having been formerly employed in Germany; he made him a cold compliment, and said one that the King had so good an opinion of, as of himself to pitch on him, needed no directions, which was all he could get from him.

Sheridan went to Paris, left his wife in a monastery, and on the 20th of October, 1695, began his journey, carried a letter the Queen gave him from Madame d'Almont to her brother-in-law, Davia, the Internuncio at Cologne. He was stopped at Coblentz by the Governor, but got off easily, but at Bonn he met with greater difficulty, though he had the Elector of Treves' pass. The Elector of Cologne's Chancellor asked him what brought him from Paris, and whether he was of the army or domestic servant of King James's; he answered he was neither, but a private gentleman and a Catholic, who upon the late revolution in England had to avoid trouble, retired into France and dwelt with his family in Paris, and, being now weary of his voluntary exile, he got a friend to write to the Internonce at Cologne to get him, by the means of some Catholic Prince, King William's pass, and leave to return home. He replied he could hardly think he would on that errand go so far about. Sheridan answered, he knew not a shorter way, and did it now the rather, that he heard that all, that did not, within a limited time, return home, were for ever to be excluded by outlawries, to prevent which he had undertaken this long and troublesome journey. The Chancellor desired to see the letter to the Internonce, which he shewed him. If I should, says he, open this letter and search you for the other papers, perhaps I should find you have some other business. Sheridan told him, he might do what he pleased in both, the letter was from his sister-in-law, a lady of honour about the Queen at Saint Germain's; he then asked him several questions about the King and Queen's age and health, who till then he thought had been the Princess of Orange's own mother, so little skilled was this German in the English Court and their affairs, then he enquired after our two young princes, and, having satisfied his demands, he gave him back the letter, and said he had too great a respect for the Internonce, to open it, and believed by his discourse and behaviour he was no spy, and so let him pass.

After his arrival at Cologne he waited on Monseigneur Davia, who having read the letter treated him with extraordinary civility, and told him he perceived he had business with the Elector Palatine, wherein he wished him good success, gave him his character and that of Count Sevenburg, to whom he was first to address himself ; the Count gave Sheridan notice the Elector was at his country house, and that he must have patience for 10 days till his return to Dusseldorp. After the Elector's arrival the Count came in one of the Elector's coaches, and carried Sheridan from Cologne to Dusseldorp, and next day conducted him privately to his Highness, who received from him the King's letter with great compliments and assured him he would be heartily glad to serve his Majesty, and in order to it, would be content to travel to Madrid and Vienna in person, but, before he opened it, he desired to know whether any Protestant, particularly Lord Middleton or the English Chancellor, were privy to his journey. I know, says he, the King's secrets are disclosed, and I cannot but think it must be by some of the Protestants he trusts. Sheridan answered, he received the letter and his instructions from the King's own hand in the presence of the Queen alone, and was commanded to correspond with Secretary Carryll, a Catholic, and therefore his Highness might conclude no Protestant was acquainted with it. Whereupon being satisfied he read the King's letter, and told Sheridan that which stuck most with the Emperor and other princes, was the King's private league with France contrary to his obligations by the treaty of Nimegue. Sheridan answered, the King had never made any such league, nor acted anything contrary to any obligation he was under by that treaty, or any other with the Dutch, that that peace was made in his brother King Charles the Second's time, and by it he was no way bound, that King himself not being a guarantee, but only a bare mediator of a general peace, not of the particular one made first by the Dutch, whose example was after followed by the several other princes engaged in that war, and that King Charles' plenipotentiaries refused, when called upon by the Hollanders to sign or witness it, as being contrary to their powers and instructions, which were, they said, to mediate a general, not a particular, peace. If those things were so, said the Elector, the King your master would long ere this have justified himself to the world, and his silence in those two points is a sufficient refutation of what you now affirm. Sheridan replied that his master, upon his arrival in France, had sent an Envoy to the Emperor, to vindicate himself from those and all other aspersions, and that his Imperial Majesty had refused to admit him, having been before engaged in the league of Augsburg, by which and his rebellious subjects' invitation, the Prince of Orange was encouraged to his unjust and unnatural invasion. That, if the King his master had been in any such league with France, he would not have rejected,

as he had three times done, that King's repeated offers of succours, and his invitations of entering into a league offensive and defensive against the House of Austria, which if he had accepted, he had still preserved his crown, and kept his rebel subjects in obedience, whose laws he had never violated, which truths were all fully made out in a writing he had seen several years before, and of which his master judged the publication to no purpose in the heat of a war so generally and eagerly carried on to his ruin, for the support of an usurper with whom the Emperor and all the allies had confederated. The Elector answered that such a paper would have been of great advantage to the King, whose dethroning the Emperor never intended, that he had particular reason to except against Mr. Skelton, but would have admitted any other, that he had not entered into any alliance with the Prince of Orange, which was the title he all along gave him, till after he was made King, and that then out of necessity he had joined with him against France, as perhaps he would have done with the devil; France having designed the universal monarchy of Europe, which all the other princes could not prevent, without having the power of England of their side, and that, if King James had considered his own interest and the public good, he would have joined with the House of Austria against France, as often invited and pressed by the Emperor and the King of Spain. Sheridan replied that in the ill circumstances his master was in at home, a Catholic Prince surrounded by Protestant subjects, who waited but an opportunity to dispossess him by rebellion of a throne, from which in his brother's time they endeavoured to exclude him, he judged a neutrality joining with neither party the best and most prudent way to preserve the public peace, and secure himself, and therefore could not reasonably be blamed. Well, said the Elector, I am heartily sorry for his misfortune and would joyfully serve him, if there could be but a good peace made with France, for I look on the Prince of Orange as an unjust usurper and am too zealous for the R. C. religion not to wish the King repossessed of his right, to which I will contribute to the utmost of my power. I will think of the means and speak with you again, and so for that time dismissed Sheridan whom he received, and talked to all the time standing and uncovered, which was above an hour. In three or four days the Elector sent again for Sheridan, who as before, was conducted to him privately by the Count. Sheridan acquainted him that he was commanded by the King and Queen to make their compliments to the Electress, but he answered that could not be, he would himself undertake to do it, for that it must not be known to any other in his Court, that he had received any person from, or held correspondence with the King his master, that he was narrowly watched by emissaries of the Prince of Orange and had the night before received an account that he was sending an extraordinary Envoy to him, upon some extraordinary

business, and was afraid his being sent to him was already discovered, which he much apprehended, and therefore desired he would return by another way than that he came, lest he should be more strictly examined and searched, and gave him a letter to the King, prayed him to hide it as safely as that he had brought from his master, to whom and to the Queen he gave his most humble service, and bad him assure them, he would think of the best way he could to serve the King effectually, and for that purpose resolved in a few days to begin his journey to Vienna, and discourse the Emperor fully on the subject, and afterwards would give the King a farther account, upon which Sheridan took his leave, and told him he would next day begin his journey. Some hours after the Elector sent for Count Sevenburg and asked him whether the gentleman's name was really Arden, as the King's letter imported. He answered he believed so, and saw no reason to doubt it. His Highness said two of the magistrates of Cologne had been with him, and told him to his great surprise, that one Mr. Sheridan was now or had been lately with him from King James, and that King William had notice of it; but, says the Elector, I assured them there was no such thing. and yet I fear the Extraordinary Envoy's coming is on this account, and that he may be stopped by the way and my letter found. The Count prayed him not to apprehend that, for he had seen the letter carefully made up in the cover of a piece of Strada's History, which he carried in his pocket to read by the way, wherein it could never be suspected to be hid, and his Highness might be confident, if he had not been a very trusty person, his master would not have pitched upon him. Well, says the Elector, since you tell me this, I will not call for my letter back, as I intended, but venture it upon the confidence of his discretion. Sheridan was much surprised at this account, but assured the Count his name was Arden, that there was one Sheridan at Saint Germain's, but too publicly known to be employed on such an errand, and begged him to let the Elector know he would lose his life rather than discover his letter or betray his trust. Next day the Count went with him to Cologne and helped him to buy horses to make his journey by land, he also went with him to the Internonce, and told him the Elector prayed him to get him safely conducted through the Forest of Arden to Luxembourg. The Internonce said he would serve him the best he could, and bad Sheridan come to him at 7 next night, and he would tell him what he would do. And indeed he was so kind as to get him both a guide and a passport, as for a friend of his own lately come from England, to avoid the persecution Catholics were under, and by this means, not without great trouble and some hazard, he got safe to Luxembourg, and thence to Saint Germain's, where arriving by night, he waited privately on their Majesties and next day appeared at the King's levée. He was told in the ante-chamber by Mr. Porter and several others, that they

heard but the day before, he was in England, and were glad to see him thence returned in safety. He assured them that was a pure invention, and that he had not been in England since the King left it. As soon as his Majesty saw him, he told him publicly he was informed from England by a friend of yours and mine (so he was pleased to speak) that he had been in London and was displeased he had not made him a visit. Sheridan affirmed to his Majesty he had not been in England since 1688. I believe you, says the King, but, suppose I had sent you thither, and any one here had by chance found it out, he could not be true to my interest, that should make it known, and I look upon all who invent of their own heads such stories, and give them out, to be malicious knaves, that wish ill to my affairs, but nobody can be absent from Saint Germain's or Paris, or elsewhere, but presently it is reported he is gone for England, but, if I find out the authors of such lies, I will severely punish them.

After this Sheridan gave their Majesties an account in writing of what passed between the Elector and him, and of what the Internonce had also said to him. The King bad him tell Lord Middleton all except what related to himself and the Protestants, but not to mention any thing to him of the Internonce's discourse, of which his Majesty commanded him to draw up a memorial, being a scheme how the league might be broken by engaging the Duke of Savoy to a separate peace. This being drawn up accordingly was by the King given to Mr. Carryll to be put into French, intending to deliver it himself to the King of France, but Mr. Carryll forgot to have it ready at the time prefixed. The King went and discoursed the substance of it to the King of France who seemed to approve it, and desired to see it in writing, which in two days after was given Lord Middleton to carry, by which his lordship saw Sheridan had concealed that part of his business from him and resented it, as if Sheridan had distrusted him, not knowing he was enjoined by the King not to say anything of it to him. This was in December, 1695, when their Majesties told him they would have the King's case printed, together with the preface Sheridan had written and which they liked by way of apology for its not being sooner published.

In February following the expedition of Calais was concerted, and Sheridan astonished, when told by the King he was not to be of it, who answered, he hoped his Majesty that had commanded his attendance in that of La Hogue, would not now leave him behind in this. The King said he must stay and see his case printed. Sheridan replied that might be done as well by another as by him, but the King said that was not all, he could be in other matters more useful to him in Saint Germain's than in that expedition, and that the Queen would let him know the particulars. Sheridan was much disturbed at this usage and concluded it was Lord Middleton's contrivance, who was jealous of the King's too

favourable opinion of him, and displeased at his not acquainting him with what passed between him and the Internonce. He therefore begged Father Sanders to find out the reason, who spoke for his going both to King and Queen, but without success, from neither of whom could he find (though he endeavoured it) the reasons why he was not of the voyage. In two or three days after the King's departure it was found the design was all discovered to the Prince of Orange, whereupon the Queen sent for Sheridan and before Mr. Carryll told him the King of France had desired an apology might be written in English to vindicate both him and his brother of England, from what was most falsely given out, that they both had contrived the murder and assassination of the usurper, and that she had pitched upon him to write it, and had already given the King notice of it, who she was sure, would confirm her opinion, that he was the fittest to do it. Sheridan pressed to be excused and said Mr. Carryll was much fitter, which himself denying, he mentioned Mr. Stafford, but he was not approved, then he named Lord Middleton, Sir Richard Nagle or Mr. Perkins, whom the King had with him at Calais. But the Queen and Mr. Carryll insisted that none was so proper as himself. Sheridan said, if he undertook it, he was certain it would not be liked, nothing he had yet done having been approved by the King's ministers, and therefore earnestly begged to be excused. But notwithstanding, on the Queen's so earnestly pressing him, he went away and immediately writ what he thought proper on the subject. Next day he read it to her Majesty, who seemed to be pleased with it, and surprised he had done it so quickly, adding she did not now wonder the King had so good an opinion of him. A copy of it was sent to his Majesty who likewise approved on't, but in two days after the Queen told Sheridan the King of France said such a thing would not now be fit, since the Holland Gazette had published that there was a paper a writing to exculpate the two Kings from having any hand in the murder of the Prince of Orange and wondered how that should have come to be known, but, if the King would go on with it, he desired his name should not be mentioned. Sheridan answered he could not imagine how it came to be discovered, but her Majesty could not but be convinced it was not done by him, since that was but the 5th day since he had the first notice of it from herself. I am satisfied of that, says the Queen, but am infinitely troubled it has taken wind.

Sheridan was afterwards told, the King had dispatched Father Plowden from Calais to England, without the privity of any but Lord Middleton and Father Sanders; yet this was discovered to the Earl of Shrewsbury, Secretary of State, and a warrant by him given to seize Father Plowden, who made his escape into Scotland. Not long after Father Mansel was privately sent to the Emperor, of which the Prince of Orange

had notice from some of his spies about our King. In summer after a separate peace was made with the Duke of Savoy, and in September 1697, a general one concluded at Ryswic, by which the Prince of Orange was owned King of England to the exclusion of our rightful sovereign, who about that time had published a kind of manifest in French, wherein were some mistakes, and more had been, if Sheridan had not been consulted in it by their Majesties, who chose in some particulars to rely upon his ministers rather than upon him. This print was very scurrilously answered in England, and the Prince of Wales in it affirmed to be suppositious. To which by his Majesty's order Sheridan made a reply, fully vindicating the King's reputation in every particular, and clearing beyond exception the reality of the Prince of Wales his birth. This writing both their Majesties heard read with great satisfaction, but yet the ministers hindered its publication. After the peace by an Act of Parliament in Ireland all the bishops, prelates and regular clergy were banished that kingdom, the chief of whom, meeting at Saint Germain's, desired Sheridan to draw in their name a representation of their miserable state and condition to the Pope and the Catholic Princes of Europe. This coming to the King's knowledge Sheridan was sent for and commanded to read it to him, his Majesty approved of it, but told him he would not trust his own judgment, but shew it to the Queen and Mr. Carryll. Next day Mr. Carryll sent for Sheridan and told him what was affirmed in it, that the true reason of the loss of the Crown was his being of the Roman Catholic religion, must be left out. Sheridan said he knew no other cause that could be assigned; yes, answered Mr. Carryll, the breaking of the laws. Sheridan replied the King had broken none, and that his suffering in silence so great and scandalous a falsehood to pass unrefuted was of infinite prejudice to his Majesty, and in some measure a justification of his subjects' rebellion, and a tacit confession of his own guilt. Well, says Mr. Carryll, notwithstanding all you say, this clause I have razed must be left out, it can do no good, but occasion answers to the paper, and new reflections on the King. Sheridan told him he did not see how the King was any way concerned in it, being written by, and in the name of the banished clergy, and if answered they were able to reply and justify the truth of it, and that he was of opinion it might do the King some good but no hurt. Mr. Carryll not pleased with his discourse told him positively the King would have it published no other way than as he had altered it. Sheridan showed the alteration to his Majesty, and gave him an account of what passed between Mr. Carryll and him on the subject. The King was of Sheridan's mind, and gave him money to print it, as it was first written, which accordingly was done in English and Latin.

This faithful relation of matters of fact was finished by Thomas Sheridan in the year 1702 composed and

drawn out of several papers or memoirs he had written at the times when the several things herein mentioned did happen.

II. CORRESPONDENCE, ETC.

WILLIAM GORDON to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, March 1. Paris.—Concerning the receipt and dispatch of letters and other business.—When his Grace was in this neighbourhood, I spoke and wrote to him about a demand for 18*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.* for wine furnished him at Perth by James Wright, and his Grace could say nothing about it till he should be informed by you of the fact, whereof please speak to him, and, if due, I am sure I shall have orders to pay it.

The Queen's pension is so far behind that the necessaries of her family can't be paid, so Mr. Dicconson is to be pitied, for, though the pressing necessaries of gentlemen that are subsisted make him and me very uneasy by daily harassing us out of our lives, he has no fund for this month and I am 3,537 *livres* in advance for last month and some that can't want it, which I paid for this month. This is cruel of the French Court, for no solicitation or endeavour is wanting to prevail with them to pay her Majesty, which proves all in vain and nothing but fair promises from day to day, on which no state can be made.

Brigadier Campbell has of late written several letters to Gen. Dillon about some money his Grace ordered him to lay out, but, till it come in, no money can be ordered. Pray lay this letter before his Grace and let me have his answer, for Mr. Dicconson protests, I truly believe with great sincerity, that he can do no more.

Prince George's, as they call him, English son, after setting his father and grandfather by the ears, is dead and happier than any of them, for I hope they may come to die with a halter. I pray God it may be soon and sure. *Nearly 2 pages.*

COL. HARRY BRUCE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 1. Sens.—Congratulating him on his safe arrival in Italy, and expressing hopes of a speedy restoration.—The war, as is said, still increases betwixt young Rattlebag and the father, which, I hope, it ever shall do, till our royal son appear in his kingdoms to give the redding stroke to these two abortives and their adherents. I hear nothing from our country, but they still keep good hearts, longing for the happy day. The Justice Clerk begins now to break open the packets, I hope it's to make his passage clear. It's great joy to know the King keeps his health so well.

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 2. Vienna.—Monsr. Belloni writes me that he has received my letter with several packets for your Excellency, though up to the present I am without a line from you.

I enclose a copy of the Grand Vizier's last letter to Prince Eugene concerning the congress to be held for peace. General Virmondt, the Emperor's minister, will soon set out for it, but a good result is much doubted. Meanwhile all preparations are going on here for the war against the Turks, but all about sending troops to Italy is still in silence. Some treaty for an agreement between the Emperor, King Philip, France, the Dutch and England is on the *tapis*, but the party of the Spanish ministers, which has great power here, is opposed to such a renunciation, and so the Emperor remains in perplexity and inaction. I have further learned to-day that an agreement between the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy is on the *tapis*. *French. 3 pages.*

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, March 2. Vienna.—Requesting a line to inform him if his letters and packets have arrived, and adding that Mr. Germain (*i.e.* Wogan) has not appeared there, and that he is keeping for him the letter left by Mr. Connell (*i.e.* O'Brien). *French.*

[COL. STEWART] to [the DUKE OF MAR].

1718, March 2.—A fall, which has dislocated my right arm, obliges me to avail myself of a strange hand, to acknowledge yours of the 4th with the enclosed paper, and to tell you you may write to me with perfect safety. If you put on an envelope "To M. Philibert Vigo at Turin" it will reach me safely. I hope to be quite well in a fortnight. *Endorsed, "K. Ste."* *French.*

QUEEN MARY to the DUKE OF ORMONDE.

1718, March 3. St. Germain.—We have at last had news from *Jerningham* that he is safe on this side of the world. He gives an exact account of his negotiation, which I cannot say is such as I could wish, but, as he found matters in the place he went to and the little encouragement he had given him, I think he could not do better than he has. *Dillon* will send you a copy of his letter: he has sent the original to *the King*. You will see the proposal in it of offering a large sum of money to *the Czar* to persuade him to make up with *the King of Sweden* at the rate *the King of Sweden* desires, without which it seems there's no hopes of *the King of Sweden's* doing anything for *the King*, as *Jerningham* says. But *Ormonde*, being in or near the place where *the King of Sweden's* and *the Czar's* friends are to meet, to which we are told they are to repair immediately, if not there already,

can best judge whether such an offer will answer the end that *Jerningham* pretends, and, there being no time to wait for *the King's* answer, and *Ormonde* having his procuration to act for him, I am of opinion that, if *Ormonde* find by *Dr. Erskine* and others that the offer will take, that he ought to make it and explain very clearly that *the King* cannot give that money till he is at *England*, where it is to be hoped *the King of Sweden* and *the Czar* will carry him, when they are once agreed together. I am sorry there is no hopes for the present of *Ormonde's* going to see *the King of Sweden*, but for some time I believe he may do good where he is, not only in the affair I have already mentioned, but also in what relates to *the Czar's daughter*, which is another affair that I take to be of the last consequence and of which I long to hear from you some good tidings. *Dillon* has written to *Jerningham* to lose no time in going to you, for he may be useful to you, and 'tis fit he should give you an account of all he knows. I have writ to *the King* that I have sent him to you to follow your directions and wait there for *the King's* orders, from whom you have had some letters of late. I hope you will soon send us some from *Sir H. Stirling*, after he has seen *the Czar's daughter*. I fear the girl is very young. We have been so unlucky as not to have been able to understand *Sir H. Stirling's* letter in that particular, which is the most material for us to know. If that affair succeed, it will be very happy for *the King*, who, you will find, is tired out of his life where he is and with reason. I wish he may go to you rather than you should go to him, for in the first case one might hope to have you go both together to *England*. Copy.

The DUKE OF ORMONDE to JAMES III.

1718, March 3.—I received *the King's* of 20 and 28 Dec., by *Mr. O'Brien* who arrived here the 3rd February. It was a sensible mortification to me not to have heard from *the King* since 19th August.

"*The Dutch* and all the German gazettes alarmed me with an account of *the King's* indisposition and mentioned such particular circumstances as made me fear it was true, but the arrival of *Mr. O'Brien* removed our fears.

"I am still in pain about my letters, because *the King* does not own the receiving of any of them. He only takes notice of two of mine which *Dillon* sent to him the 22nd November. I sent *Dillon* the dates of my letters to him and the 4th December I desired *Dillon* to send to you copies of those I writ to him, fearing that mine were miscarried.

"I had no way of writing to *the King* but by *the Guardian* at Prague, he being the person whom *Sheridan* was addressed to.

"*The Guardian*, who knows nothing of me, wrote to *Bagnal*, whose true name he does not know, that he had received all

the letters he sent him, and put them in the post for Bologna, according to the directions I received at Pesaro.

"I suppose that some of mine arrived safe, because a letter from Butler to Wogan of 21 September and sent with one of the same date to the King was received.

"The first post after I received Dr. Erskine's letter I sent a copy to you, and another to Dillon. I had no further knowledge of that affair than from his letter and could not enter into any negotiation with him on that matter until I had received your orders.

"I wrote at the same time to Dr. Erskine that I had acquainted the King with the obliging offer of the Czar, and would send him an answer as soon as I heard from the King. My letter was near a month in his hands before he answered it, and in his answer, which is of 25 November to mine of the 25th October, he took no further notice of the proposal of marriage and he promised a long letter by the next post. I answered his of the 25th November on the 4th December, the day I received it, and I have not yet had the long letter nor an answer to my last.

"I sent an abstract of Dr. Erskine's letter of the 25th November to Dillon to be forwarded to the King.

"Dr. Erskine received mine of the 4th December, for he ordered his secretary to own the receipt of it in a letter to his correspondent in Riga, who was recommended to me by Dr. Erskine, and to excuse his master's not writing with his own hand, because he was employed in preparing for a journey to Moscow.

"I shall not be wanting on my part, but Dr. Erskine's laziness will make any negotiation with him pretty difficult, though I hope it will be remedied in some measure by Sir H. Stirling's being with him.

"I could not obey the Queen's orders to send two persons to Petersburg to be informed of the age and character of the Princess, because I had the Czar's orders to continue in this town and to endeavour to be concealed and after such instructions I could not send any person to Petersburg without his leave. The town is little, there are several foreign ministers in it, and one from Hanover, several English seamen last (sic) and merchants, and two gentlemen, who must have appeared at Court in order to see the person of the Princess, could not have been concealed from the enquiry of the foreign ministers and of the Czar.*

"A few days before I had . . . the Queen's letter, Sir H. Stirling arrived here in his way to Petersburg. He being Dr. Erskine's nephew appeared there without suspicion. He made no secret of visiting his uncle and I thought him the fittest person to answer the intentions of the Queen. I instructed

* 298=last is probably a mistake for 398=officers. There are other mistakes in the figure ciphers in this letter.

him to be very careful and exact in his enquiry, that he might give a true and particular account of what is demanded. I expect his answer, and will send you a duplicate of his letter.

"I think my[self] obliged to tell you that the *Princess* was born before the *Czar* was married to the present *Czarowine* and during the life of his first wife, but according to the custom of this country she and the other children born before marriage have been made legitimate. Mr. O'Berne, talking to me of the *Czar's* family, told me that the *Czar's* first wife is still alive. The *King* may be assured that O'Berne is not let into the secret. Sir H. Stirling will, I suppose, inform you of this in the accounts he sends the *King*.

"I wish the offer of marriage may be taken in the literal sense and independent of other proposals, but I much fear it.

"Whatever the *King* determines with respect to Dr. Erskine's letter, I should think he should not come to this country without resolving to marry, for a refusal after seeing the person would be very disagreeable to the *Czar*, and since the late friendship between the *Emperor* and the *Duke of Hanover* the *King's* return from this country would be very difficult and dangerous.

"I am concerned for the account that the *King* gives me of the *Pope's* fears and the little appearance of money from him or the *King of Spain*. The *Jew*, I fear, is not to be depended on and the *King* must be sensible of the difficulty I should be under, if I be invited to *Sweden*, not being able to give the *King of Sweden* assurances of any particular sum.

"The *Duke of Ormonde* is glad that the affair of *Lord Peterborough* is over without any ill consequences. I can hardly believe that *Lord Bolingbroke's* vanity will let him act so mean a part.

"As to the notion of a *Cardinal*, the *King* may rely on the opinion of his servants in *England*, what effect it may have there. I do not doubt but the *King's* letter to *Leslie* will be of service and the regard you are pleased to show for him will be very agreeable to your friends in *England*.

"I am very glad that the air of *Urbino* agrees so well with the *King*. I wish the company were as agreeable as those you left at *Avignon*. I should be sorry you should change it for this country, unless it were on a very good account, for it is not the most agreeable part of the world.

"Give me leave to return my most humble thanks for what you have mentioned relating to the *Duke of Ormonde's* wife. I am persuaded she will be always ready to obey your commands.

"I am very sorry the *King* has lost so faithful a servant as *Richard Hamilton* and it is certainly right not to fill up his place. The *Duke of Ormonde* is very glad that the *King* has where-withal to pay all the pensions for this year. *Ormonde* is very sensible of your goodness in commanding him to draw. He will obey your orders with all the good husbandry that is necessary.

"Butler and Bagnal are most grateful for the honour the King has done them . . . It is a great mortification to the Duke of Ormonde to be so long absent from the King, but he is extremely pleased to find his endeavours to serve the King are agreeable to him. . . ." 17 pages.

The DUKE OF ORMONDE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 3.—"Ormonde received yours by Rome of 28 December. It was very comfortable after the melancholy accounts we had in the gazettes.

"I am very glad that Mar arrived safe at Urbino and that he was so well diverted at Venice. In mine to the King, you will see the reason I did not write oftener to you, and I have writ so fully to the King that it is not necessary to fill up this with repetitions. . . .

"I would have answered the King's sooner, but that I daily expected to hear from Jerningham by Sheridan, whom I designed to have sent to you, as the King desired, but being disappointed would not defer any longer answering the King's. Dillon, I knew, sends according to my desire an account of all that I inform him of.

"I should be sorry to see Mar in this country but on a very good account. By what I have seen coming through it, and by what I hear, you would, I believe, find it much more disagreeable than the place you are in, though I can give but very little account of it myself having been out of the house but four or five times to avoid being seen by the people here, who are extreme curious.

"Ormonde is very glad that you have settled on a new conveyance to England, and left it to their choice to do as they please in that affair. Ormonde hopes they will agree to carry on the trade without any jealousies. What is done concerning the nomination of a cardinal is very right, as also what relates to Leslie.

"I am impatient to hear from the King of Sweden. Dillon, to be sure, has sent a copy of that I received from Jerningham. Ormonde sent Dr. Erskine your letter. Give me leave to present my most humble service to Lord Clermont. He will make you live merrily.

Postscript.—"Sir H. Paterson is very obliging in his care of the Duke of Ormonde's letters, and in his corresponding punctually. I hope Sir H. Stirling will spur up Dr. Erskine, who is very lazy. . . . We often remember you in good Scotch claret. I wish you had as good." . . . 5 pages.

BRIGADIER CAMPBELL to [LORD TULLIBARDINE].

1718, March 3. Bayonne.—Sending copies of letters received 25 Feb. from General Dillon and William Gordon and of his answers to them, viz., Dillon to Campbell 9 Feb. Paris. I read both your letters to W. Gordon of 25 Dec. and 26 Jan.

I know *Mar*, before he departed hence, wrote to *Tullibardine* to buy 10,000 *swords* and as many *targes*. As to payment, he, I suppose, ordered it should be done by gales and in the longest terms that could be obtained. We daily expect a supply of money; when it comes, *W. Gordon* shall have orders to furnish you with the necessary credit. William Gordon to Campbell. 19 Feb. I enclose his (*Dillon's*) answer to both yours. You are to lose no time in making your bargain, and to advise precisely of the terms of payment, which you are to make as long as you can, because ready money is very scarce. However, he assures me it will come soon and therefore desires you to make your agreement, the sooner the better. You may apply to *M. du Livier*. I shall write to Robert Gordon, that he may find out some credit for you; in the meantime conclude nothing for ready money.

Campbell to Dillon. 26 Feb.—Yesterday I had yours of the 9th, the first I have received from you. I am a little troubled that after so many letters to you, to *Mar*, *Tullibardine*, and *Campbell of Glendarule*, there should still be a misapprehension of my meaning; therefore I give you the trouble of repeating the same things as plainly as I can. Please lay down as the foundation of all our proceedings that without private permission from the Intendant here, the Intendant of Placentia, near St. Sebastian, and the *General* of Biscay, nothing is to be done with security in the places where these commodities may be had. *Barry* and I wrote so. On his misfortune, all my papers were committed to the flames, but I have since wrote the same to yourself and the other three gentlemen. I marked particularly that without good recommendations to the Intendants and the *General* nothing could be done effectually, and that the *General* of Biscay is the person that can do most service, and that therefore it would be necessary he had intimation from some minister, if not from the Cardinal himself, to favour *Clanranald* and me. I have heard the *General* speak of you as an acquaintance and friend, but, having no orders to discourse him on that head, made no use of that opportunity. The Intendant here has also been very civil in proffering me all service in his power in another affair, but in this we dare not trust him till *Clanranald* and I are empowered to do it.

Next would you consider that the people who are to be set to work for *swords* and *targes* are very poor and to be paid as they finish them and therefore that a credit of 5,000 *livres* is necessary previous to setting them to work in many different places and to bargaining with those who have already some small quantities made. The prices will differ both according to the quality of the goods and the places where they are to be got. *Clanranald* and I are of opinion that to have them fit for the market each *sword* will cost about 5 *livres* and each *targe* about 3, making 8 *livres* the suit, besides the packing and carriage. The *sword* I had made at Tolosa amounted

to more and with other little things, fell into *the General's* hands on *Barry's* misfortune. I have often mentioned the places where I have already been, and it will be convenient to go the very outermost of Biscay, if not further, if time should press.

There is no place where anything of this can be done, but several people must know something true or pretended. Since *Barry* has failed, some merchant here must be employed to assist us not only in money but in making our bargains and keeping the goods in magazines till the market offers, and merchants here and elsewhere shall be chosen, when the recommendations are obtained to the Intendants and *the General*, in the discreetest way we can.

You see from what I have said no bargain is made, nor can any be made without the above-mentioned recommendations and permissions and without the ready money specified. When these come, we shall proceed with all the good management possible. We forbear informing *W. Gordon* of the goods designed to be bought till we have your allowance, we only advertise him, that, if he be to furnish credit, the person we judge fittest is *M. Bertrand Forsan* here.

Campbell to *W. Gordon*. 26 Feb.—Pray send the enclosed to *Dillon* with all expedition. What you desire of me cannot be done till the terms are made, which cannot be made till the necessary recommendations and credit for part of the sum be obtained. I have explained all this fully to *Mr. Dillon*. *M. Louis du Livier*, though a very honest, rich, and kind man, is certainly unfit for this affair, both for his very great age and other infirmities. *M. Bertrand Forsan* is the fittest for this business of all in this place.

R. Gordon to Campbell. Feb. 26.—William Gordon writes me to find money at Bayonne, but knew not exactly the sum, but desired me to write to you to see what you would need, and I desire you to discourse with *M. du Livier* and see if he would send you the money, and I shall send him my bills or he can draw on *W. Gordon*.

I have answered *R. Gordon* to-day that you will give him the necessary directions and that he must endeavour a correspondence with *Bertrand Forsan* or any other preferable to *du Livier*. I expect shortly to hear from you and *Mar*, particularly as to the recommendations we judge necessary. 4 pages. Copy in *Campbell of Glendarule's* hand and enclosed in his letter of the 12th.

T. BRUCE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 3. Brussels.—Yesterday *Mr. de Wilda* called and told me he had received a letter from his friend, saying that he had laid before his master the paper of which I sent you lately a copy, that he was in such a concern on it that he made no answer for some minutes, and at length said that

no circumstance in the whole of his affairs was more perplexing to him than that. *De Wilda* says that his friend lets him know that his master declared that, if it was possible, he would not only avoid the demand touching *azil*, but also would do what lay in his power to serve *the King*. *De Wilda* immediately wrote back to know the final resolution touching the mentioned particular. I do not look on *de Wilda* to be so crafty as to have designed this to discover whether *the King* had any view of credit with *the Regent* or *the King of Spain*; however, I disappointed him by regretting his friend's impediments and difficulties on that head and by applauding his own care, but at the same time told him that, so long as *the Emperor* had his views to *Spain*, in which *the Elector of Hanover* was necessary, I did not see how he could give credit to *the King*, otherwise than as to *azil*. I talked with him at the same time of *the Emperor's hazard*, to see if he would confirm the report we have had for some time that *the Emperor* and *the King of Spain* will agree. He told me he always was and is still of opinion that *the Emperor* will ruin by it, but at the same time he believes he is resolved to *hazard*. He tells me there is at present some misunderstanding betwixt *the Emperor* and *the King of Prussia*.

If matters stand as we are told, this seems to be a proper time for *the Queen* to assign her jointure to *the Regent*. We have been told, but only by people here, that the King is to send over 10,000 men from England to this country. I know that Capt. Burrows, who does business here for Lord Cadogan, said these troops would be sent, in case the Regent should assist the King of Spain.

J. MENZIES to L. INESE.

1718, Thursday, Feb. 20[–March 3].—I have yet no account if my late letters came to you, however, I continue to give you our common occurrences.

It is now late and the House of Lords are just rising. To-day was to be a trial of skill. The Mutiny Bill being read a second time on Tuesday was committed for this day. When the House were going into Committee Lord Trevor moved that it should be an instruction to the Committee to receive a clause, that punishment by death should be taken out of the Bill. The Duke of Buckingham quarrelled with the motion as out of the rules, and so a fierce debate arose amongst themselves, which bred great confusion and took up much time. At last the Court carried it by 14, which was more than was expected, for in the morning it was thought the majority would not be above 8 or 9, but some bishops and others went off, who were reckoned would not. The Archbishop was not present himself. The Prince, though he came, went away about 4, which discouraged and offended his party highly, and, if any thing be brought in hereafter relating to himself, he

will find the effects of this day. But this is a public affair of general concern, this, I mean, of the Army. The next question to-night the Court carried but by 11. The Duke of Bucks was gone home, who had a proxy, otherwise it would have carried but by 9.

In the first question, though he battled the point of form with Lord Trevor, he gave his vote and his proxy against the Court, when it came to the question, yet still he is much suspected and the malcontents have strange stories of the matter of money in other cases as well as his. The bystanders generally censured Lord Trevor's motion as imprudent, but the answer was they did it on purpose, to try their strength before they went into Committee, because the proxies have no votes in Committee. The House adjourned only till to-morrow and are to go upon this again.

There has been in the House of Commons the most troublesome affair that has happened this sessions, which has been contrived with the greatest dexterity. As interest is the great spring in this country and as the loss by the interruption of the Swedish trade and by the want of iron is very great, a spirit was raised amongst the merchants in the City to present a petition to the House of Commons representing those grievances and begging redress, about 10 days ago, signed by three or four hundred of the most substantial merchants in the City. The courtiers in the House opposed it vigorously, and at last, to stave off the reading of it, gave assurances that his Majesty had already that affair under consideration and was in a very few days to issue a proclamation which would make all that very easy &c., so with much ado the petition was delayed, though not rejected. When the proclamation was published, the clamour of the merchants was extraordinary, and they pretended that, instead of opening up the trade with Sweden, it shut it up closer and gave it plainly and wholly to the Dutch, notwithstanding there is an article in the Navigation Act that no merchant shall bring home of the growth or produce of any country, but immediately from that country itself, and no proclamation can take away or alter an Act, far less this one, which is reckoned as another Magna Charta as to those matters. These things being dexterously argued and improved amongst the merchants, they renewed their petition yesterday, and the effects it had you will see in the enclosed printed votes and the orders and resolves, after the courtiers had most warmly opposed it, alleging that such things in public votes must highly reflect on his Majesty abroad with other such reasons, but the merchants obtained the substance of their desires, and it is the most skilful affair that has been carried on this session.

Another has been proposed in that House to-day, which may also be very troublesome. It was moved that an account be laid before the House of the losses already known to be sustained in our trade by the pirates in the West Indies, what

orders and ships have been sent for suppressing them and what force may further be necessary &c. Since the Parliament has given supplies for all the naval occasions of the present year, now it is feared that this must necessarily weaken our squadrons in the Baltic and Mediterranean, besides that seamen are very hardly now to be had for the Baltic expedition and consequently for the rest, since they know not which is which they are to be engaged in.

As to foreign affairs we are still much in the clouds and speculation.

I have some remembrance that *the Regent* was in your old books of debtor and creditor. Now that his brother [-in-law] (the Duke of Lorraine) and family are so near him, *the King* has an excellent opportunity of pushing the point with him at present by that means and of discovering what is to be expected of him. When I was two days ago with *Ormonde's* brother (Lord Arran), this was heartily his opinion and that Providence seems to give the opportunity. *Nearly 3 pages.*

J. MURRAY to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, Feb. 20[–March 3]. London.—The story mentioned in my last is now become very public, for which I will not blame the indiscretion of anybody, but it is certain the picture has made its rounds over all this city and I believe *Sir R. Everard*, myself, *Lord Arran* and *the Bishop of Rochester* are the only persons it has been industriously concealed from, for what reason I cannot imagine. Mrs. Higgins has had a letter on this subject which she has published all over the town. This must be of disservice, considering the distance between the two parties, though the thing was entirely settled, of which I know nothing but the common report.

I wish *George Kelly* was come, because by *him* we might send some goods you would be glad to have, which cannot go by another occasion. I don't find by the best information I can get that *the Elector of Hanover* and *the Regent* have agreed any thing, and now that *the King's* friend *the Duke of Lorraine* is with *the Regent* there will be an opportunity of representing everything to him in a just light. I will only say that, if *the Regent* don't take a new turn, it will surprise people of all sorts here who know him. I must again complain that it has been a great loss that you have not let us know on what footing *the Regent*, *the King of Spain*, and *the King of Spain's* old father-in-law (the King of Sicily) are together, for that would have been great use to *the Parliament*.

The grand affair of the Army was put off from Tuesday till to-day, and it is thought the Lords will be very warm on that subject. The Prince at first prudently determined not to oppose his Majesty personally in that, though I believe he was influenced by fear rather than prudence. But the

Jacobites, finding it to their purpose to bring him to the House, sent to let him know that, if he deserted them in this point, they would leave him to be a sacrifice to the resentments of our friends, which having frightened him more a t'other side, he came to the House on Tuesday, but what he will do to-day I cannot yet tell. Lord Stanhope told the Lords boldly that Europe was likely to be engaged in a new war and the prize to be fought for was the succession to the crowns of France and Spain, and even that to the crown of Great Britain, for we must not imagine we could be out of the case, that we might by mean pitiful methods avoid a war for a few months, but that sooner or later we must have our share in it.

Sir R. Everard being by me and having seen this does not write by this post. I have done and will do my utmost to contradict the story I mentioned, because, if it be true, I'm sure this is not the time to publish it, but people are so much possessed of it, that I am afraid it will be a difficult matter. This is what I judge a matter of prudence till I know farther, though it's probable others may have received different instructions, which I suppose they have complied with.

Sir R. Everard had *George Kelly's* of the 23rd, and had before directed the conveniency to part last Monday. *Nearly 3 pages.*

SIR H. STIRLING to the DUKE OF ORMONDE.

1718, Feb. 21[–March 4]. Petersburg.—I have had no accounts from Dr. Erskine since what I mentioned in my last two posts ago, but I had one last post from Sir H. Paterson, telling me that one, who had a letter from Count Gyllenborg, told him that Jerningham had left Sweden in order to join the Duke of Ormonde. If this were true, I should think you must have had some advice of it ere now, nor can I easily imagine what should have made him leave that place, if the Duke of Ormonde's going had been thought necessary. I hope, if he is coming, he brings good tidings, for I have been told by one that has accounts from those parts, that the treaty is as good as concluded, but, since I have no accounts of that from Dr. Erskine, I can hardly believe it to be relied on as yet, though it's like it may be in a fair way, for I can hardly think the Czar would have undertaken such bold things at home, if he had not been pretty sure of the state of affairs abroad, and I persuade myself he will be fonder than ever of the proposition he caused to be made by Dr. Erskine some time ago, since that will be a great means to support the scheme he proposes to himself, in case anything happen to him before it comes to perfection. Dr. Erskine's secretary has been gone some days to join him, so, in case he stays longer than was thought, we shall have more frequent accounts from him. There has in all appearance some dangerous conspiracy been carried on against the Czar, since

a great number of considerable people are taken up every day and sent in irons to Moscow, who have been, it is thought, concerned in a plot with the late Prince against the Czar's life, but he has got the better of them. Sir H. Paterson had a letter of 14 Jan. from Lord Mar, when the King was perfectly well, which is a great satisfaction considering what the rascally prints said of him. I have hopes we shall soon have some good news to send him. *Partly in cipher, deciphered. Copy.*

CHRISTIAN, COUNTESS OF BUTE, to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 5. Paris.—Having done an action liable to the censure of all whose opinion I value, my recourse is to your vindication, which you cannot favour me with till you have a short detail of the reasons why a bigoted loyalist sent her only son to travel in company of some suspected and others, as Carpenter, in open rebellion, and suffering him to return when within two days' journey of his sovereign without casting himself at his royal feet.

Having a design to preserve one branch of our family from the poison which of late years has crept into it, I resolved from the time of my being a widow to carry my son abroad out of reach of that infection, but was necessitated to delay putting it in execution till I had saved so much money as might make it practicable, fearing what has happened, that my son-in-law would not treat us at a distance as he ought, yet I hoped, before my son was fit for travelling, we should be blessed with the restoration and consequently with all our other just claims and then I expected to make him travel as his father's son, but, our unhappy circumstances continuing, I quitted all thought of his making a further journey, till we returned to Scotland and endeavoured to raise our money. Wherefore on the Duke of Gordon's going for Florence my son proposed that, if I would allow him but 100*l.* for his own charges and to go in company with his Grace, he should infallibly return with him and save me the expenses of a governor and servant, I was easily prevailed with to satisfy his curiosity a little, till he should be in circumstances to give it a greater scope. Glenbucket promised to go with him to Rome and take care of him back to Florence. He did not mention going further than Rome, yet I had some reason to hope he would, but it seems he did not, and, they both being limited to the Duke's time, you will see it was next to impracticable for my son, not then 17, to attempt that agreeable journey alone, for, if he had missed of a safe convoy back to Paris by Glenbucket's going away, his money must have failed, and that he knows not yet how to provide for. Your Grace may safely assure our king that fatal necessity, not choice, made him fail in what he ought and would have performed.

I reckon it the most fortunate accident of his journey that he met you on the way, seeing neither he nor I could ever

procure that honour here. The time, I believe, with you was short and not so well employed by him as he ought, so I hope you will forgive my troubling you with the account he should have given then. 2 pages.

MR. DALMAHOY to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 5. Brussels.—Informing him that he desires to serve the Czar, till the King has service for him, and requesting a recommendation from the King and also a commission that will give him some character in that place.

CLANRANALD to [the DUKE OF MAR].

1718, March 5. Bayonne.—Yours I had last night acknowledging the receipt of mine of 17 Dec. was no small pleasure. I came here the week after I wrote, where I found *Brigadier Campbell* quite disconcerted as to the affair that brought him here by *Barry's* misfortune. I shall not enter on the details of that matter, it being already suggested to you by others. My zeal for *the King's* service makes me wish it were done. You know better than any other the advantages of those manufactures and the consequence the want of them may produce when a market offers, so I am hopeful proper means will be found to remove the principal obstacles. The honour *the King* does me is above any return I can make. *Enclosed in Campbell of Glendarule's letter of the 12th.*

The DUKE OF MAR to SIR H. PATERSON.

1718, March 5.—I had yours of 10 Feb. on the 1st. The last I had of yours before was of 20 Dec. Those you mention to have wrote me since have never come. I hope now to hear from you oftener. It is so long since I heard from *Lady Mar* that I have lost all patience, the last being that I told you of in my last, though I have wrote often since I came here. All were under cover to the Squire (Hamilton), and, he being obliged to abscond on account of his creditors, it is not unlikely they may have miscarried. I desired her to send me another address, but, having got none and not caring to write again by the Squire's, I enclose you one for her.

I am glad *Menzies* lets any of our friends hear from him, which is a favour he has allowed me but once since I came here, though I had given him subject enough to write of. He writes sometimes to *Inese* which are sent me, but they are superficial enough, nor has he yet cleared himself as he ought of the affair of *money*, of which I told you, and it has occasioned my writing a good deal to him of late. He has not either told anything to *Inese* or me of what he has to you, of having heard from *Gyllenborg*, and he has been complaining to some of our friends on a free and friendly letter I wrote him from *Paris* concerning *money* affairs, as if he was treated ungratefully and thrown off after so long service only to

please some who are his enemies, without telling them a word of *the money* business, and doing all he could to set those friends against *James Murray*, because I wrote sometimes to him, as if he had been supplanting him. This looks all very odd, as I have lately wrote to him, but I am afraid there is an end of any service from him, though I say all this only to yourself, that you may know better how to deal with him and you must take no notice of it to him, especially of the affair of *money*, those who employed him in that having earnestly desired no more might be said of it. A thing has happened now which, I believe, will make *Menzies* give over meddling any more, but that shall come from himself and not from us. *The King* has ordered that *Inese* shall be no more employed in his business.

It is fit you should know it, that you may write no more to him of what concerns *the King's* business, and I believe you will think this can have no ill consequence to his affairs at home. It is necessary they should be acquainted of it, therefore I have wrote the two enclosed letters to *Menzies* and *H. Straiton*, which you will forward the best manner you can. There is little in them but of this, so, if you do not find a sure occasion of sending them soon, you had best venture them by this post.

I hope you got a good way of sending those three packets to *H. Straiton* and that he has them before this. By what you tell me I conclude we shall hear from *Ormonde* of *Jerningham's* joining him. The last I have seen from him was of 10 Jan. and he was not then come to him.

March 6.—Since writing the above, I have seen two of *Menzies* to *Inese* of 23 and 27 Jan., both wrote in a peevish enough way, but he gives an account of his letter from *Gyllenborg*, and I have one from the gentleman to whom *Gyllenborg's* letter really was, which gives a very satisfactory account of things.

The Czar and *the King of Sweden* are making up their accounts, and when that is done *Gyllenborg* says the first will satisfy *the King's* demands. I will long to hear of *Orlando's** (the King of Sweden's) and *Dr. Erskine's* return to *Petersburg*. I have a letter too from *Lady Mar* of 21 Jan., by which I see some of hers to me miscarried; however, this one puts me at some ease and the more that her business with *Scotland* is now in a better way than it was. She is doing what she can to get an affair through, wherein *Lord Erskine* is concerned, in which her friend (the Duke of Kingston) has promised to assist, which may prove lucky enough, in case other things should not go right, though we have more reason than ever to hope that will not happen so. The poor Squire must, she fears, return, for his creditors are still hunting for him, and there are no hopes of any composition. They forced her to speak to her friend about him, which did rather hurt than good.

* A mistake for a christian name beginning with N, which means in this cipher the Czar.

In future you must write of anything concerning the King's business, which requires haste, to *Dillon*. (Concerning the probability of *Dillon's* leaving Paris and the intention of *the King* in that case to send *James Murray* to take his place as in other letters.) *James Murray* has been very useful of late in preventing any of *Bolingbroke's* scoundrel malice against *the King* to take place, as *C. Kinnaird's* old pupil has also been, so that he is now despicable and forsaken by all who were his friends, and can do little hurt, go there when he will, but his going is not yet certain. If I have time, I will send you a note to be forwarded to *James Murray*, but you must send it to one with *England*, who will return it in case he has left, and you must not send it to *Menzies*, he having fallen out with him.

About a fortnight ago *Lord Panmure* left the company he was with to go to *France* about some of his private affairs, his friend with *Scotland* having wrote to him that she had hopes of making a composition with his creditors but that it would cost considerably to *the Elector of Hanover's* countrymen, and that it was thought it would be easier done, if he came nearer them. He had not great hopes himself of its succeeding, and I am persuaded he will never do anything unbecoming him to make it do, but he thought he could not refuse the advice, and the rather that he was very weary of the place where he was. He spoke of it to *the King*, who would not hinder him, and seemingly he parted very well contented, though I know he is not so, which is in a great measure owing to his natural temper and want of knowing the world, having never been much in business nor conversed much with those that were. He fancied he was not let into things nor so much advised with as he expected, and that there were secrets where there were none, and in a word, so peevish that he thought nothing of what was told him, sometimes not believing it, and at others that nothing was done right, and this notwithstanding *the King's* taking all the pains he could to please him, and both he and *Mar* told him the substance of all concerning *the King's* affairs, only without the names of those concerned in them.

Dr. Bla[i]r is gone with him, for whom he has a strange fondness, and who was as much out of humour as he, and did not, I have reason to believe, contribute a little to make him so. If the composition with his creditors do not succeed, he has a mind to go and live in *the Governor of the Netherlands'* country, where his friend will come to him.

As to *the King's* marriage, I can say no more of it just now, but ere long, I hope, you will have a satisfactory account of it.

I thank you for the *Gazette* and wish it may be continued, and one of the persons you mention shall write you now and then what accounts are fit to be put in it. I enclose a paragraph which would not, perhaps you'll think, do amiss in it. I had it sent me from one of your countrymen.

I believe *Mar* may go for Rome in about a fortnight, but his stay there will not be long. Money is just now so scarce with *the King* and *Queen Mary* and they have so many to maintain that it is hard to increase the expense, but, if you would contrive any particular business for Mr. D[unda]s to do on their account which would be useful, perhaps some little thing might be got done for him, and it would be no preparative to draw on further charge of that kind. Is Mr. Hamilton I saw with you still in your parts or is he gone where he intended?

You may be sure we are neglecting nothing in the affair of *money*, which you mention, to have it in readiness when required, but where we thought ourselves surest of it, we are too likely to be disappointed.

I had yours of 1 Feb. last night, but have heard nothing of the rest. Pray let *Lady Mar* know how she may address you, and send the enclosed to *T. Bruce* as soon as you can.

The King is in perfect good health.

When you write me anything of Mr. *Robertson* let it be in a sealed note apart. I am very sorry your friend at home has not yet got her business done, but hope it is a-doing. I knew none of *Robertson's* children were with him. Had he not best make the girl a nun? Her I have seen and she seemed not to look as if she would make a handsome woman. How much would that cost?

You may have had from England an account of a late letter from the Chevalier to Mr. Leslie. In case you should not, I enclose a copy of it. *Mar* says in his letter to me, that I may see by that letter how much more secure and happy the Church of England would be under their native and lawful prince, as he calls the Chevalier, than at present, notwithstanding his private opinion as to his own religion, which the people of England have themselves in a great measure to blame for his being so. Our Court at home's management in the affair, which is the subject of the Chevalier's letter, is odd enough and it is little wonder it gives some alarm to the true friends of the Church established there.

If *H. Straiton* does not know already how to address letters for you by the post, you should let him know how to do it. 8½ pages. Copy.

PATRICK GORDON of ACHLEUCHRIS to JAMES III.

1718, March 6.—Petition for a recommendation for getting him into some service or for subsistence. The petitioner had been forced to leave Scotland, after lurking for some time, and had received 35 *livres* a month for ten months from Dec., 1716, at Paris, and had then gone to Vienna with recommendations to Count Hamilton, privy counsellor to the Emperor, to procure him employment against the Turks, but on his arrival found the Count was dead, and then came to Italy, where he believed his uncle, Major-General Gordon, was.

OLIVE DE TRANTE to JAMES III.

1718, March 6. Paris.—Expressing her thanks for his letter of 13 Dec., but regretting not to have recognized the hand which she cherishes and that it was so tired as to require the help of another:—“Je reçois avec une respectueuse reconnoissance les obligeantes et gracieuses protestations de la votre. Pour m’en rendre plus digne, j’ay suivie les vuës que vous me donnez ausy fidelement que je l’ay pû, mais moins promptement que je n’aurois souhaité. Le Duc d’Hol[? stein], a qui j’avois écrit la maniere dont vous aviez reçues ses offres et les politesses dont vous aves bien voulu me charger pour luy, ne m’a point encor fait reponce. Son intendant, qui estoit a Bruxelles, s’estoit chargé le luy faire tenir ma lettre, mais aparament il est enfoncé dans le nord et je n’ay pas crû devoir differer plus longtems le comte que vous m’ordonnes de vous rendre du mariage que j’ay eu l’honneur de vous proposer dans ma derniere lettre. C’est M. de Chataudoux qui m’en a écrit. Il estoit fort conus de feu M. votre pere, et a esté toujours fort attaché a ses intérêts. Il conserve pour vous les meme sentimens, et seroit charmé de contribuer au bonheur ou votre naissance vous appelle et dont vos grandes qualites vous rendent sy digne. M. de Chataudoux est maintenant au service du pere de celle qu’on vous propose. Son maitre souhaite avec passion l’honneur de votre ailliance. Il ne promest pas aujourd’huy beaucoup de bien, mais, quand ses affaires seront terminées, il n’y a rien qu’il ne fasse pour vous procurer de plus grands avantages. Ce ne sont point de sa part de simples desirs et, s’il est assurés que ses offres soient bien reçues, il vous les fera luy meme par une lettre, qui vous instruira de ses sentimens sur l’honneur qu’il recherche et des efforts qu’il fera pour le meriter. Voila ce que M. de Chataudoux me mande de la part de son maitre. De mon coté j’ay vû trois Almands qui ne savoient certainement pas les raisons que j’avois de m’informer du merite de la personne et de ses soeures. Ils m’ont tous assuré que celle, dont il s’agit, qui est la cadette, est belle, bien faite, remplie de vertus, d’esprit, et de bonté de coeur. Une personne de ce caracter paroît vous convenir infiniment mieux qu’une autre, qui avec de plus grandes avances pour le bien n’auroit pas les bonnes qualites de celle cy. Vous savez a quels esprits vous avez afaire et combien il vous seroit avantageux de paroître avec une femme capable de les prevenir en sa fauveur et propre a contribuer a les attacher a vos interets. Il est heureux encore qu’elle soit eleveé dans la meme religion que vous, elle ne sera pas tantée dans la suite d’entrer dans aucun projet fauvorable a la religion du pais et de se servir d’un fils pour chasser le pere. Vous n’ignorez pas daillieure combien les Francois sont haies. Il est rare et meme impossible de trouver aujourd’huy une Almandes du merite de la mienne, et avec un merite mediocre une étrangere auroit toute a

craindre dans une nation, ou elle pourroit devenir l'objet du mepris, la dupe de l'artifice, ou la victime de la malignité. Au reste on publie en France qu'on vous propose dans le Nord un party de neuf a dix ans, dont le pere a ce prix embrasseroit vos interets. C'est a vous avoir ce qui vous convient le mieux, vous en saves plus que moy, et vous este sans doute plus capable de faire un choix digne de vous. Je ne prend la liberté de vous exposer mes pensées que parceque vous avez eu la bonté de me le permettre. Oseray-je prendre encore celle de vous représenter que, sy vous n'este point absolument engagez aillieure, vous deveries vous conserver la liberté d'accepter ou de refuser le party que je vous propose, en ne faissant point une reponce qui vous empecheroit d'y revenir, sy l'autre party ne vous convenoit pas. Sy je ne reçois point de nouveaux ordres de votre part, je suposeray que vous avez des raisons importantes de ne pas vous expliquer maintenant sur cette affaire et, sans vous comettre, j'entertiendray l'attente de M. de Chataudoux et de son maitre de maniere qu'on ne pourra vous savoir mauvais gré de votre silence. Cependant, comme vous avez des relations dans le Nord, vous pouriez, comme j'ay deja eu l'honneur de vous l'insinuer, envoyer sur les lieux quelque homme de confiance au raport de qui vous pouvez vous rapporter."

Your mother has sent word to me that the pension would be paid. I know to whom I owe it, and I should be ashamed of having spoken of it, if circumstances you are aware of had not compelled me. You will do me the justice of being persuaded, that I shall never be unfaithful to the disinterestedness with which my family has served your house. *French. 9 pages.*

The COMTE DE CASTELBLANCO to [? DAVID NAIRNE].

1718, March 6. Bologna.—Requesting him to assure the King of his profound respects and to give him the news of his Majesty's return to Urbino and of his health; and hoping the weather there may be as fine and soft as he has found it on his journey.—I am persuaded that after hearing the operas of Fano, you will not be able to bring yourself to hear the concerts of Urbino. *French.*

CHARLES WOGAN to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 6. Ohlau.—I arrived the 27th, after a most dreadful journey from Prague, occasioned by the great fall of the snows from the mountains and the slowness of the thaw, that only served to make ruts and breaches in the ice. I never before had any notion that roads could have been rendered so impracticable by the change of weather. I have been overturned in sledges and swam in chaises and slid down precipices. But I had no chance of being well received but by arriving in Carnival time. "I had the good fortune at my coming to find a worthy gentleman of my country and a

kinsman commandant in this little town for *the Emperor* and in good grace at this *Court*, who was well pleased to find me in the resolution of passing the time I am necessitated to stay abroad in volunteering against the Turks. After I had given him a sufficient reason for the roundabout I had taken in making this my road to *Vienna* and discoursed him about the inclinations and interests of this *Court*, which he is well apprized of, I found I could not make a better nor a more agreeable figure here than in my own natural character, for, if it had not been entirely out of doubt that I am an enemy to *the present government of England*, I believe I should never have been admitted, so fierce are the people here in their inclination to *the King*, either through motives of honour and justice, or a disgust to *the Emperor* or perhaps another reason which I shall open by and by. I pretended, however, to go forward and was prevailed upon in appearance merely at my cousin's request to stay here a few days, in order to guard against any suspicion of what I came about. The conjuncture and, indeed, the reception were as favourable as I could have wished them, and I was used with particular distinction by *Prince James Sobieski* for having been what he was pleased to call a sufferer for his Majesty, for whom he has all the sentiments of honour and regard possible. My time passed agreeably in balls and masquerades, which I took care to be equipped for, in eating at his table and being at the assemblies, which are held here every night, so that I wanted no opportunities for remarks and careless information. But what surprised me most was to find that the affair in hand had been already a talking of here for some months past, and the youngest *Princess* called our *Queen*, which humour it would have been absurd in me to have formalised or looked grave upon, and betrayed more of design than my entering into it unaffectedly with the rest, but I must say the grace and that genteel modesty with which *the daughter* received such compliments and addresses from them all were very becoming. I can attribute their talking of this matter so early here to nothing else but the great desire this *Court* takes no manner of pains to conceal in favour of that *alliance* and a correspondence that has been carried on for some time upon the subject between *Mistress Trant* and a French gentleman called *Mr. Chateaudoux*, who has been for some time in *Prince James Sobieski's* service and formerly much about *St. Germain's*, but, as I am a Hungarian volunteer, that have no notion of returning either to *France* or *St. Germain's*, I daresay that, after the manner I have carried myself, there's no *suspicion* yet arisen here concerning my errand, but it is time I should descend to *characters*.

"I found the *Court* more splendid and more gay than I expected, for *Prince James*, like all the *Polish* lords, has no notion of saving money or coming to any account with his domestics, who consequently cheat him. This place he has

in mortgage from *the Emperor* and receives the rents by way of interest for money lent by his father. He and his brother have likewise considerable lands in *Poland*, to which the brother's share who died at *Rome* and the mother's money and jewels are no small accession. As their view upon the *Crown of Poland*, of which they have so often been balked, is their greatest attention, they still endeavour to keep up the expense they began with, and the *courtiers* about them are generally refugees from thence, and entertained with what gratifications they are able to afford. Their next great aim is the settlement of their three *daughters* which is likewise an encouragement to their way of living, and there being little prospect of *heirs male* in the family, in regard of the younger *Prince's* separation from his *wife*, makes them still more careless in that respect. They keep fair with *Stanislaus* and entertain some of his friends in hopes of joining his interest to their own in case of accidents. Their great dependence is on *Sweden*, the peace with the *Czar*, *France's* engaging against *the Emperor*, and *the King's restoration*, and in the main their views and policies, as far as I can comprehend anything of the matter on either side, are much of a piece of those of *the King's friends in England*.

The eldest *daughter* is about 22 years old, and is promised to the *Prince of Modena*, to whom *she* bears some resemblance. *She* is somewhat less than middle size, fair and well-skinned, but somewhat flat-featured and subject to some disagreeable grimaces that betray ill-humour or ill-nature, though here they think otherwise. *She* has had few or no admirers, by which *she* has been saved from coquetry and airs, does not pass for having much sense nor seems to be of an even or an engaging temper, is fond of the marriage and to go next summer with *her* second sister, promised likewise to the *Duke of Guastalla*, who is not quite so fond of *her* establishment there. *Her* money is reckoned about 150 thousand pounds. The second *daughter* is tall, finely shaped, with red hair and the complexion that generally attends it, a round face and very good and handsome features. As *she* has been in possession of being admired, *she* seems to be of a disposition to give in to that lightness of behaviour and variety of temper that generally attends such a situation in a young and fine person, that does not want wit and vivacity. The last of the *daughters*, who is the darling of the family by the advantage *she* has over the others in point of sense, discretion, evenness of temper and a very becoming modesty, is about fifteen, but much of low stature though taller by almost the head than *Prince Lewis' daughter*, light brown hair, very pretty black eyes and genteel little features, with a good shape and a behaviour already as much formed, as regular and as becoming as can arise from good education and good sense: very devout and no manner of airs or variety of humour. *She* has a good mixture of haughtiness in *her* composition, but cunning enough

to disguise it upon occasion. *She* is healthy, but somewhat thin and has the hopes and wishes of the family for growing more *tall*, though I fear they won't succeed in any considerable degree. *She* is like *Prince James Sobieski* and for this and indeed, many other reasons, is his *favourite* and he has professed more than once that, if *the marriage* were agreeable to *the King*, he would make *the provision* much more considerable to *her* than to either of the others. They are in great apprehension about the *marci* (probably a mistake for *marriage*) of *Courland* and *Prince James Sobieski* has used abundance of arguments against it to me, which I shall communicate to *the King*.

"I have been here eight days and propose to go to *Vienna* to-morrow in my way to *Urbino*. As I have taken time here and been in all their parties of diversion, I believe the above remarks are just, though there is such a guard kept over such sort of people in public, that no stranger can pretend to come to an exact and perfect notice of their inward qualities. But in the main I think I do not exaggerate, when I say that, if the youngest *daughter* had the stature of the second, she would be perhaps the most desirable *wife* in *Europe* for a *Prince*." 5 pages.

THE DUKE OF MAR TO L. INESE.

1718, March 6. Urbino.—When I wrote last from Fano, I little thought my next would have been on the subject on which I now write. The King told me, after he had dispatched his letters from thence and not till then, his orders in relation to you, which perhaps you may think I previously knew and had some hand in procuring. Were it so, I would not deny it, as I think no honest man should the advice he gives his prince. You know best what has occasioned the King to do so, and I know it is not fit for me to meddle further than where my advice is asked, and I know so much of his Majesty that I am sure he likes not to do a harsh thing or what looks like unkind to any body, especially to those who have been employed by him, but, where he thinks he has good and certain grounds for so doing, it does not become me to inquire further than he thinks fit to tell me.

I know but of one Prince whom the world allows to judge for himself, and what others do is commonly imputed to the designs and advices of those most immediately about them.

If my being so about our King occasions my being thought by you and others the cause of his doing so in this affair, you do me wrong, but I cannot help it, though in time the world will see that there are more kings than one who think for themselves and are able to be their own just ministers, which must always be a happiness to their subjects, when they are endued with the good qualities I know ours to be master of. I assure you once more I have told you the truth, and, if I had had a mind to have you no more concerned in business,

I would never have gone about it in this way and denied it after I had done so. With all deference to the King it may be allowed me still to be your humble servant, which I shall be so far as you leave it in my power, and till I find you have not acted a friendly part towards me, and also have a just sense of all the favours I owe you, since I had the good fortune of your acquaintance and of corresponding with you, and our having less opportunity or occasion of doing so in time coming, should not make it be thought otherways.

I write the above in great sincerity; if you believe it, you do me but justice, and if not, I have nothing to reproach myself with, and time will convince you you do me wrong.

Pray send what letters shall come for me under your cover to Mr. Dillon or Gordon to forward to me.

I had yours of the 7th since I wrote, and shall not be unmindful of the particulars in it.

Postscript.—March 10.—This has been longer going than I expected and I have since got yours of 14 Feb., which with that of the 7th, I have answered in mine to Mr. Dillon. 3 pages. Copy.

The DUKE OF MAR to J. MENZIES.

1718, March 6.—I hope you got my two long letters of 14 and 15 Feb. This goes by *Sir H. Paterson's* canal and that way you may write to me sometimes. Since those letters I have seen yours of 13, 16, and 20 Jan. to *Inese* and yesterday I received from him yours to himself of the 23rd and 27th.

(Informing him of the dismissal of *Inese* from the King's business.) *Dillon* has orders to receive from *Inese* the ciphers with the other account-books he had, and, till he send an address, *Menzies* may get one from *Sir R. Everard* or *James Murray* who corresponds with him. *The King* bid me tell you this shall not alter his kindness to *Menzies* and that it will be in nobody's power but his own to do him hurt with him.

Pray give my humble service to *the Duke of Shrewsbury* and *Anne Oglethorpe* and tell them I had theirs to-day of 20 Jan., and I hope she had mine of 12 Feb.

It is a little hard, one would think, for *Menzies* to complain in a manner to *Inese* of *Mar's* trusting *Hamilton* and sending him back to *England*, when he did the first on his recommendation and the other on his earnest and repeated desire. *Lady Mar* writes me she had been persuaded against her will to speak to a friend of hers about him, which, she was afraid before she did it, would do him more hurt than good, and that she had found it was so, so that she was afraid he must return. Why did he not do so on his first finding his creditors so hard on him? As to the charge his not doing so has been to

Menzies and the great load of debts, in which he is so immensely dipped, I will say nothing till I have an answer to mine of 14 Feb.

Inese tells me you mistake what he wrote to you concerning *the Duke of Shrewsbury*, which I suppose he has explained to you, but mine of the 15th will show you as it may him, how cautious we were in that. I am exceedingly concerned, as *the King* is, for what you now write of his illness, but I hope soon to have better accounts of him. *Inese* notices to me your peevishness in your letters of late. It were better for yourself not to be so. After what I wrote in that of the 14th you will be in the right to yourself to set all right again with *James Murray* for more reasons than I can now explain and you ought to lose no time in it both on your own account and *the King's*. Pray tell *Anne Oglethorpe* that, if the lady she writes of receive a letter from *the King* by another canal than hers, that is none of our fault, for 'tis above ten days since that thing was wrote of from her to *the King*, and he wrote that way as it was then desired.

Amongst other things I have wrote to you, which remain unanswered, that of *Marlborough's* affair which was done by your advice you have never said anything to, I mean whether or not it was ever heard of. We are in daily expectation of having some agreeable accounts from *Ormonde*.

What you write of *Sir W. Wyndham* is very handsome and like what I expected of him. He may depend on *the King's* having a just sense of his worth. Remember me kindly to the poor Squire (Hamilton) and I wish both he and I were where we met last time about a twelvemonth ago, and, if he be obliged to go there, he'll be taken care of.

I wonder we have heard nothing yet from you of *the King's* letter to *Bishop of Rochester*, for there has been more than time for our doing so, and I long to know what effects it has. 3½ pages. Copy.

THE DUKE OF MAR TO JAMES MURRAY.

1718, March 6.—This is wrote at a venture, for I am afraid you may be come away on my last letter of 16 Feb., but in that case it is to be returned to my friend with *Holland*, who is to forward it to you.

(About *Inese's* dismissal as in other letters.) *The King* is to write of it himself to *the Bishop of Rochester* by another canal, but, if this reach you sooner, you must acquaint him of it. By what I have told you, I am persuaded his laying *Inese* aside cannot but have good effects amongst the traders with you, and, if the whole story were known, it would have more, though it is likely he may endeavour to give it a wrong turn and to impose on some very honest people both where he and you are; therefore it is fit you should be made fully *au fait* of the whole affair. This nobody is so able to do as

the King himself, nor can he do it thoroughly by writing, which makes it absolutely necessary you should not stop at the post where those people are above a very few days but come straight on as fast as you can to where *the King* himself is. Should this miss you by your being gone, a duplicate shall be lodged with *Gordon*, the banker, and there you must see *Queen Mary* and *Dillon*, whom you may tell you have orders to go straight on to their principal.

It behoves you to be very cautious of what you say to anybody on this side the water of the affairs of the company, till you have seen the Director. You may hear all, but beware of letting that make impressions on you, till you discourse fully with him.

We know no more yet of *Dillon's* removing from where he is, but, before you can reach the Director, that will be certain, and then it will best appear how *James Murray* is to be disposed of.

(Recapitulation of the last letter to Menzies.)

One thing further you are to think of, which is, now that you will be from that place, who can best supply your place with *the Bishop of Rochester* and others of our friends in delivering to them the letters and commissions which we may have occasion of sending to them, till that can be better adjusted on your seeing and conversing with the Director. 3½ pages. Copy.

THE DUKE OF MAR TO H. STRAITON.

1718, March 6.—I hope what was sent you of 3, 4, and 8 Feb. are all come safe, since I know they came safe to my friend with *Holland* to whom your friend with *St. Germain's* sent them.

(Concerning the dismissal of Inese, the new address to which he was to write, and Menzies and Lord Panmure as in other letters.) Do me the favour to give the enclosed to *Father Carnegie* and Mr. *C. Kinnaird*. 3 pages. Copy.

THE DUKE OF MAR TO C. KINNAIRD.

1718, March 6.—I am sorry you did not understand the papers your friend at Liège gave you, but that was your fault, for I find since they were right, as *T. Bruce* now knows. Had you not left them behind you, I would write to you more fully, but now it cannot easily be done, so I must refer you to what I have wrote to our friend who is to deliver you this.

The chief occasion of this letter is about those two boxes of goods which your friend at Liège spoke to you of, and entrusted to your care. That friend desires me now to tell you that he would have you send them, as you think best, to *Gordon*, the banker, and not to the person he desired you at first to send them to.

The gentleman who, your said friend at Liège told you, had been long of returning an answer to a certain letter, has done

it some time ago and in a very handsome manner, as he has also behaved in another particular and indeed in everything daily, which shows his worth, and the gentleman to whom he has wrote is very sensible of it and has all the gratitude for it he himself could wish. . You will not fail to acquaint him of this, when you see him or write to him. *Copy.*

The DUKE OF MAR to MR. HALL (? FATHER CARNEGIE).

1718, March 6.—My long silence has not been occasioned by unkindness or forgetfulness, but I have been in so unsettled a way this twelvemonth and had not your paper with me till of late that it was little I could say. I desired our friend *Mr. Abercromby*, who is now gone, some time ago to tell you what's above, and that I would write to you soon, but I know not if his health allowed him to do it. I cannot enough regret his loss. I would have done sooner what I promised you by him, had I not been a good deal taken up since I came here.

(Concerning the dismissal of *Inese* as in other letters.)

I shall be very glad to hear sometimes from you, and he who is to get this delivered will let you know how to address and send it. *The King* doubts not of your continuing to do all in your power for promoting the trade of the company, which comes now to have a better appearance than it has had for some time.

It is naturally for you to expect I should say something concerning *the Duke of Gordon*, but I hope you will excuse me for not touching on that. I only wish he had taken more of the advice of some of his friends with regard to John (? the King) of late as well as formerly.

Postscript.—(Concerning what had been done for Mrs. Abercromby.) 2 pages. *Copy.*

The DUKE OF MAR to T. BRUCE.

1718, March 6.—Since I wrote to you 15 Jan. I have yours of 28 Jan. and 6 Feb. The paper you sent along with it I have not yet got time to read.

(Concerning the dismissal of *Inese* and how he is to correspond in future.) I send this by *Sir H. Paterson's* canal, to whom I refer you for what else is needful for you to know. Pray let me hear from you on your receiving this.

I am sorry cousin David has played the fool, but *the King* is not just now in such a condition that I can speak to him for a supply for him, which you may tell him, and many as good as he live easily on less than is allowed him. I have never heard from Sir Peter's son, whom you mention to be come to your parts, so know not what he intended to propose to me. I would be glad to have it in my power to serve him both on his own account and his father's. 1½ page. *Copy.*

THE DUKE OF MAR TO LORD TULLIBARDINE.

1718, March 6:—I communicated yours of 28 Jan. to *the King*, who has directed me to let you know his sense of your handsome way of proceeding by him, and particularly in what you tell me of sending that young man to *Scotland*, which he very much approves of, and hopes it may have good effects for his service. He wishes any particular thing towards *Tullibardine's* advantage may be produced by it, but bids me assure him that neither he nor *Lord G. Murray* shall want so long as he has anything. *The King* approves of *Tullibardine* and *Glendarule* going as you propose to live somewhere on the Loire, as they like best, and, if *Tullibardine* pleases, *Lord G. Murray* may go with them too, but that he himself is best judge of. They will let us and *Gen. Gordon* and *Brigadier Campbell* &c. know where they go, and it is fit *Dillon* and *W. Gordon* know it also.

I am sorry *Brigadier Campbell* finds it necessary to have an allowance or connivance from the *King of Spain* before those goods he was employed in can be got, and *Barry* last year thought there would be no occasion for any such thing, else we might have been trying long ago to procure it. We are now doing it, though I'm afraid it will be no easy matter to obtain, and it will take much time, if it can be got at all, which vexes me, and the more that it disappoints at present a thing which I thought was certain, and what I formerly imagined would have been got ready before now. However, we shall lose no time in it, and, when we have any answer, you shall know it. In the meantime you would acquaint *Brigadier Campbell* with what I have now written.

I cannot yet give you much more light in *the King's* affairs than I did. We expect daily to have accounts of them from *Ormonde* and others employed in them. In the meantime I may venture to say they come every day to have a better aspect.

(Concerning the dismissal of *Inese* and *Lord Panmure's* going to Paris, as in other letters.)

I can tell you very little news from this, but that the Spaniards and Germans are both expected in this country. I had a letter t'other day from one of our countrymen at Urbino, who tells me they were all very well there and that the Chevalier was that night returned from Fano, where he had been the last ten days of the carnival, and was mightily pleased with the entertainments he had there, where there were two fine operas acted by some of the best singers in Italy, with balls, where he danced, and conversations, their word for *assemblées*, where the people of the opera sang, as they did every day to the Chevalier at his own lodgings, he having become a great liker of the Italian music. He says, too, that he believes your acquaintance, *Mar*, may go soon to see Rome, but that his stay there will be but short.

Malcolm of Grange has made one write to *Mar* for leave to go again to *Bordeaux*, but he will do nothing in it, but leave

it entirely to *Tullibardine* to do in it as he thinks fit, so you will speak to him of it, and I think his humouring the honest old man could have no ill consequence. *Over 3 pages. Copy.*

JAMES III to the DUKE OF ORMONDE.

1718, March 7. Urbino.—By a letter I have lately seen from Mr. C[æsa]r, I am the more impatient to have an account of *Jerningham's* negotiation from you, finding in general he has succeeded, but knowing no details till I hear from you. I must give an account of some private matters, which would very little merit your or mine attention, were it not that I apprehend, if I did not explain them to you, it might be of ill consequence hereafter.

“ You know how little fond I am of letting *priests* meddle with business, and you are not ignorant of the reasons which made *Inese* be unavoidably in some measure concerned in my affairs. Indeed, of late, the correspondence falling naturally into *Dillon's* hands, he had very little to do, and I own I was not sorry that by degrees he should be removed from business without my doing anything harsh to one, who had been long employed by me, entrusted by several of *Scotland's* family and always well looked upon by *the French*, which last consideration deserved particular regard. But I have been now at last forced to remove him absolutely and at once from my affairs by an order sent to that effect to *Dillon*, in which no particular reason is given, and I don't intend to make the true one public, though it is fit you should know it, it being what determined me, though it was not the only motive of that step. To explain the whole matter would be impossible, but in two words the thing stands thus.

“ You may remember a letter I sent you, which I had written to old *Leslie* in November last. Now, by a false exposition of this letter in leaving out some words in the translation of a part of it he made into French, it must give an impression of *the King* in foreign countries, which cannot but be prejudicial to him, if the matter were credited, which I don't much fear it will, nor that that letter, which is so clear and plain, can have any other effect in general, but to show that *the King's* private sentiments as to *religion* do not hinder him from showing all favour and protection to *the Protestants*, which was the real and only intent of it. But still the unfairness of *Inese's* conduct was the same, this is fact and proved, but I own to you that I have more than suspicions as to other matters in relation to him : for I have the mortification to find that several of my late letters have been strangely misunderstood at *St. Germain's*, particularly that I wrote to *the Bishop of Rochester*, and which I sent you, of the 7th January. You could not but see that I spoke very clearly and kindly to him, and yet I find it's thought that that letter might look as suspecting you and *the Bishop of Rochester* of being against

Mar, and as if *Mar* was picking a *querelle d'allemand* with us. At the same time, I have the mortification to find poor *Dillon* a little uneasy, doubting of my kindness, and thinking *Mar* is jealous of him, while the last is daily putting new correspondence into his hands and I writing to him as if he were my brother, for I really think him an upright honest man.

"All this was indeed very surprising to me at first, but I have daily greater reason to believe that it is, or rather must necessarily be, *Inese*, who causes all these jealousies and mistakes, that by diminishing the confidence people have in *Mar*, he might have more share in business. This is very clear to me, for it is impossible that an upright man like *Dillon* could be so strangely mistaken, and when he is, as he will now be, alone in business, I am persuaded he will open his eyes and apprehend aright both *Mar's* and my own frank and confidential way of proceeding with him. On the whole, it is certain that I will be master in my own business, and that I both must and will show that I cannot be imposed by tricks and that honest men alone can thrive with me, and that I look to be *Dillon's* and *Mar's* case. I must confess to you that, though I never much admired *St. Germain's* proceedings, I am now quite surprised of them, and that, bar *Queen Mary*, I do not desire to have any more to do with them; their principles and notions and mine are very different, former mistakes are fresh in my memory, and the good education I had under *Queen Mary* not less; so that I am not at all fond of the ways of those I have so long lived with, nor in the least imposed on by their ways or reasonings.

"As for all the grounds I had of thinking there was a design against *Mar*, he was himself ignorant of them, I neither sent them all to *St. Germain's*, nor can explain them by writing more than I have done, but they were solid and I thought it was but just to write to you and *the Bishop of Rochester*, that no *tracasserie* might be made. After that I am sure I know both you and *the Bishop of Rochester* too well to so much as suspect you of any mean little ways or that you can have any aim but the good of the company, which, it is plain, can never prosper without friends agree, towards which, I believe, now there will be no obstacle, the chief author of misunderstanding being removed. I do not doubt but that some will say on this affair of *Inese's* that *Mar* disposes entirely of *the King*, but, besides that it will not, I believe, find credit, that would be better, though it should, than to have my affairs really governed by *Inese*. I do not doubt neither, but that my choice of *James Murray* (in case of *Dillon's* leaving Paris, which, I hope, will not be so soon) will be strangely canvassed, but I refer you for that to my letter to *the Bishop of Rochester* on that subject, and shall be very indifferent what *St. Germain's* may say, when I do what I think for my service, and what I am sure *the Bishop of Rochester* will like. I am ashamed to have given you so much trouble on such stuff, but, had I not,

it might have been inconvenient. As a friend I could not but give my heart to you, and, as I may say, make my complaint to you, that by seeing in all my impartial conduct the horror I have for tricks and the regard I have for honesty, you may be yourself the more convinced of the place you have in my esteem and true affection. I am very well, thank God, and charmed with the opera at Fano, which was really very fine. I stayed there a week, and am returned here since Thursday." 5 pages. *Holograph and copy, the last dated the 8th.*

J. MENZIES to L. INESE.

1718, Monday, Feb. 24[–March 7].—Because I have a most necessary attendance this evening, *Hamilton* will write a new account of Parliament matters on the same foot as in my last, which he sent also from me on Friday to Holland to *Mar's* brother[–in-law] (Sir H. Paterson), to whom I fail not to give the best possible lights for the service of partners further North.

The petitions about the iron trade &c. give a great deal of trouble, though they should be frustrated of the plain effect, and they will sound strangely abroad. As far as the bill about forfeited estates is gone in the House of Commons, the Court has gained every article, and it will soon be finished. The Mutiny Bill was read the third time to-day in the House of Lords and the Court carried it by a majority of 26 or 27, so now they are triumphant and victorious for all this campaign. It is fancied they will suspend the *Habeas Corpus*, desire more money and such other things for which they have both inclination and occasion. I hope you will not show to the Regent the enclosed paper about the coin.

JAMES MURRAY to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, Feb. 24[–March 7]. London.—The affair I mentioned in my two last is now become so public by the means I formerly stated to you that it was t'other day mentioned in *Parliament* by a certain person. We have heard nothing yet of *George Kelly's* arrival and expect it with the more impatience that it would be for *his* service to be in town before *his* friends leave this place. The management of the picture has been something so unaccountable, that I'm pretty sure there must be some woman's policy under it of a piece with some stories you received from thence last summer.

There's an end to the disputes in the House of Lords upon the Army, our friends having carried the number of the forces and the powers they desired for the government of them by a majority of 14. Lord Sunderland, amongst other reasons for the Army, gave the following: That the Pretender had so much credit in Europe that his ministers were received in several Courts, and that some openly espoused his interest, and as a proof acquainted the House that he had negotiated

a marriage with a certain Northern princess. If our negotiations with the Regent do not prove successful, in all appearance a war with Spain is unavoidable. One thing of late has given us great uneasiness, and that is, that the Swedish merchants have raised a prodigious clamour in the City, and have petitioned the House of Commons in order to force the King to open the trade with Sweden. They have been once heard and are appointed to attend again next Thursday. It appeared but too plain that England is a vast loser by that prohibition and that Holland enjoys the trade to our great detriment. However, we are in hopes to be able to throw it off for this Session, though it is certain it will soon force its way.

It would be proper to represent what I have mentioned to you to *the King of Sweden*, that he may see his friends are not unmindful of his interest. I desire my service to Lord Stair. 2 pages.

JAMES HAMILTON to [L. INESE].

1718, Feb. 24[–March 7]. London.—Lately about 400 merchants petitioned the Commons to take into consideration the trade with Sweden, since Holland has a free commerce in those seas, and his Majesty last year promised we should enjoy the same privilege as soon as the Dutch. Some of the Privy Council said t'was needless to lose time in considering that petition, by reason his Majesty had given orders for issuing a proclamation that would make that easy to his subjects. The proclamation comes out, giving the merchants free liberty of trading in iron to all ports except those belonging to the dominions of the King of Sweden, so that, instead of the looked-for and desired effect, it much exasperated the merchants to see that trade closer shut up from the English than formerly and plainly made over to the Dutch. On this the merchants renewed their petition last Wednesday, where several Whigs as well as Tories assisted. The Court vigorously opposed the petition, saying that a thing of this nature in their votes from so great a body of merchants would expose his Majesty and his affairs to the last degree. Notwithstanding these weighty reasons the merchants obtained a good part of the substance of their desires, as you'll see by the enclosed vote. The Court was forced to own there were treaties between his Majesty and the States of Holland relating to this trade much in favour of the Dutch. This affair of the merchants is most cutting to those treaties. Another knotty point was started in the House by merchants that are members, which was to address his Majesty for an account to be laid before the House of Commons of the damages and losses we have sustained of late by the privateers in the West Indies, what orders and ships have been sent to suppress them, with what may be further necessary. Since the Parliament has provided sufficiently for the naval force of this year, this is thought

perplexing, considering what is past and what has been neglected, so that this may diminish our Baltic and Mediterranean squadrons. In fine, things run strangely, but a well-paid army at home against a cowed people enables the Court to surmount all difficulties, the least of which would have shaken the sceptre of our hereditary princes.

The Commissioners for the forfeited estates have gained much of their desires in the House of Commons against the Lords of Session, so that the greatest part of that kingdom is judged by this new judicatory or Court of Delegates with a parliamentary power, from whence there's no appeal, but 'tis thought 'twill not pass the House of Lords by reason of this new supreme judicatory without appeal.

There's one thing very remarkable in some of the Scotch members. When the wives and widows on the forfeited estates in England had petitioned the Parliament to empower his Majesty to grant their jointures &c. to their children after their decease, Mr. Halden, Sir W. Gordon and Sir Robert Pougé (? Pollok), voted for the wives and widows and carried it; but, when the same thing came into the House in favour of the wives and widows of Scotland, they voted against those ladies and children of their own country, and carried it by these three votes, which partiality very much surprised most of the English.

The Court carried the Mutiny Bill in the House of Commons. It has been twice read by the Lords and twice debated with great warmth, in which Oxford and Argyle exerted their parts and rhetoric, but the Court carried it, even without the two amendments proposed by the Lords, the first by a majority of 14, which was that no sentence of a court-martial should extend to life or limb, the second by 11, relating to the officers not being exempted from the common law. This majority is thought very small, considering the advantages the Court has by places, money &c.

They sat till 9 on Thursday on this bill. The Prince went away at 4, which has done him no small prejudice. 'Tis reported Townshend and Walpole advised him not to come to the House that day, but Argyle came after they were gone and prevailed on him, though to little purpose than lessening his interest.

Townshend was so transported with passion to see the Court carry all in the Commons against his friend Walpole and himself in the Lords, that he gushed out floods of tears in the middle of his speech. He begged pardon of the House, saying that the subject touched him so sensibly that he could not contain his concern for his country, which was extraordinary from one of his bowels, compassion and humanity.

On Saturday the Commons were on the trade to Sweden. Mr. Jackson, late minister there, with several merchants that signed the petition were examined. 'Twas demanded of one, Mr. Ashton, if all those merchants who signed it traded

to Sweden. He answered : They did, and that their and the nation's loss by the want of that trade was 80,000*l.* yearly, which he could demonstrate. Then he was asked, if the Parliament should take off the prohibition, if the King of Sweden would allow their trading to his dominions. He replied : He was not of that monarch's Council, but no good King would prohibit a trade so advantageous to his subjects. On Thursday 'tis to be before the House again.

On Saturday the Lords in a Committee of the House were on the Mutiny Bill for the third time. Many warm and excellent speeches were delivered. The Court carried it by 21, without proxies.

(About Lord Sunderland's speech, as in the last letter.)

To-day the Court carried the Mutiny Bill. 4 pages.

JAMES HAMILTON to L. INESE.

1718, Feb. 24 [—March 7].—Before I left *Sir H. Paterson*, he told me he could furnish *Menzies* with several particulars relating to *the King of Sweden* and those parts, with what had been done there by directions from *England* against that trade. I informed *Menzies* of it, and he ordered that those particulars and anything else well-vouched might be sent for, for there might be use made of them with *the House of Commons*. When those things came, *Menzies* ranged them and others into a concise and regular form, so that with his and *Lord Oxford's* application to traders that way at *London* and brought matters to bear as they now are, and merchants here went readily into it, before *the English Ministry* heard of it. As soon as they did, they made applications with interest and promise of money, but 'twas too late, so that from this time that business was first openly spoke of. Sure I am that *the King of Sweden* owes all this branch entirely to *the King's friends* and 'tis hoped 'twill turn to account.

Hamilton himself is still hunted by his creditors, which makes him incapable of what he would with pleasure do.

Subjoined is an account of wines sold, probably put in as a blind.

JAMES III to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1718, March 8.—Explaining his dismissal of *Inese* and his reasons for it as in his letter of the previous day, with parts of which it agrees *verbatim*.—After this I never propose to constrain your correspondence, but will always leave you in that point to yourself, and therefore, though I have lately sent for *James Murray* to replace *Mr. Dillon*, if he be called away, yet I do not expect you should correspond with him without you have a mind. I look on him as a true honest man, and I think you might safely confide in both him and *Dillon*, but of that you are master. I have said so much on subjects which I could not employ another in, that I shall refer you to *Mar* for all other matters, which are not much. Your constant

application to our trade is not lost on me. I am and you will, I hope, one day see that I am truly sensible of it and a true friend to you. My health was never better, I hope yours is the same.

My chief reasons for settling on *James Murray* to replace *Dillon*, if he be called away, were the good opinion I have of him, and that I think he will be my man alone, besides that he was trusted by most of my friends, and that his being so well with the *Bishop of Rochester* could not but make him agreeable to *Ormonde*, for whom you know particular regard is due and requisite. The knowledge and character you had by others of *Inese* made me enlarge the more on that head, for else, I assure you, we perfectly agree in persons of his coat not being employed in business without great necessity, and, if ever you and I meet, you would see that my notions in most things of trade are more like yours and those I have been bred up in by *Queen Mary* than those of the persons I have lived almost all my life with, of which I own I am surfeited, so far from being imposed on by them or entering into them.

I beg you to give particular attention to what *Mar* writ lately of to you about some goods, without which it is impossible to carry on the trade, while we have little or no prospect of getting them elsewhere. *Nearly 4 pages. 2 copies.*

JAMES III to the BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

1718, March 8.—It having been found necessary by the *King* to inform *Ormonde* and you of some late proceedings in relation to *St. Germain's*, the *King* writ accordingly to *Ormonde*, and, that letter being ample and clear, I think I cannot give you a better idea of those matters than in sending you a faithful copy of it. I am ashamed to trouble you so often with such stuff, but I cannot do otherwise without wronging myself, since by my overture of frankness with you, you can alone judge of my sentiments and of the justice I do to all honest men. The great occasion of mistakes being now removed, I hope we shall be no more troubled with them, and, when I am master in my own affairs and employ so trusty a servant as *Dillon*, he will, when left to himself, certainly avoid any wrong notion and continue to serve with mutual satisfaction here and with you. I hope you took it not ill of *Queen Mary* that she did not immediately enter into what was proposed from your side as to *Lord Oxford*. *Queen Mary* is always loth to take some things on herself and is in general, I think, in the right, but, as soon as I heard of your desire, it was complied with, as you will have known.

I have writ to *Lord Oxford* about *Inese*, that no mistake might be made and that, whatever notion he may have had of him, it may not affect the good opinion I have of *Dillon*. I hear no more of *Dillon's* journey, so I hope it is not so near, but at a venture I have ordered *James Murray* to come straight

here, for I should be glad to converse myself with one you trust, who is employed in my affairs with *England*. *Nearly 2 pages. 2 copies.*

L. INESE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 8. Paris.—I send *Mar* the receipt he desired, though, as I wrote before, it be not usual to give any receipt for a *depositum*, and this is the first I ever gave, though I have had money and have still some considerable *depositums* in this house. The papers relating to Capt. George and his crew I have sent to *Tullibardine* to be kept till he receives directions from *Mar*, who will either name an umpire himself or leave it to *Tullibardine* to name one.

The enclosed I had yesterday from Robert Gordon, and, though he desires it should be burnt, I thought *Mar* should first see it, he being best able to judge what ground there may be for any suspicion. I remember Glendarule gave no favourable account of Lochiel's conduct towards the latter end of the last affair in Scotland.

I have been here since Thursday last and return next Thursday.

Mar will find in this packet a letter from Lady Bute and two with some prints from *Menzies*. *Enclosed,*

ROBERT GORDON to L. INESE.

A few days ago I discovered there was a letter in town in the hands of an English Whig from Lord S[?tair] directed to John Cameron of Lochiel with orders to deliver it to him en main propre, if he was here, and, if not, to send it to him to Toulouse, and he that had the letter said he believed it would do the gentleman a great pleasure, and it has been sent to Toulouse under cover of a French Whig, but I lost no time in advertising Gen. Gordon, who was near this, of all, and he is gone post to join Mr. Cameron, who is at Verdon, 5 leagues from Toulouse, under the name of Fitzgerald, and he hopes to be with him before the said letter, or at least before he can answer it. What makes us judge charitably of Lochiel is, that we think that, if it had been a settled correspondence, Lord S. would have known his address. I desire you to burn this as soon as you have read it, and I think you need not say anything to the Queen till we know more, which I expect to do in a few days. March 1, 1718.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Tuesday, March 8.—In my last I sent *Jerningham's* accounts of his voyage and negotiations, with *Ormonde's* letter to me of 3 Feb. as also the original copy of *Sir H. Stirling's* to him of 17 Jan. O.S.

I'll now answer yours of 12 Feb., received the 5th instant with the two powers for *Lord Arran*, and a copy of *Mar's*

to *Lord Oxford* of 11 Feb. The precautions you recommend about this last shall be observed and I'll return the said copy next post. *The Duke of Shrewsbury* is dead and buried some days ago, so there is no more question of addressing to him.

Your letter to *Lord Oxford* answers the *Bishop of Rochester's* desire, and I hope the former will comply with your request, which is as pressing as could be reasonably expected. Both those gentlemen live well together in appearance, and what I said of their misunderstanding is grounded on accounts from other hands, but, if *Lord Oxford* enter heartily into the collection of money and with such as he alone can influence, as required by your letter to him, I don't question but that step will unite both him and the *Bishop of Rochester* in a more fixed manner than they have been hitherto. I will not fail praying the latter to take no notice of your writing on this account to the other, except he speaks first to him of it. I'll tell the *Bishop of Rochester* what you say about not answering his last till something material occurs, and that in the meantime he'll hear from you by *James Murray*. I'll also tell *Inese* what you desire, and have already informed you that the *Bishop of Rochester* gave no particular commission to *George Kelly* concerning a declaration, but, since you think it necessary, I will put the *Bishop of Rochester* in mind of that matter.

Lord Panmure is a most worthy honest man, and, I believe, incapable of taking any party but such as may be consistent with true honour. I am persuaded his peevishness proceeds from what you mention. If he passes here, he shall have no reason to complain, and you may be sure none will be informed of what you say of him except the persons you name.

I am pretty well acquainted with Mr. Norcross. He has been here about 6 weeks ago, after making his escape from *Dunkirk*, where he was seized by orders. He appears to be an unsettled, scatter-brained fellow, and in my opinion, there can be no great reliance on proposals that come from him. He seems, however, very zealous for the *King's* service. When you have occasion for a pirate, he may be of use, excelling in that noble calling, and, I am told, being a good seaman.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 8.—*James Murray* had the same account in *England* that I sent you in mine of 21 Feb. and *Queen Mary* had the confirmation of it from a sure hand. Till the issue of that affair is known, all speculation seems unnecessary and not worth the time that would be lost in thinking. However I venture to enclose you a memorial of some small remarks which may rather serve as an amusement than perhaps for any real use.

I enclose my two last letters from *James Murray* of 13 and 17 Feb. O.S. I don't comprehend well his story about the picture, he not explaining what gave occasion for it, but what I see very plainly is that *James Murray* mistakes *the Regent* or is ill-informed of his thoughts at present in regard to *the King*. He says, if *the Regent* could be brought to explain himself in *the King's* favour, that friends in *parliament* would do marvels. I wish the first point were practicable, and should not be much in pain about the second, but am sorry to say, though with great truth, that neither *the Regent* nor any of his chief managers would hearken to any proposal in *the King's* favour, that could draw the least appearance of war on them or interrupt the ease and tranquillity they expect to enjoy by *King George's* mediation near *the Emperor* to engage the latter to acknowledge *the King of Spain* and renounce all pretensions to his actual possessions. This is their scheme and great desire, hoping by this to be rid of all future apprehension either of war or any other trouble. If their expectation in this account should fail, as many good judges think it will, then indeed *the King* may reasonably hope for good and great succour both from the *Regent* and *the King of Spain*, and, as it is of great importance that *the Emperor's* answer and resolution should be known timely, I hope *the King* will not omit employing his friends at *Rome* about it in order to be informed the soonest possible. I'll recommend the same care to friends with *England*, and you may be sure of *Dillon's* utmost endeavours to find out what he can hear. Of the friends with *Rome*, I'll except *the Pope*, presuming his own interest would make him wish that proposal should take due effect, the tranquillity of *the Empire*, *France* and *Spain* being a considerable augmentation to his present revenue.

I have not hitherto informed friends with *England* of the little hopes we had of *the Regent's* serving *the King* for fear of discouraging them, but in assuring the proposal made to *the Emperor*, I can't avoid telling them how desirous *the Regent* is to have it effected.

Your letters for *Lord Oxford* were sent him by *Capt. Ogilvie's* channel a great while ago, but *the Bishop of Rochester* and *Lord Arran* not being willing to receive theirs but by a messenger of their own and having promised to send a boat, which is not yet come, their packets are still this side, but I hope they will receive them in a short time. I enclose O'Rourke's letter to you and one of 14 Feb. from *Germain (Wogan)*. 5½ pages. Enclosed,

THE SAID REMARKS.

[1718, March 8.]—On *James Murray's* memorial of 24 Nov., 1717. O.S. calendared in the last volume, p. 602), as also on the contents of *Dillon's* letter of 21 Feb., 1718. It is undeniable that hindering the fleet being sent to the Baltic and Mediterranean would be a most

essential obligation on the King of Sweden and the King of Spain and that both ought to own that favour to the King, it being transacted by his friends. 'Tis likewise most evident that nothing can be of greater consequence to the King's interest than to break the Regent's co-partnership with the Elector of Hanover, provided it could be effected in a certain manner, but it's presumed that the Emperor's acknowledging the King of Spain and renouncing all pretensions to his actual possessions would not only put an end to their strife, but also settle the King of Spain and the Regent so much to their satisfaction that perhaps neither of them would think it proper to disturb the Elector of Hanover, by whose mediation the above settlement is supposed to be procured. In this case, though the King of Spain and the Regent had all the willingness imaginable to serve the King, it's reasonable to believe they would not act effectually in his favour, till their affairs at home were arranged so as to be able to declare and support an open war. Those arrangements at best may require great time and, perhaps, prove unsuccessful in the end. In this situation it may be apprehended that the King's friends would languish and his only resource die away without being able to make a solid attempt for asserting his right. This whole matter well considered, it's conceived that the Elector of Hanover's new bargain with the Emperor, if as reported, and his sending a fleet into the Straits in consequence can be of no prejudice to the King's interest, it seeming reasonable to imagine, that the Elector's acting thus would create a jealousy 'twixt him and the Regent, and perhaps engage the latter to declare openly in the King of Spain's favour, as most thinking people are of opinion it is his interest to do. In this supposition, it appears plain and almost undoubted, that the King of Spain and the Regent could not avoid espousing the King's cause, which would be their best and surest play, in order to carry on a war that may arise from the premises.

As to the Baltic fleet, 'tis an affair settled and the funds accorded, so there is no more question of that point and it appears pretty plain from the above, that sending one into the Straits can be of no prejudice to the King in his present situation. Several other essential branches in relation to war may be added to this reasoning, if the case happens; till then they can keep cold.

This is Dillon's private opinion which he submits to better judgment, but, as he converses frequently with the Regent's chief people and compares notes with them, that encourages him to speak his mind freely on this account, by so much the more that the facts are relating to war. 2 pages. In Sir John O'Brien's hand. Noted as enclosed in Dillon's letter of that date.

JOHN KER to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, March 8. Paris.—As Mr. Gordon is somewhat indisposed, sending him by his recommendation, packets for the Duke of Mar.

M. STIERNHOCK to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 8. Vienna.—Expressing his pleasure at the account in his Excellency's letter of 17 Feb. of the King's good health, about which he had been anxious from the reports to the contrary and at the kindness with which the King and his Excellency had received the trifling proofs he had given of his good intentions and announcing his intention to give his Grace the best information he can of what concerns the King's interests.—God grant that circumstances may shortly take a favourable turn for his Majesty, I mean above all a peace between my Master and the Czar to the exclusion of the usurper of Great Britain. I have always good hopes of it, though I have as yet no certain news of it, notwithstanding the obstacles there appear to be to it. What makes me hope that we shall see it finished at last is that it concerns as much the interests of his Swedish as those of his Czarish Majesty, and that one must presume that sooner or later Princes understand their interests and take the way they point to, though for a time they may be undecided what road to take.

I enclose some news and reflections on present circumstances which seem to me worthy of the curiosity of his Majesty and your Excellency.

Mr. Busi showed me to-day what he has written to Mr. Paterson about a commission from the King which he begs may be given him. You should not doubt that his intention is good, namely, to be in a better position to serve his Majesty, and it is for you to judge if it is for his Majesty's convenience to give such a commission at present. It is not for me to give you advice thereon, but it seems to me that there cannot be any inconvenience to his Majesty in doing so. I shall not fail to inform the Swedish gentlemen mentioned at the end of your letter that you honour him with your recollection and esteem. *French. 6 pages.*

Postscript. March 9.—After writing yesterday the letter and enclosures, M. Busi came to tell me the good news of the approaching peace, or what comes to the same thing, of the preliminaries ready to be settled between their Swedish and Czarish Majesties, which he has received from M. de Weselowski, the Resident of Muscovy. Since receiving this news, of which M. Busi will send you the details, I have received confirmation of it by several other ways, so that I believe it true, notwithstanding that I know nothing from Sweden about it of recent date, besides what Count Reventlow received several weeks ago from his friend, Baron Görtz. But the silence preserved in Sweden towards the Swedish ministers abroad does not at all

surprise me, for I know that it is the way and the wish of the King, that profound silence should be kept, when affairs of this importance are at a crisis, as that of the peace with the Czar is at present. What M. de Görtz has written about it to his intimate friend and relation, Count Reventlow, is another matter and an exception to the rule. If peace is soon made between their Swedish and Czarish Majesties to the exclusion of the Elector of Hanover, as I have reason to believe it will, I congratulate from the bottom of my heart King James on the favourable influence it will have on his interests. *French.*
3 pages. *Enclosed,*

People speak of news lately received of a strong Spanish fleet ready to put to sea with a considerable number of troops to be landed in Italy, and also of the great delay in the arrival at Fiume of the vessels for transporting the three foot regiments to Naples and of the apprehension that Spanish ships may suddenly appear in the Adriatic to hinder their transportation. While waiting there very many of those regiments have died and are dying from their sufferings on their march in such an inclement season. An express has just arrived from Naples, who is not, I am informed, the bearer of good news about the internal condition of that kingdom, should the Spaniards land, before the arrival of the above reinforcements. Though it is said that the Emperor has decided to send 9 regiments, 6 of foot and 3 of horse into the territories of Milan and Mantua, neither what troops are to be employed nor the time of their marching has been decided. They are not in too great a hurry according to the usage established here from time immemorial of proceeding with such slowness to resolutions and their execution, that they are sometimes exposed to finding themselves in the position, Dum Romæ deliberatur, perit Saguntum. There are Spanish and Italian ministers, who reproach the others that they would not regret to see the Emperor, not only obliged to renounce his claims to the crown of Spain but also dislodged from Italy, on the supposition that after that he would get rid of the first, and that his affection and confidence will be granted to the latter alone, but they add that they have a better opinion of his firmness and that they hope that neither a peace with King Philip, and still less his dislodgement from Italy, should this last misfortune befall him, would make him lose the hope of remedying both in time and his desire to preserve in the meantime his faithful Spaniards and Italians. This language used in common by the Emperor's favourites of these two nations against those who wish to see them both removed from here does not prevent ill-feeling among themselves, and that the Italians would be well pleased to see the Spaniards removed and the Emperor reigning in Italy without the character of King of Spain and without a Spanish ministry, but

with a ministry solely Italian. Since my last some Imperialists have told me, that, notwithstanding the declaration on the Emperor's part concerning his recognition of King Philip as King of Spain, on the hope, they add, which has been given him by the Regent, that he would endeavour in conjunction with the Elector of Hanover to settle the affairs of Spain and Italy in a tolerable manner for his Imperial Majesty, people still perceive an inclination of the Regent to unite with King Philip, the Duke of Savoy and other princes of Italy, either in order to dislodge the Emperor from Italy or to oblige him to such harsh conditions about the settlement of the affairs of Spain and Italy, that he will refuse to agree to them, and will prefer either by the cession of Belgrade to obtain a speedy peace with the Turks, notwithstanding his repugnance to that cession, or, if he would do so, it would be certainly against the advice of Prince Eugene and the whole German ministry, or even, making it a point of honour not to yield easily in the bad situation of his affairs, to expose himself to two wars at once, especially if he can make terms with the Duke of Savoy to the exclusion of France and of the King of Spain. The Emperor's opinion of the present disposition of the Regent does not prevent his refusing the proposal made by the Elector of Hanover and the Dutch touching the accession of the latter to the alliance between the Emperor and the Elector on condition of including the Barrier treaty therein, notwithstanding he is given hopes that thereby the Dutch would be engaged to join a squadron to that of England to assist the Emperor against what he apprehends in Italy. I know not if I am wrong in imagining that a party in the Court of Vienna would not be sorry to see this entangled situation cleared up at last by a sincere reconciliation and union between the House of Austria and that of Bourbon reigning in France and Spain, though that reconciliation and union should be preceded by a storm, and that by means of the renunciation by the Emperor of his claim and that of his House to Spain, and the guaranty of the Regent's claim to the crown of France in case of the death of the young king without children, but with tolerable conditions for his Imperial Majesty with regard to Italy and in such a manner that this change of scene should facilitate the conclusion of the war with Turkey to the entire satisfaction of this Court, the general peace of the North according to the balance of power, the strengthening of the Imperial authority in the Empire and the humiliation of the Dutch regarding the Austrian Netherlands and also that of the princes of the North who cause jealousy to the Emperor, including King George, notwithstanding his present alliance with the Emperor. But, though it seems to me that some here have such ideas, yet they are not general, and I have reason to believe that

those of the Emperor are not such at present. The Emperor favours the Spaniards here as much as formerly, and according to appearances has the same affection for them, especially for the Catalans, whom he feels an extreme repugnance to remove from his heart on account of the great attachment of that people to him and his long residence in that province.

Mr. Schaub, the English secretary, a Swiss by birth, arrived here some days ago from London by France, where he stayed a little while on the way about the affairs of Spain and Italy. What I have been informed about what he has brought and what he says about affairs is that the Emperor would do well to make a complete renunciation of the claim of himself and his House on Spain and also to become yielding in the affairs of Italy, and that, if he takes both these resolutions and at the same time consents to Holland coming into the treaty between himself and England on condition of confirming thereby the Barrier treaty and also of entering into the views and interests of the Elector of Hanover regarding the pacification of the North, that Elector will take effectual care to divert the storm that threatens him. Notwithstanding, it is reported that at the Court of France the plan has been put on the tapis of making Tuscany pass to the Duke of Lorraine on the death of the present Grand Duke without children on condition that Lorraine be incorporated with France; the plan of the Court of Spain is to procure the succession thereof and of the Duchy of Parma to the eldest son of the second marriage.

Count Lagnasco, minister of State to King Augustus, a Piedmontese by birth, gives the Imperial ministers to understand that he hopes for a favourable issue to his Master of the negotiation between Baron Görtz and the Russian and Saxon Courts on the preliminaries of the congress to be held at Danzig, and that in this hope M. de Lagnasco tries to prepare the Imperial Court to send representatives to this congress, when the preliminaries shall have been settled and the King of Sweden shall have formally declared here that he will send his plenipotentiaries and that the intervention of an Imperial minister for the conclusion of peace will be agreeable to him.

Though part of the Imperial Ministry begins to give way about holding the congress at Brunswick, and that speaking of the congress of Danzig as a general congress where the pacification of Germany may also be treated of, I adduce to the Imperial ministry the precedent of the congress of Nimeguen, where the pacification of Germany was first treated of and the peace between Sweden and the Elector of Brandenburg was concluded in France a little after that of Nimeguen, representing also that the Emperor's point of honour about the place of the congress is not

well-founded, and that it ought to be indifferent to him where the peace of the North is made, provided it is made, and he has a share in mediating it. It seems to me nevertheless there will be great difficulty in inducing him to give up his pretension that the Congress should be in some other town of Low Germany, for instance Hamburg or Lübeck, if the peace regarding Germany is also to be treated of there.

Regarding the proposal of marriage of the Electoral Prince of Saxony the Imperial ministry is still divided and the Emperor delays declaring himself. However, it appears that that prince is much to the taste of the high nobility of this country, whom he tries much to please, and with whom he is strongly supported by the Count and Countess Staremborg, his great friends. The issue of the negotiations for the peace of the North will apparently much influence the Emperor's resolution thereon. It is said that the Princes of Bavaria and Saxony have as a rival for the hand of one of the Archduchesses the Prince of Piedmont, and that the latter is supported by Prince Eugene. The German ministry appears disinclined to the marriage of these princesses to any but a German, but I know not if the Emperor may not be of a different sentiment, if he thinks it will be to his advantage to marry one of them outside Germany, especially if the Empress continues to bear children, and the expectation of the succession of the Archduchesses, the daughters of Joseph, becomes very remote. But it is apparent that in this case there will be no longer pressing suitors for these Princesses.

I am told that M. St. Saphorin, the English minister, a Swiss by birth, talks of a marriage projected between King James and the Czar's niece, the widow of the Duke of Courland, with the addition that care must be taken to avert in good time the projects dangerous for the peace of Europe that might result from that marriage, in case of a peace between the Czar and the King of Sweden to the exclusion of his Master and of union between the two first. 11½ pages. French.

JAMES III to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, March 9. Urbino.—*Mar* writes so fully to you that I have nothing to add, but to send you the two enclosed to forward as soon as possible. It was but necessary I should write myself on *Inese's* removal, which, I believe, will displease none of those I write to. I know none will suffer by it but yourself by the load of business it will bring on you, but you must comfort yourself by seeing that honesty gets always the better even in this world. I made *Mar* add a postscript to his letter, which I believe you will approve, for it would be unreasonable to overload you and not to propose to you some means of easing you in your present drudgery. 2 copies.

FANNY OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 9. From the country.—We have not heard since from the Doctor (Lord Ilay) which exceeds our comprehension. The original letters we sent you have made you hope, I believe, as well as us, that we should hear soon from him. My mother sent us word again in her last that he is with her every day and talks always of our master and in right terms and told her he had a little book to send us, and believed he would get her to send it us, but he had not given it her, nor told her further what it was, but told her once he was persuaded, you could never succeed without the easy gentleman's (the Regent's) help. Time, I hope, will make him determine, for it's plain he's still uncertain. The great news is that the King of Sweden and the Czar have made a peace offensive and defensive, particularly against Hanover, that the king gives up Petersburg and Ingria, and the Czar engages himself to make the King have Stettin and the Duchy of Bremen. You ought to know the truth of this better than us. The Archbishop of Cambray is dead, by having taken too much emetic, the archbishopric is given to the Cardinal de Tremoille, that of Bayeux to the Abbé de Lorraine, at least promised.

The Duchess of Berri gave a great feast to the Duke and Duchess of Lorraine. M. de Ma[g]ny told the ambassadors of England, Portugal and Sicily that they were not to sit with the princesses at supper. They went together to the Regent to tell him they supposed M. de Ma[g]ny did not know what was due to ambassadors and desired to know if they were not to sup with him. He asked them how they could imagine they were not, on which they went, but, when they arrived at the Duchess', a person desired them in private to sit at the second table, on which they made their bow and walked off. After this whimsical scene, M. de Ma[g]ny arrived, who had put into his head, I believe, he was an ambassador too, and placed himself at the second table, after the princesses. M. de Sommery whispered him that he was not invited, and was he, that table was not his place. As he had a mind to finish his supper and liked his company, he told them by his employment he had right to be there, on which another message was sent him that, when he came to introduce an ambassador he was welcome, but at present he was desired to retire. He assured them they did not know who they spoke to, and he was resolved to keep up the privileges of his charge. Finding he was inexorable, four guards came up and helped him to walk out of the room. While they were conducting him, he said all the insolent things imaginable on the Regent and the Duchess of Berri and threatened them both with his indignation. Next morning he was sent to the Bastille, but he was yesterday set at liberty, with orders to sell his charge. Everybody pities his father, who is a famous lawyer and a very worthy man, but as to the son, as he was always looked on as a madman here,

nobody is surprised. The Regent sent great excuses to the ambassadors and laid the whole fault on M. de Ma[g]ny, and hoped they would not take notice of such a trifle to their courts, but the couriers were gone, and Lord Stair is extremely angry. The others are piqued that they were not invited. It is difficult to please all the world. They talk for certain that Spain is making great preparations to declare war with England. M[ezières] has not heard from the neighbour (Sparre), which he can't but think very odd. They have all their lives been so intimate friends, that he is certain his silence must proceed from some essential reason.

We are going to Paris, whence, since you like it, I'll send you all the news I can gather, for, though the stories of Paris are but trifles, yet I imagine at Urbino everything goes down, even my dull epistles. I don't know what I write, for I have passed my day among country wits, which is enough to turn a more sedate brain than mine. 3 pages.

FATHER GRÈME to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 9. Calais.—*Capt. Ogilvie's* letter to you from this about three weeks ago has certainly informed you before now of the motive that made him take a trip to the other side. I have received four letters from him, saying he would not for anything not have gone there, because, by the help of certain discoveries he has made, he hopes at his return to set things in their proper light and let you see plainly that some people have been endeavouring to ruin *Mar* under trust. *Capt. Ogilvie* found *Lord Oxford* indisposed, which obliged him to stay there longer than he intended, but now he waits only for two packets, which are lying in my hands for him, and which I am to send him by a skipper I expect daily. One is from Dil[lo]n and the other from W. Gordon. Both came by Mr. Gough, who, knowing nothing of *Capt. Ogilvie's* being gone, wrote to let him know he had received them, and wanted his orders how to dispose of them, he having advice to deliver them into *Capt. Ogilvie's* own hands. Having read this letter according to *Capt. Ogilvie's* instructions to me, I answered by express that *Capt. Ogilvie* having gout in both hands uses my pen to desire you to send the packets to him by the bearer. As soon as I received them, the very day I sent for them, I acquainted *Capt. Ogilvie* with what I had done to conceal his absence, and he sent me word to keep them till a certain person, who is to be here soon, calls for them.

This moment I receive another packet from Mr. Gordon for *Capt. Ogilvie*, and, finding very providentially that the *Commis* of the post office here goes this night with Abbot de Bois' packets for England, I have entrusted him with the three packets for *Capt. Ogilvie*. As they are all three under the Abbot's cover, which the *Commis* is to take off when he arrives at London it's morally impossible they should not go safe, and therefore you may be in no manner of pains about

them, for I am not a man to risk any thing rashly that either *the King* or you may have any concern in.

I read a letter from Father Southcott to Northcross, an Englishman who commands a Swedish privateer. I cannot set down the very words, but they carry this meaning : You must have a care of that shuffling man (he speaks of Cronstrom, the Swedish envoy), for I am afraid some things are going on by his way that will hinder him from doing you any service, and that, rather than give any suspicion of what's carrying on in the North, he will not stick to make a sacrifice of you and to let you be laid up, for he communicates with none of ours here, not even with Dil[lo]n. I cannot imagine what could be his design in writing after this manner to a mad fellow such as Northcross, but surely either he had no true notions of the man or did not comprehend the force of his own expressions. I could not prevail with Northcross to leave me the letter. He is gone up to Paris, being sent for by Cronstrom.

J. M[enzie]s sent me word some while ago he had sent me a packet of letters to be forwarded, he does not tell me to whom, but the person that was to deliver it was forced to throw it overboard.

I wrote in my last about a commission Mr. Murray of Stanhope gave me and should be glad of your answer that I may satisfy Mr. Murray and his cousin, Lord Carnwath. I shall write again so soon as I hear of the packets being delivered to *Capt. Ogilvie*. Expresses from Lord Stair and the Abbot de Bois pass here very throng, we see sometimes two or three a day. I have left off corresponding with Dil[lo]n, because I am told he is not so much *Mar's* friend as I am. 3½ pages.

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, March 9. Vienna.—Acknowledging his letter of 17 February and expressing his pleasure at the satisfaction of the King and the Duke of Mar on his recommencing his correspondence.—I shall do my best to inform the King of what passes here relating to his interests or otherwise worthy of his curiosity. Monsr. Stiernhock has already given the King and the Duke of Mar his ideas at large on the confusions of Europe and is writing another letter to-day.

Notwithstanding the remains here of the old prejudice in favour of the House of Hanover, which was allied to that of Austria by the marriage of the two empresses, there are persons well-affected to the cause of King James, who reflect on the little reliance there is to be placed on the Elector's friendship notwithstanding the benefits he has received from the Emperors Leopold and Joseph and from the present one. I repeat that Prince Eugene appears to be of that number, Monsr. Stiernhock is of the same opinion. Monsr. Penterider, the Emperor's minister, is of the same number, notwithstanding that he is playing the comedy at London and that he is obliged at present to sing his master's song at that court. As for the Emperor,

whatever ideas he may have with regard to the present system of his affairs, he has the reputation and every appearance of being naturally inclined to everything just and magnanimous, but as regards King James, circumstances must be allowed to ripen in order to derive from him with regard to his concurrence with other powers any advantage to the interests of his Britannic Majesty, but nothing efficacious is to be expected of him. That must come from elsewhere, but this does not prevent as it seems to me, that his Majesty would not do ill to sound and cultivate a little the part of the land here where there may appear to be some disposition to bear fruit hereafter. (For this reason he again urges the desirability of his receiving a commission either with or without the title of agent to watch over his Majesty's interests there and refutes arguments against such a commission.)

M. St. Saphorin, the English minister, a Swiss by birth, spreads a report here of a marriage projected between King James and the Czar's niece, the widow of the Prince of Courland, and makes it appear to the Imperial ministers that this marriage, accompanied by a peace between the Czar and the King of Sweden to the exclusion of the Elector of Hanover, would disturb the peace of Europe.

The Resident of Muscovy here has unexpectedly absented himself, it is said on account of intrigues between himself and his master. The said minister assured me lately that the preliminaries for peace between the Czar and Sweden, which are going on in Finland, are on the point of conclusion, so that Fabricius, the English minister, who left Lübeck for Sweden 26 February, will arrive too late to prevent the said treaty and that it is said that the King of Sweden will have nothing to say to the Elector of Hanover.

The peace between the Emperor and the Turks remains uncertain. The Imperial and the English plenipotentiaries have not yet arrived at the place of congress. This Court makes this delay, for it wishes to know before in what tone the Turks will sing on Prince Eugene's last letter to the Grand Vizier on that point.

Meanwhile every preparation is being made here to open the campaign early. All the generals have been ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march, and Field-Marshal Prince Alexander of Wurtemberg will leave this about 6 April to put himself at the head of an army of 30,000 men to invade Bosnia, take Wihatza and endeavour to make himself master of that important province.

It is reported here as certain that there is here a secret minister of the Duke of Savoy to treat with the Emperor for the marriage of the Prince of Piedmont with one of the Arch-duchesses.

I try to have inserted underhand both here and elsewhere in the public gazettes that the King's health is very good. *French. Partly in cipher deciphered.* 10 pages.

JAMES III to the EARL OF PANMURE.

1718, March 10. Urbino.—I am very glad to find by yours from Milan that you were so far well on your journey. The little ja[u]nt I have made has agreed very well with me. It is not possible for anybody to have a better opinion of you than the Duke of Mar and I, but I know nobody that does not do justice to your merit and character. Would to God it were in your master's power to make your crosses lighter and that he could have given more help to make your journey easy to you. May it succeed to your satisfaction.

There is nothing new as to my affairs, though I think matters look better and seem to clear, in which when I know anything material and positive, the Duke of Mar shall inform you. I had so much to do to-day that I must refer you to the Duke of Mar as to Mr. Inese's removal from business, which will, I believe, more surprise than trouble you. *Copy.*

JAMES III to LORD SEAFORTH.

1718, March 10. Urbino.—“I have perused the papers you sent to the Duke of Mar for my information. I can assure you that the uprightness of your intentions needed no justification with me, as your reception both at St. Germain's and Avignon might have showed you. Former mistakes are subjects which you know 'tis my intention should be no more mentioned, and therefore after having opened your heart to me you will, I suppose, think no more on those matters, but rest satisfied that, as I chiefly look to the heart, so you need never doubt of my particular regard and kindness which your ancestors' merit and your own so well deserve at my hands.

“If you see your aunt, Lady Carington, and her niece, pray make them my compliments, as well as to your own lady.”
Two copies in Nairne's hand.

JAMES III to CARDINAL SACRIPANTI.

1718, March 10. Urbino.—Sending him a present of his portrait, and wishing it was in his power to prove more effectually the great consideration he feels for him and desiring him, when an opportunity offers, to support his interests with the Pope. *French. Copy.*

The DUKE OF MAR to LORD OXFORD.

1718, March 10.—Since I came here I have written to you twice, which I hope came safe and I'll long for an answer to them. We are very glad to hear of the good prospect of trade in your parts and are very sensible of the good part some of our partners act in it, particularly *Lord Oxford*.

We have no accounts lately from our factor *Ormonde* but by what I had t'other day in a letter from *Mr. Cæsar* of his hearing from his friend, *the King of Sweden's* factor, I conclude we shall

have particular accounts from *Ormonde* one of these days of his agent's joining him and the answers he has by him, which I admire we have not had ere now.

I had a letter some days ago from *the King of Sweden's* factor, who resides with *the Emperor*, telling me that the place has been agreed on for some time for his master and *the Czar's* meeting to adjust their accounts and future way of trading which he believes is only for form and that all is adjusted and agreed betwixt them already. This will now soon appear, as the contrary must, if not so. *King George* is endeavouring to be included in their agreement, but there's no appearance of either of them agreeing to it. *The Czar* will be returned to his former abode some time ago and we hope soon to have a return from him to some things of the trade, which were sent him in answer to some points he proposed to us. This we expect by one we have there, who is to take *Ormonde* on his way to us. I only hint these things to show we are not idle. We hear from pretty good hands that *the Regent* is not very well satisfied with his present partners, so it is pretty odd if he come not to look our way, and I believe the proper measures are taken to incline him to it, but I being far from that port must refer the accounts of all that to our factor there, who, I presume, gives his correspondents with you what accounts are needful. There is no appearance of any making up betwixt *the Emperor* and those he was engaged with last year. *The King of Spain* is like to have a good trade, if he has hands enough to follow it out, which we are told he has, and *the King* is taking all pains with him to get some commodities there, which he is like to have occasion for, but his success that way is very uncertain, though he has a warm side to him, so *the King's* resource for those goods must be chiefly from *England*, as I told you in my last, which failing, so must likewise the trade he proposed to drive, for this time, if not for ever.

(Concerning the removal of *Inese*, the behaviour of *Menzies*, the probable employment of *Dillon* in Italy and the intended arrangements to supply his place in Paris and *James Murray's* coming over, as in other letters.)

It is very plain that *Dillon* has been imposed on and in a manner governed of late by *Inese*, who, I fear, has done so by more people than *Dillon*, who is notwithstanding, I really believe, a man of worth and honour, and who would not be apt to misunderstand things and put wrong glosses on them, were he left to himself, as I found last year all the time I was with him, but *Mar* no sooner went the little tour you heard of than he quite altered in his way of doing, as he found him very much so to him when he returned and saw him on his way to *the King*. He pretended to take ill *Mar's* giving any credit to some accounts *Mrs. Ogilvie* had brought of a message *Dillon* was said to have sent to *the Bishop of Rochester* and others, but *Mar* thought all that had been set right before they parted, though it seems since his ways of thinking were not returned

to what they were formerly, which must certainly have been occasioned by his being imposed on by somebody or other. *Ormonde* was not thereabouts to have done it, with whom he was not so intimate, when they parted, nor so free as with *Mar*, nor was there anybody he was then much conversant with who had the head to do it but *Inese*, so that, without breach of charity and, though we knew no other presumptions of it as we do, we may pretty certainly conclude it must have been owing to him. *Mar*, though, has taken no notice of what he could not but so plainly see in *Dillon's* alteration to him, but gone on in his correspondence with him just as he used, and wrote so of him also to others, as you yourself know by what he said of him to you, which he would not have done, if he and I too had not believed him to be a very honest man, as I still really believe him to be, but, though he be very good at the business he has been most conversant in all his life, he has been little accustomed to book-keeping and the way of business he has been in these two years, so the less wonder, if he fail a little; one advantage in him is scarcely to be met with as to *the King's* business at this time, which was, indeed, the reason of his making choice of him, viz., the entire confidence *the Regent* has in him and the free access he allows him at all times, and his being also a particular friend of *the King of Sweden's* agent made him the more fit for it, and these reasons still subsist, so that, if he be not called away from his post, it is of consequence to continue him. What he may have been faulty in must be overlooked, and endeavours used to bring him back to his old way of thinking and doing. If he has wrote anything unfriendly of *Mar* to *the Bishop of Rochester* or others or done anything towards him which may not look quite fair, considering the friendly way they professed to be in, it must in a little time fall on *Dillon* himself, for *the Bishop of Rochester* and all his people cannot but see, as *the King* does, the fair part of *Mar* has acted towards him, and, as a man's acting an honest and fair part is the way to obtain *the King's* favour, so must anybody, who does so, get the better at long run even with other people. I thought it fit you should be informed of all these matters once for all, which will save you a good deal of trouble at other times and make you comprehend our situation and so be better able to advise us as to the trade we are a driving.

The King desires that what he or I have wrote to you of *Mr. Dillon* may be entirely to yourself. He has himself wrote what was necessary on it to *the Bishop of Rochester* and *Ormonde*, but you have the whole. 9 pages. Copy.

THE DUKE OF MAR TO CAPT. OGILVIE.

1718, March 10.—Acknowledging his letter of the 11th and reprimanding him for leaving his post without orders.—The delay of my letters going forward was bad enough and that

I am too sure to have been occasioned by it. Some more are now sent to be forwarded, which must be done in a safe way and none of them by post, they being of consequence. The sooner they are delivered the better. *Mr. Inese* is to be no more concerned in *the King's* affairs, so you are to write no more to him of them, but, when you have occasion to write of them to that place, you are to do it to *Mr. Dillon* and otherwise directly to *Mar*.

You send me a letter from F[ather] G[ræ]me, but, till I have an answer of what I wrote lately to you about him, I can correspond no more there. As to your coming here *the King* is still more and more of the opinion I wrote you and sees great inconveniencies in it and no advantage, therefore you should give over these thoughts.

THE DUKE OF MAR TO LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, March 10. Urbino.—I wrote to you from Fano the 24th, and since had yours of the 8th and 15th. (Informing him of the removal of *Inese*.)

The King told me he had ordered all the papers in *Inese's* possession concerning his affairs to be delivered to you. Among them will be all the ciphers by which he used to correspond with those employed in them elsewhere as *Menzies* in London, *Harry Straiton* in Scotland, *Sir H. Paterson* in Holland and *Mr. Bruce* at Brussels, to all whom I have wrote by *the King's* direction that they are to write no more to *Inese* of those affairs but to you, when they have anything to say of them, in Paris and to *Mar* where *the King* is. You will also get from *Inese* the addresses for those people and it will be necessary you send them some for you.

I am very glad we hear no more of *Dillon's* being to leave *Paris*. However that may be, *James Murray* will come over and I have wrote to him to make no stop at *Paris* longer than to see *Queen Mary* and *Dillon*, but to come on straight to *the King*, he thinking it requisite he should have a full account of his affairs from one such as he, who is intimate with and entrusted by his friends, which is impossible to be done by letters near so well as by word of mouth, so I hope he may be with us ere long.

In answer to your two letters I am very glad *the Bishop of Rochester* and *Lord Arran* are resolved to settle a method for corresponding of their own which I heartily wish they had done sooner.

A letter from *Capt. Ogilvie* of 11 Feb. tells me he was then going to *England*. He does not tell me of his being desired by *Lord Oxford* or any of our friends with *England* and I am not at all satisfied with his leaving his post without orders.

James Murray's letters of 16 and 19 Jan. which you sent me require no answer, only our thanks for his full and frequent accounts, nor does *Ormonde's* of 10 Jan., and there is little

needful to be said either to the message you then sent me, which *Mr. Wogan* brought, more than to return *the King's* thanks to *Lord North and Grey* and *Shippen* for their good intentions and advice and that what the first desires shall be observed.

The particular of *Lady Sandwich* was answered and complied with on what you wrote first of it, which will be with you by this.

What you say on the union of *King George* and *the Emperor*, (which 'tis probable will happen, if not so already) with regard to *the King* being disturbed in his present abode, is very reasonable. But in that case one may reasonably think that either *the King of Spain* or *the Regent* would be glad to have him with them, and if so, 'tis to be wished the first should happen, and I should think it not amiss for *Dillon* to mention it in a proper manner to *the Regent*, as very probably he may have done already. You know of another project *the King* has as to his residence but of that nothing further can be said till returns come from *Ormonde*. *The King* himself, who knows *the Pope*, thinks it will be no easy matter to prevail with him to disturb him where he is, even though solicited by *the Emperor* to do it. But I heartily wish things may go so that *the King's* stay where he is may not be long upon many accounts, and one in particular that I believe another year of it would do much to kill most of those with him for want of tolerable wholesome drink, and the impossibility there is almost there of having any exercise.

Mr. Macmahon's letters I shall answer as soon as I can, having now many to write. He shows himself by these a very honest man and what he says of P[ultene]y is no more than I believed of him.

James Murray's and *Sir W. Wyndham's* negotiation with *the Marquis de Monteleon* may have very good consequences. It seems they are now over the suspicions we were told they had there of that gentleman, but, on what was wrote us of it, *the King* in his late applications to *the King of Spain* desired that *the Marquis de Monteleon* should know nothing of that affair, as was but reasonable for him to do. Should *the Marquis de Monteleon*, notwithstanding people's suspicions of him, write favourably to *the King of Spain* of our friends' good endeavours for him there, it may the more confirm *the King of Spain* in the accounts he has from *the King* and show *the King's* influence on those gentlemen.

The rendezvous you mention said to be of *the King's* friends with *Paris*, will soon confute itself, but by *Macmahon's* conversation with P[ultene]y, it is plain those folks are not ignorant of *Ormonde's* situation, which, indeed, they could scarce be for so long. But there is no great matter in that, if *the King of Sweden* and *the Czar* make up, as we have occasion to hope they have done before now, I having a letter from *Cæsar* of 20 Jan., saying he had a letter from his friend *the King of*

Sweden's agent of 30 Dec., in which are the following paragraphs.—My master is now very busy in making up his accounts with one of his chief creditors, which done, I do not question but he will be able to answer all other demands and especially yours.—Not long ago one of your attorneys was with my master and was dismissed with this answer, that, as soon as he had made up his accounts with his chief creditor, he would then also satisfy you. *Mr. Cæsar* adds that, however fair the prospect seems by this, it ought not to hinder *the King* from taking in as many partners as possible and he wishes that *the King of Spain* and *the Regent* could be prevailed on to be two, if both their interests be compatible with it, which he says we can better judge of than he. He mentions *the Regent's* factor's being dissatisfied with *King George* and his people and proposes to have him applied to, but says that the factor is apprehensive of anybody's knowing of anything of that kind being done by whom it may come round to *the Regent* or his people. *Mr. Cæsar* says further that *the King of Sweden's* factor has wrote to him for several sorts of goods from that country without which he cannot carry on the trade to any purpose, and that it is very difficult for him (*Cæsar*) to get credit for them, but he will leave no stone unturned to get them sent.

I suppose by the above we shall very soon have a particular account from *Ormonde* of *Jerningham's* being returned to him and it is odd we should have the first account of his affair by so roundabout a way. By this account though, it would seem that *Ormonde* is not to go to *the King of Sweden*, till the affair betwixt *the King of Sweden* and *the Czar* is finished.

I gave the letter for *Col. John Hay* you sent me to the owner and we expect *Sir Peter Redmond* in a few days, who shall have his.

The delay of that affair in which *literal Campbell* was to be employed is very unlucky, but there was no help for it by what you tell me, and now we are not yet sure of obtaining the allowance or connivance from *the King of Spain*, which, it seems, is absolutely necessary, and we are thinking that *Sir Peter R[edmond]*, who is to return by *the King of Spain*, may be useful in it and get more easily what's wanting from him as a merchant on his own account than we, but there will be a necessity in that case of letting *the King of Spain's* man with *the Pope* and *the King of Spain* by him know that it is on *the King's* account, though there be no occasion for letting *Sir Peter* know that we do so, and his not knowing of it may make *the King of Spain* more easily grant what is desired. This is but a thought and nothing could be done in it, till we see *Sir Peter* again, which made us encourage his returning this way and get him introduced to *the King of Spain's* man where he was, that he may know him, in case we shall find it necessary to write to him of this affair, but *Sir Peter* is ignorant of our design of that acquaintance we got him.

We long to know what is the fate of that extraordinary *money* affair, which was expected about this time from *the Regent, Queen Mary* referring to the account you were to give of it.

By a letter from *the King of Sweden's* factor with *the Emperor*, I see the place for making up his accounts with *the Czar* had been agreed for some time viz., *Danzig*, by which he concludes matters were all adjusted and nothing but the form wanting which I heartily wish may be so. By other letters from that place there's no appearance of any accommodation with *the Turks* which, as things now stand, I think we will not break our hearts for.

We have heard no word yet of *Francia's* man, and I despair of that affair's coming to any account, notwithstanding what Father Græme writes me about it in a letter I enclose. *Francia* seems to be a strange fellow and light-headed enough by some-things besides this that I have lately heard of his correspondence with *England* and of his dealings with you, which, it seems, he trusts there to a very mean fellow, who talks of it over his cups, and his procedure with Græme looks odd after what he wrote to you about him, though it would not be fair to the good father to let him know what he tells us of him. I have not wrote to Græme since I came here, and this is but the second letter I have had from him, but I wrote to one to tell him of my having given up the correspondence on his not keeping the conditions I laid on him when I began it of not showing my letters nor owning any correspondence with me. It seems though the person I wrote to had not informed him of what I wrote when he wrote me this letter. Should I do anything on what Græme says from *Francia* or no?

I must now answer some things in the last two letters from *Inese*. He says one Power, a lawyer, is lately dead, who for many years had been *the King's* counsel at law and that most of what he had in that kind is continued to his widow, and that he is now desired to write recommending a Mr. Polewheel to succeed him and gives some reasons for it, though he seems to think *the King* will not think one necessary to be put in that place, and, on my speaking to him, I find him to be of that opinion, though he has had a good character of Mr. Polewheel, as I have both now and formerly, but *the King* thinks a compliment should be made him, and he should be told, that, if he had had occasion for any such, he should have been the man.

As to honest old Jamie Malcolm, I have now wrote to *Tullibardine* about him, as I did on my leaving your parts, which he should be acquainted of, that he may apply to *Tullibardine*.

The information those officers gave, which *Inese* mentions, of *the Czar's* family is certainly defective, which is all I need say, since we shall soon have, I hope a more certain account.

Inese writes a good deal in his other letter of what *the Bishop of Rochester* desired about the application to *the Duke of Shrewsbury*, to which I need say little, since what was needful

from hence is done on it some time ago, only I think *Queen Mary's* conduct in it was very prudent. What *Menzies* writes of *the Duke of Shrewsbury's* relapse gives us great concern, but I hope God will preserve so fine a gentleman to us for a better day. It is strange how *Menzies* could so far mistake what *Inese* wrote him on the above head, but, when a man is in a peevish suspicious way as he has been for some time, they are apt to see things wrong and put wrong constructions on them. I wish he may not play the fool further than he has yet done and thereby ruin all he has hitherto done, which he was but in too likely a way of doing, as you might see by my last letter to him, which I sent open to *Inese*, and I am sure it is in nobody's power to hurt him with *the King* but his own as I have often told him. What *Menzies* writes of *Sir W. Wyndham* to be told to *Queen Mary* in relation to *Bolingbroke* is very handsome and like what I expected of *Sir W. Wyndham*.

(Recapitulation of the news in Wogan's letter of 14-16 Feb., calendared in the last volume, p. 468.)

Wogan reckoned to be at *the Emperor's* habitation about a fortnight after the date of his letter, so in another fortnight or three weeks at furthest I suppose we shall see him. On the whole I think his journey was well bestowed, though I hope the affair of *the Czar's daughter* will make it pretty useless, but that, you know, is still uncertain.

By letters to and from *Sir H. Paterson*, I find they go the way we send them through Germany much quicker than by France and the last from him that way came sooner than those from Paris the way yours come by eight days.

Postscript.—After reading the above with *the King* it naturally occurred that this addition of business which falls now into your hands will occasion much more writing than you had formerly and will therefore require more hands. We know you have confidence in *Sir John O'Brien*, who is a tried honest man, and he will serve for easing you in things of most consequence, but, as lesser business commonly takes up rather more time and labour than great, you will certainly have occasion for more hands than your own and his, and, if any of those, to whom *the King* gives subsistence already, can do for that, they had best be employed. There's a Mr. Alexander with Mr. Gordon now, I believe, who, I think, may be proper for it. There's also a George Mackenzie now at Paris or Sens, who has been bred to business, and Charles Forbes, all honest men, who write a good hand and I believe might be trusted, especially in lesser things, so you may inform yourself about them and make your own choice. 13 pages. Copy.

THE DUKE OF MAR to the EARL OF PANMURE.

1718, March 10.—I had yours of the 2nd from Milan two days ago, where I am glad you got safe, and I hope your whole journey will be prosperous, though I'll long to hear how you

passed the hills. I did not doubt you would be pleased with Venice. We have been at Fano, where the operas and our other entertainments were much better than I expected, and the King was mightily pleased with them. Three or four voices there were really very good, two of which are to be here soon for some time.

I enclose one from the King, to whom I delivered yours. He referred to me to give you an account of Mr. Inese being removed from acting in his affairs. (Account thereof as in other letters.) Mr. Dillon is the only one there now employed or consulted in his affairs besides the Queen, so, whenever you may have occasion to speak there of any thing in relation to them, it ought to be either to her or Mr. Dillon.

The King said nothing to me, when he gave me that gold for you, about Dr. Blair, nor till I spoke to him on what you and the doctor spoke to Col. Clephan, when he told me what the colonel wrote to the doctor, and now he has told me that, knowing from you that the doctor was to go with you, he thought it would be no more charge than if you had been to go alone, so what he gave was intended for your journey in general, and there was no reason for specifying to you that the money was for the doctor as well as yourself. If his circumstances were better, he says you may be sure the allowance would not have been so small, but he can do no more than he is able. He spoke with that regard for you that, had you overheard it, I am sure you would have been pleased.

You seem a little uneasy on something I mentioned in my former letter, which you take as if some had not quite the same notions of you that I have, but, as I know of none such, I really believe there are none, who know you, but who have the same opinion of you as I told you in that letter I had, so you may be very easy on that head.

Poor Clephan has been very ill since you went, so that I was afraid of his being in danger, but he is now recovering, though not yet come abroad. My illness went off before I went to Fano, and I am now pretty well.

I wrote of your being to be at Paris to Monsr. and Madame de Mezières, where I believe you will be very welcome, and it will be some amusement to go sometimes there, where there is commonly a good deal of good company, and Miss Fannie will divert you. I am very much obliged to them all, and they are very civil and obliging folk to all the King's people, whose humble servants all of them are, as well as the ladies, his subjects.

It is likely I may go to Rome about the end of this month, but my stay there will not be long. *Over 3 pages. Copy.*

The DUKE OF MAR to FANNY OGLETHORPE.

1718, March 10. Urbino.—I wrote to you from Fano the 25th, though perhaps you may get this sooner, going by one,

who, I fancy, will be at Paris quicker than the post. I had yours of 1, 4, and 5 Feb. there, and the 3rd we returned here after having been very well entertained and much pleased there.

I thank you for *Lord Ilay's* letter you sent me. I will look out all of his I have and send you them, that you may be in no pain about them. What he speaks of sending you is certainly a better and fuller cipher, which is so far good, but neither *the King* nor I can find much in the letter. *The King* thanks the friend (Mezières) for his advice with relation to him, and I am to send you now from him what I hope will satisfy you and all concerned on that head, by which the friend may see how ready *the King* is to take advice when it comes from one who, he is sure, gives it with a good intention for his service, and how willing he is to lay hold on the least thing for retrieving people from their mistakes, and to make their doing their duty agreeable to them, as well as it would be of advantage to him, and that past faults, when truly repented of, will be no bar to his favour, and not only so, but that he is desirous to find out the most favourable excuse and best turn for those who have been so unlucky as to have committed them. I would gladly ask *Ilay* and his friend (Argyle) where they can find so much good nature with so good sense.

I remember very well what I wrote to *Ilay* I would propose for him, and, when you see what I am now to send you, you may think it comes short of it, but, before you or the friend makes a judgment that way, consider what I am going to tell you and you will find that on *Ilay's* account as well as *the King's* this was all that was fit to be done now. The case is altered since my writing to him. Then his friend had no children nor was in a way of having any, so that *Ilay* was looked on as certain almost to succeed him, and any thing done for *Ilay* made no addition to the number of that society but during his life, and that took off the envy and odium which two of one family being made so eminent in that place must necessarily and certainly have carried along with it, especially if done all at once, whereas now his friend has a child and is in a fair way of having more, so that what is done for *Ilay* is not likely to be come to be sunk in what he would have had from his friend in the other case, and, were what's now given him to take place to-morrow, the thing is so reasonable and moderate in itself, that it could not justly draw any body's envy on him, nor make them think that *the King* is too lavish of those things. Besides I am much mistaken of *Ilay*, if it be not the substantial part of things more than what makes a greater show that he values most, and this giving him all the solid privileges the other would, makes it so. As to *the King's* part, this way he observes his rule of doing such things by degrees and having it in his power to reward future services, when it can be done without

envy to the receivers or blame to himself. All this, when you have told *Ilay*, as it is fit you should as soon as you can, I am persuaded will give him full satisfaction, and the more when he sees the tenor of the paper of which you should send him a copy in cipher by a sure conveyance. It is so worded, that, should it unluckily fall into wrong hands, it can scarce hurt *Ilay* or his friend, and the good actions of the family are not forgot in it, when the bad are passed over in silence, and the best turn that was possible given to his own and his friend's behaviour. You may observe in it another thing and take notice of it to him, which is, its being wrote with my own hand, so that he nor his friend are in no danger by too many knowing of it, nor shall it be booked with us. When he considers this way of proceeding with him and his friend, when they have done so little and are so shy and backward, I imagine he will not expect apologies for the other thing not being yet done, which I wrote to him I was to propose for him, but what is now done cannot but show them that it in a manner depends on his friend and himself to get that or any thing almost which their ambition can project to them. I'll long to know the friend's and your opinion and of your having acquainted *Ilay* fully of the thing and all I have said on that head and what he says in return. As for the main affair, all I can say to him is, that in all human appearance it has a better prospect now than when I wrote to him, abroad as well as at home, where it may be in his and his friend's power still to make it better. *Ilay* will, it is likely, some time ago have seen a late letter of *the King's* to *Mr. Leslie* by which he may see how secure religion as now established would be with *the King*. You will hear of a change at *St. Germain's*, for which, I believe, you will not break your heart.

You are certainly in town long ere now, and I hope you will let me have all your news and town stories. About a fortnight hence it is likely I may go to see the fine town, but your letters will be sent me, and my stay there will be but short.

One thing you must tell your friend from me, that I but judge towards him as I do towards myself, my paper of that kind being the same with his. He could not do better than make you the visit this summer he proposes, so pray encourage it, and perhaps he'll do it the more readily that *Mar* is not in those parts, which he is not likely to be.

Pray tell *René* [Macdonnell] I had his and shall answer it as soon as I find time and anything to say. 4 pages. Copy.

JAMES III to the ATTORNEY and SOLICITOR GENERAL OF ENGLAND.

1718, March 10. Urbino.—Warrant, after reciting that he had taken into consideration the great and remarkable services to the Crown by many of those who represented the

family of Argyle and that, being well assured of the many good qualities of the present Duke and his brother, the Earl of Ilay, he has long been desirous of drawing them back from the ways their education had led them into, to follow the good example of their predecessors, for which end he passed a warrant for a full pardon to them on their returning to their duty and lodged it with a friend of theirs to be kept for their behoof, against the time it should please God to restore him to his dominions, and that, being now persuaded that the said Duke and Earl are become sensible of their mistakes, and that, as soon as a proper opportunity shall offer, he doubts not of their doing all in their power to promote his interest and that of their country, by using their utmost efforts for his restoration, he has thought fit as a further mark of his good will and an encouragement to them to go on in their good intentions to bestow on the said Earl the titles after mentioned: for a patent creating the said Archibald, Earl of Ilay, Baron of ——— in the county of ——— in the Kingdom of England and Earl of ——— in the county of ——— in the said Kingdom with remainder to the heirs male of his body. *Draft. There is in Entry Book 5, p. 76, a marginal entry: "Warrant for a Bill creating ——— Earl of ——— in the Kingdom of England, dated Urbino, 10 March, 1718."*

JAMES III to CARDINAL GUALTERIO.

1718, March 11.—“Je profite de mon premier loisir pour vous envoyer les deux papiers cy joints, qui vous mettront au fait de l'affaire en question. Comme il est fort possible que vous en entendiez parler, j'ay crû me devoir a moy meme de vous en instruire a fond, vous priant cependant de ne prevenir personne sur ce sujet, mais, en cas qu'on vous en parle, de repondre selon que votre prudence et les lumieres que je vous donne vous suggereront. En cas que le Pape vous en parle, je ne vous defend pas de luy montrer le memoire, pourvû que vous ne le luy laissiez pas entre les mains. Vous scavez combien delicat il est pour moy ou pour ceux qui m'appartiennent de parler sur certains chefs sans blesser ou la politique ou la conscience, et de la maniere qu'on a poussé cette affaire je vous avoue que j'ay eté très embarrassé, mais je me flatte d'avoir evité tous les ecueils, et d'avoir satisfait a mon devoir en meme tems. Je vous prie cependant de me faire le plaisir de m'en dire sans flatterie votre sentiment.

“J'ay encore a vous notifier ici que pour des bonnes et solides raisons j'ay absolument éloigné Mr. Inese de mes affaires, je ne doute pas que cela ne soit un nouveau sujet de scandal, puisqu'on est sur le pied d'en prendre si aisement par les fausses consequences qu'on tire, ou les fausses gloses qu'on donne a mes actions ou intentions. Il est certain que ni la religion ni les religionnaires n'ont eu aucune part a cette affaire, qui m'a parû si necessaire que je l'ay fait sans demander

conseil contre ma regle ordinaire, mais qui est sans consequence dans des cas ou personne n'aime a dire son sentiment, et quand il s'agit de faits qui parlent d'eux memes. Du reste je connois, Dieu mercy, et les obligations et la dignité de ma religion, et c'est peut-etre par ce que je distingue dans ma conduite l'essentiel de ce qui ne l'est pas, que je me vois le but de certains Catholiques ambitieux et mondains, tandis que je souffre encore de la part des Protestans par la profession ouverte que j'en fais. Je vous avoue que j'ay assez de vanité pour trouver cette situation encore plus honorable que penible, et qu'avec le temoignage d'une bonne conscience, et en suivant les regles sures que je me suis prescrites, et ce que j'ay entendu dire au Pape lui meme je me mets tres peu en peine des discours des factieux. L'unique chose qui m'afflige est, que par bien de manœuvres quelques Catholiques prennent le grand chemin d'augmenter l'injuste haine conceüe contre eux et de me rendre moins capable de les servir dans la suite par une conduite trop outrée et violente a present.

"Il n'est plus question, Dieu mercy, de ma religion personnelle, on a perdu toute esperance de changement, et par une conduite sage et prudente on pourroit dans la suite avec l'aide de Dieu emousser la prevention qu'on a contre les Catholiques, et c'est ce qui me perce encore plus le coeur de voir qu'au lieu de menager et de cultiver certaines dispositions et la grande sagesse et moderation des Protestans, qui sont auprès de moy, on fait tant de pas pour les aneantir et detruire. Mais en voici assés pour votre information. C'étoit une justice que je me devois de vous expliquer mes veritables sentimens, et je suis bien sure que vous en ferez l'usage discret et prudent qu'il conviendra en tems et lieu." *Nearly 3 pages. Holograph and copy. Enclosed,*

MEMOIR.

When the late King was vice-roy in Scotland, an Act of Counsel was passed in his presence to confirm to that church the right mentioned in the translation of the annexed letter. Since by the proceedings of the Elector of Hanover, he appears to wish to dispute this right of the English Church, and as nothing is dearer to the English people than their privileges and above all those of the Church, the famous minister Leslie proposed to the King as a popular thing to show by some writing that he would maintain that contested right. But, as what had been done in Scotland has no weight in England and consequently it would not be sufficient merely to confirm that Act of Council, it was found expedient that the King should write to Leslie a letter to be shown, in which without mentioning the said Act he would confirm that right to the English Church. Whatever repugnance the King had to meddle in certain details of religion or to use school terms, he foresaw that his refusal to write such a letter or to change certain words in it might have very bad results for his interests,

besides that, as he was born to live in a Protestant country and among Protestant subjects, he will often be necessarily obliged to employ terms in use among them, without believing his Catholicity is concerned therein, provided that he does not put forward any proposition as his own, which may be either heretical or contrary to the Catholic faith. On these reflections and with these precautions he has written the annexed letter, where it is clear that what is said of the power of the keys is a proposition which is quoted and not enunciated by himself and all the assurances and promises that follow relate to the rights of members of the English Church and not to that Church itself or its doctrine, the whole being only a fuller explanation of the preceding declarations or manifestoes, which had all been revised and corrected by learned theologians.

Notwithstanding whatever rightness of intention or clearness of expression may be observed in that paper, on which I know of no Protestant who has made the least gloss, it has given a great shock at St. Germain's, where it has been pretended that the preamble might be taken in a bad sense, and there is no doubt that it is or might be, since a Catholic of that Court by a mutilated copy has appropriated the power of the keys to the King, who, to obviate the inconveniences that might be caused by such malice, has ordered the Queen on suitable opportunities to make known the true meaning of the letter, and not content therewith he has written to the Duke of Ormonde and to two considerable persons in England, where after informing them in general terms of the trick that has been played him he has found means to add naturally "que la vraie et unique intention de cette lettre etoit pour montrer que sa propre religion ne l'empechoit pas d'accorder toute protection et faveur aux Protestans." Draft in James' hand and copy. French. Nearly 3 pages. (A translation of the letter calendared in the last volume, p. 244, was also enclosed.)

THE DUKE OF MAR TO WILLIAM GORDON.

1718, March 11.—Concerning the destination of various packets and letters enclosed to him and informing him of the removal of Mr. Inese, so that, if he has occasion to speak about the King's affairs, he is to do so to Mr. Dillon. *Copy.*

THE DUKE OF MAR TO MR. GOUGH.

1718, March 11. Urbino.—Expressing his disapproval of Ogilvie's trip to England and enclosing a packet for him with directions as to what is to be done with it, if it arrives before Ogilvie's return.

THE DUKE OF MAR to the DUKE OF ORMONDE.

1718, March 11.—I enclose one from *the King*, which, I suppose, gives you an account of what he lately ordered as to *Inese*, which, I imagine, will at first be some surprise to you, as it was to me. (About *Inese's* removal, and the arrangements for *Dillon* to be corresponded with in his place and the additional assistance for *Dillon* as in other letters.) We hear nothing more as yet of *Dillon's* being to leave *Paris*, by which I suppose it is not to happen at this time.

(Recapitulation of the news in Mr. *Cæsar's* letter as in his letter to *Dillon* of the 10th.) That man of *the King's*, who was with the King of Sweden, must have been very long on his way to *Ormonde* that we have not yet any account of it from him, but we conclude that is on the way, and that we shall now have it very soon, and we long for it, as we do also to hear from him of *the Czar's* being returned and how the affair of *marriage* is like to go. *The King of Sweden's* factor desires *Cæsar* to send thither some goods, which he says it is hard for him to find credit for them, but he will leave no stone unturned. He does not explain what goods they are, so this is all I know of it. By all our letters from where *Cæsar* is they seem in concern that they hear nothing from *Ormonde* of any thing of trade, though he had wrote there about his private affairs, and add that till they do or hear some satisfactory account of him, it is needless for them to set about the affair of the *collection of money*. It was by *Sir H. Paterson's* canal that *Cæsar's* letter went to the above factor as it was that the return to it came. *Sir H. Paterson* tells me he hears sometimes from *Ormonde* and I suppose he writes to him, so I need say nothing of what he writes me from his parts.

I saw a gentleman to-day who came from Rome some days ago, and there, he says, they look on the Spaniards coming into Italy as certain and that very soon, orders having been given above three weeks ago for the embarkation of 12,000 men at Barcelona, where ships were ready for them, and that there was no appearance of any Germans coming into Italy to oppose them.

(Recapitulation of the news from Vienna of the Turkish preparations and about the intended treaty between the Czar and the King of Sweden.)

We have been at Fano, where we were very well entertained with two very good operas &c., in which there were three or four very good singers, all eunuchs, no women being allowed on the stage there, but some of the eunuchs acted the women's parts very well. Our friend is come to be a mighty liker of the Italian music, and we are soon to have one or two of the best eunuchs who were there here with us, though I hope we shall not have time to be long entertained here that way. I had lately a letter from your acquaintance Nicolini with

some music, in which he makes you a very high compliment. (About his intended visit to Rome as in other letters.)

I had some days ago a comical letter enough from *Mr. Wogan* with an account of his journey so far as Augsburg, and I believe he will be with us in a few days. What he had seen there will not, I believe, please or be thought fit, but I hope *the Czar's daughter* will make his journey pretty useless. Copy. 4 pages.

THE DUKE OF MAR TO ANNE OGLETHORPE.

1718, March 11.—I am obliged to you for yours of 8 January, which I had t'other day with one of the 20th from *Mr. Cæsar* for which I beg you to give him my thanks. *The King* desires me to make his kind compliments to you and him. We have not yet heard of that gentleman whom *the King of Sweden's* factor mentions to have been there and dispatched with his answer, but we expect a particular account of him every day. I would hope *Mr. Cæsar* will find some ways of getting and sending those goods that the factor says are so much wanting, and I know no pains will be wanting in *Mr. Cæsar* to do it. As to the point he recommends of getting more partners, he may be sure we are doing all in our power to bring it about.

The accounts you and others give us of the good prospect of trade with you give us great consolation ; it is no less with us, and I hope time will bring all soon to answer our wishes, but we must not flatter ourselves too much on those appearances, but labour to make the favourable conjuncture answer the end we propose.

I wrote to you 12 February, and I wish it may not have lain long on the road by *Capt. Ogilvie's* taking a fancy to visit *England*, for which I am not pleased with him. It is strange that such folks with their good meaning should be so overwise in things not immediately their own concern, but I hope he is returned long ere now.

I have very little to add to what I then sent you, only my humble service to *Lord Orrery*, whose making the visit you mention is not at all mistaken by *the King*, though we had heard of it, before we had yours.

In a letter I sent to *Menzies*, though perhaps this and a duplicate I now send him may come as soon, I desired him to tell you that ten days before we had yours *the King* wrote to for the letter you propose from him for that lady in relation to *the Regent's* factor and by the very person who, *Cæsar* says, the factor cared not to have any dealing with, which *the King* accordingly wrote and sent him as desired, and since the same desire is come to him from another, by which you may see her ladyship has not observed perfectly what she said to you nor has not trusted this affair to a few, by which I cannot help thinking nothing will come of it, but pray give not me for the author of this. I hope you were well-diverted

in the country with them, and I very well believe you, when you say, provided the thing be done, you are indifferent through whose hands it pass.

(Concerning Inese's removal and the behaviour of Menzies as in other letters.)

The King does not expect that what he has done as to *Inese* should make others fall out with him, but only that they should correspond no more with him about his affairs, so *Menzies* being still his friend and writing to him of their own concerns will be far from any offence to *the King* and as little to *Mar*, who has had no quarrel with *Inese*.

Since I wrote last, *Jamie Oglethorpe* has been with us, who is really a very pretty youth, and the gentleman he came to see is really very well pleased with him, as I believe *Jamie* is with him. Last summer you wrote to me of a certain thing for *Jamie's* brother and *Madame de Mezières* also spoke of it to me. I lost no time after coming here to speak to my friend of it in the most favourable way I could, and it was an easy matter to persuade him to a thing of that kind when it was to be so placed on many accounts existing both now and in former days, and on *Anne Oglethorpe's* none of the last. *Madame de Mezières* wrote of it also to him, but, before the letter came, he had done the thing, so far as his present circumstances would allow, the particulars of which *Monsr.* and *Madame de Mezières* are fully informed of, only *Jamie* is not forgot in it, which I thought was but reasonable. My friend told *Jamie* in general that there had been a thing asked from him on his brother's account, in which he had done as I have told you, but he did not mention the thing itself in particular nor did I explain it to him. He told him also he might tell his brother what he had said to him on it, and I have since had thanks from the brother. The keeping this thing secret is of importance to those concerned on both sides, which made my friend enjoin it as such to all who know it. 4 pages. Copy.

RICHARD BUTLER to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, March 11.—Just now *Ormonde* received a letter from *Sir H. Stirling* giving an account that *the Czar's* affair is as good as finished; I mean *the treaty with the King of Sweden*. He had an account from *Sir H. Paterson* that *Jerningham* was arrived at *Lübeck* in order to come to *Ormonde*. *Sir H. Paterson* also gave *Ormonde* this account by the last post, and we don't doubt that *Jerningham* has writ to you on this more fully. Noted as received at Urbino 30 April.

The COMTE DE CASTELBLANCO to [? DAVID NAIRNE].

1718, March 11. Bologna.—Expressing his satisfaction at hearing of the perfect health of the King, whom he begs him to assure of his profound respect, and informing him that he

is leaving for Piacenza the next day, and going thence next Monday to Genoa, to which place he requests that any letters for him may be forwarded. *French.*

JAMES HAMILTON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Feb. 28[–March 11]. London.—My two last, wherein *Lady Mar's* were enclosed, would be long before coming to hand. The reason is we had a great frost for several weeks. By *Holland* is the only way for sending those kind of goods. I have settled matters so that it cannot well fail. The occasion is once a week. That by *France* seldom misses being attended with trouble. Your two last coming that way were opened and examined at the Custom House and occasioned *Hamilton* no small care to get free.

In your last you signified you had written to *Lady Mar* in favour of the Squire (*Hamilton* himself), but he does not find it has had any impression. There's of your friends believe 'tis in her power to make that easy, if she was only resolved to apply heartily, nor is the Squire the only one that looks on *Lady Mar's* honour as somewhat interested therein, but some infears (*sic*) much on account of *Mar*, but sure I am with the greatest pleasure the Squire would embrace any opportunity of being subservient to either of them.

His absconding from his creditors makes him incapable of acting as he otherwise would, nor has he one farthing to subsist on but what he gets from *Menzies*, and matters are hard enough there. I am grieved to find how things have grown between *Menzies* and *Mar*, for sure I am *Menzies* is and has been all along most zealous in that lady's interest.

If *Mar* thinks it can be of any use, the Squire is willing to attend *Lady Mar* into the country, so that he may return, by reason he thinks he cannot be of such use any where as with *London*, but even in this case 'tis absolutely necessary first to make up matters with his creditors.

The Commons have put off the trade to Sweden for a month. In this *Walpole* voted with the Court, and some think he soon will be in favour. 'Tis said the Prince has owned all that has been said to him during the difference, which some say is shortly to be patched up. *Argyle* gives out he will go to Scotland when the Parliament rises. The last post I wrote fully to *Inese*, which I hope you have seen, and nothing since remarkable has offered. 2 pages.

COLIN CAMPBELL OF GLENDARULE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 12. Bordeaux.—At the same time you ordered *Tullibardine* and others to apply to *Mr. Dillon* in relation to *swords* and *targes* you desired that might not hinder your being acquainted from time to time of the state of that affair, which now makes me transmit you a double of *Brigadier Campbell's* last letter to *Tullibardine*, wherein you

will find doubles of *Mr. Dillon's* and *William Gordon's* letters to him and his answer.

Tullibardine and I are both of opinion and have writ so to *Brigadier Campbell* that it is best he should set men at work to make up the cargo the moment the 5,000 *livres* are sent him, and the less time lost, the better, for it will take some time to make those goods fit for the market, and, as to the recommendations he insists on to *the King of Spain's* servants, they may come in due time; that we think, if money is sent him, he may venture on making his bargains, seeing that it was not to be doubted that *Mar* on his first orders to buy up those goods foresaw that without permission from *the King of Spain* such a quantity could never be made up there, at least without his connivance, so we judged him sufficiently authorized to proceed, if the money was sent.

I wrote this post to *W. Gordon* *Tullibardine's* sentiments as well as mine on this subject, and earnestly beg he may give orders for advancing the 5,000 *livres* without losing time, unless he has reasons that we know not, and this advancement is rendered very easy by *R. Gordon*, who will instantly find the money here, if he is allowed to draw on *W. Gordon*. If *Tullibardine* and I have judged right in this, it might have been done a fortnight sooner, had *Dillon* writ to *Tullibardine* at the time he wrote to *Brigadier Campbell*, for, as soon as *Tullibardine* received *Brigadier Campbell's* letter, which was the first intimation he had of this affair being again set on foot, I came here to advise with *R. Gordon* how the 5,000 *livres* could be raised, till *the King's* own money could answer, so that *Brigadier Campbell* might have had the 5,000 *livres* very near as soon as *Dillon's* letters, had *Dillon* writ but two lines to *Tullibardine* at the same time he wrote to *Brigadier Campbell*, for neither *Tullibardine* nor *Glendarule* has ever had any return to their frequent letters to him on this subject, yet that does not make me forbear troubling him, for I writ to him this post on this affair and particularly about advancing the 5,000 *livres*, how easy it may be done and how necessary it should, and I press this with the greater assurance that I have received a letter from *Clanranald* telling me that a person proposed that evening to *Brigadier Campbell* to provide a good deal of *swords* and therefore wishes money may be sent. Enclosed is a note by *R. Gordon* to satisfy you how soon the 5,000 *livres* may be had, if orders are sent about it, a double of which I also send to *Dillon* and *W. Gordon*.

Last night I received a letter from *W. Gordon* telling me that *the King* had ordered *Mr. Fox* (? *W. Dicconson*) to remit me 500 *livres* and that he had writ to *R. Gordon* to pay it me. I was surprised, as no mention is made to what use it is to be applied. I thought it might be for *Brigadier Campbell*, but I am put by that thought seeing you desired he should apply to *Mr. Dillon*, and this comes by *the King's* immediate

orders. If it be for my use, I never asked for it under the present situation and never meant to put my master to any additional charge by what was done for me at Av[ignon], till his affairs could well admit of it, so I beg you to let me know how this is, for, notwithstanding several little journeys since *Tullibardine* came to these parts, and being obliged to come in sometimes here, and though my way of living is no less chargeable than it has been, yet 100 *livres* will pay all my debts. *Over 2 pages. Enclosed,*

MEMORANDUM by ROBERT GORDON.

Concerning the best method of remitting the 5,000 livres to Bayonne.

ROBERT GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 12.—Glendarule let me know your goodness to me in representing to the King my care about what I have charge of in his affairs, for which I return my most hearty thanks.

The ship I had of David George arrived here the 9th from St. Domingo, and would have made a great and a short voyage, if M. de Chateau Moran, Governor of St. Domingo, had not sent her to cruise against the pirates, which occasions a loss of at least eight or ten thousand *livres*, for he has not allowed a farthing for all the time she was abroad, and I must pay the 11 seamen that served and maintain the rest of the crew ashore, and also pay them their wages. She has been 10 months on the voyage which might have been done in 5 or 6 at most, and all the sails and running rigging are spent and the standing rigging and cables much damnified. It will take a great deal of money to fit her out, which I will do and send her back again, except the King have use for her otherwise, (particulars of her intended cargo) so that for the most part it will be as fit for Scotland as St. Domingo and will proceed there, if need be. I will use all discreet means to get reason of M. de Chateau Moran.

The DUKE OF MAR to the MARQUESS OF SEAFORTH.

1718, March 12.—My being with the King at Fano when your letter of 28 January came and being pretty throng of business ever since, will, I hope, excuse me for not answering sooner. His Majesty read both it and the enclosed papers, as he had before done the other paper, and I enclose a letter from him which I hope will fully convince you there was no ground for your thinking he was not satisfied with you. (Concerning the removal of Inese as in other letters.)

I can tell you nothing in particular in relation to the King's business, but in general it has now a better face than it has had for some time past. He is perfectly well and was much pleased with the operas and other entertainments at Fano.

I am told the Dowager Lady Seaforth and your lady are coming to visit you, and I suppose they will not leave your son behind. If so, I wish you joy of your meeting and beg you to make my compliments to them.

The reason of Sir John Mackenzie's being behind in his subsistence which you wrote to me about was want of money by the great arrear then of what the King used to get, and it was the same with several others of his people nor was it in the King's or Queen's power to help it, but I hope money is come in since and that these gentlemen are better paid now. 2 pages. *Copy.*

THE DUKE OF MAR to C. FORMAN.

1718, March 12. Urbino.—I have had very little spare time since I received yours of 12 February, so this is my first opportunity of acknowledging it. The King had your letters of 22 December and 12 February, and I have likewise seen Mr. Gordon's to Paterson in relation to you with the copies of the letters you mention enclosed. The King and I are both persuaded that these gentlemen who write from t'other side about you do you no more than justice in their letters, and his Majesty had never any bad opinion of you but quite otherwise, which I think you deserve very well at his hands.

You did very well in sending us an account of what passed betwixt Mr. Pulteney and you, in which your part was very honest and dutiful, and I desire you'll write me as often as anything occurs to you which you can judge to have any relation to the King's service. I wish indeed you had found him in a better disposition with regard to the King, but, whatever other people might have imagined, I expected no other of him at this time. I hope though that a little more time will open his and other people's eyes and that he may yet find the King's interest not so low or chimerical as he fancies, if he was in earnest in what he said to you. Did he but know the King, I am sure he would wish for his restoration. I should be very glad of his being our way upon his account particularly as well as ours, for I have always had a very good opinion of him as being both a man of honour and good sense. As for his speaking with respect of the King personally, which you say very well you were bound in justice to him to let us know, I doubt nothing of it, and believe him too much of a gentleman to do otherwise. *Draft.* 2 pages.

CAPT. ALEXANDER McDONALD to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 13. Paris.—Requesting him to use his interest with the King for his letter to the Maréchal de Villars to endeavour to get him made a captain remormed (? reformed) in Nugent's horse, as the fund on which he depended is now almost exhausted.

CAPT. ALEXANDER McDONALD to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, March 13. Paris.—Our friend William Gordon read me a letter of yours saying you [were] going, in order not to forget your friends, in a [bowl of] punch, though horrid liquor, not having the proper materials. I condole with you, but must be of opinion that some of us, that are where good liquor is to be had and the funds low, are more to be pitied. I desire you will present the enclosed to his Grace of Mar. *Torn.*

FATHER ARCHANGEL GRÆME to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 13.—The three packets I mentioned in my last of the 9th were delivered to *Capt. Ogilvie* the day following, last Thursday. *Capt. Ogilvie* writes this to me in a letter of the 10th received yesternight. As the man I entrusted with that commission has frequently occasions to go over, being employed to carry there what packets are sent here for the gentleman I named in my former letter (Abbé Dubois), whom I shall call henceforth Mr. Beagle, I fancy you cannot choose a readier or surer method of corresponding with your friends on t'other side than to make use of him, but, though I have put him once to the trial without orders, I should be sorry to do it again, for I am sensible that the prudentest measures in such affairs being liable to a thousand cross accidents, it was the height of imprudence to act as I did without having any commission. I am positively resolved never more to make any step of consequence either officiously without having your orders or presumptuously without asking your advice, so I hope you'll honour me with both as often as you think fit to employ me. One article in *Capt. Ogilvie's* letter surprises me very much and grieves me yet more, which is that you are angry with me for having done something contrary to my instructions. However, as he does not explain what you lay to my charge, I cannot vindicate myself till I know something more, and therefore beg you not to condemn me without hearing me, for, if I but know what I am accused of, I shall have no difficulty to make my innocence appear.

Capt. Ogilvie says he'll be with me as soon as possible, but fixes no time, which vexes me, because it will be impossible for me to keep people much longer in the dark anent his voyage, if he does not appear here soon.

The King of Sweden has recalled all his privateers and our friends with *England* are daily expectation of *the King's* arrival. *Capt. Ogilvie* told you, in his letter before he parted that Dil[lo]n had sent certain packets to *England* by the Jew's canal, but I have good grounds to believe the contrary. The Jew indeed boasted of having sent over two expresses, and would make the world believe it was with packets of consequence, whereas it was only to gain some little money by advising merchants to insure some ships

that were at that time cast away on this coast. I begin to think the Jew a very dangerous fellow, for, besides that he spreads about the town every word of news he gets from t'other side and tells a thousand lies to boot, I saw a letter he had from Lord Sunderland inviting him to go over to England and assuring him his fortune should be made, provided he performed what he had promised. I desired him to send that letter to his correspondent at Paris, but he sent it back to the writer, if any faith can be given to his words. Dil[lo]n ordered him to pay Fli[n]t 50 *livres* a month, but he so monopolizes on that poor devil and his wife that he not only pays them by crowns and half-crowns at a time, which can do them no good, but even refuses to pay them two guineas I gave him for their use. 4 pages.

RICHARD BUTLER to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, March 13.—My last of the 11th was written in so much haste that I believe you could make nothing of it, and that I might have mistaken *Sir H. Stirling's* meaning. That you may be as fully informed as we are, enclosed is a copy of his letter received the 11th.

By this day's post *Daniel O'Brien* received *John O'Brien's* of 23rd January, with three enclosed you mentioned in yours to me of the 28th. It is pretty unaccountable why that packet was delayed so long and the other of a fresher date received the 4th. I hope you received my answer of the 6th. *Ormonde* had no other letters this post, and consequently no further account of *Jerningham*. All he knows relating to him is that *Sir H. Paterson* gave him an account of his arrival at *Lübeck* and that he believed he would soon be with *Ormonde*. (Giving the dates at which *Ormonde* and the writer wrote to Dillon since 1 January.) Mr. Grant is very uneasy that he hears nothing from his family nor does he know how he stands in his master's favour.

L. INESE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Monday, March 14.—Last post brought me *Mar's* of the 18th with two for *Menzies*, a copy of one of his to the Squire (Hamilton), and a note of the *money* accounts. By what I have seen and heard from *England* I have no doubt *Mar* must have had such complaints from thence as have given him just occasion of writing with so much severity to *Menzies*, and indeed his putting off so long to give a clear account of the *money* in a great measure deserves that severity, but the question is whether he can bear it and whether by the sharp, though deserved, reflections, that *Mar* makes, not only on what relates to the *money* affair, but even on *Menzies'* whole conduct, he may not think himself entirely discredited and lost with *the King* and *Mar*, and in that case what a temptation must it be to a man who

may think he has no resource left but either to starve or play the knave, and, though I dare say and cannot doubt that *Menzies* would actually starve rather than betray his trust, yet I cannot think it advisable to put him or any man on the hard necessity of making that choice. *Mar* sees by what *the Bishop of Rochester* writes that he was afraid to push *Menzies*, finding himself in his hands and fearing what might happen if he were drove too far, and I find *the Bishop of Rochester* expressed his apprehensions much more plainly to some friends than what he writes in his letter to *Mar*. Though I am persuaded *the Bishop of Rochester* does not justice to *Menzies* in suspecting him to that degree, yet it is plain that *the Bishop of Rochester* (as much courage as he is said to have) would tremble, if he knew that *Menzies* were pushed so far as he would be by *Mar's* letter, and it is most probable that *the Bishop of Rochester* would know it, for, he having promised *Menzies* that no further enquiry should be made into that matter, *Menzies* would naturally complain to him of his breach of promise, suspecting him to have given occasion for *Mar's* letter.

On all these considerations I was much inclined to stop that letter, and was confirmed in my opinion, when I found *Queen Mary* and *Dillon* were both of my mind. But what determined me yet more was that on examination of the money account I found plainly that *Mar* supposes that *Menzies* had sent over only 2,856*l.* whereas he sent certainly 3,856*l.* which 1,000*l.* difference makes up *Menzies'* account. It was indeed no wonder that *Mar* should rely on *Dicconson's* written account more than on *Inese's* memory, and yet *Inese* was right when he said that *Menzies* had sent over 3,856*l.* and *Dicconson's* compt book agrees exactly with this as appears by the enclosed extract from it, and he agreed it was right and he was sure the written account *Mar* mentions is or ought to be conform to it, which being so, it appears that *Menzies* remitted the 1,000*l.* which *Mar's* letter charges him to be yet owing. This mistake confirmed me not to forward that letter, which I have no doubt *Mar* will approve of. *Mar's* other letter to *Menzies* shall be sent to-morrow's post, for, though *the Duke of Shrewsbury* be dead, *Portmore* may still be applied to. But, after what is past, I did not expect that *Mar* should so soon again put *Menzies* in the way of meddling in the money affair, for it will be very natural for those who advance money to put it or bills for it into the hands of those on whose solicitation they give it, since they will not think it safe for them to appear in that matter themselves and that was the occasion of the last money's being put into *Menzies'* hands without any order or even the knowledge of any on this side.

I am extremely pleased, as I hope everybody will be, with *the King's* choice of *James Murray* to succeed *Dillon* in that branch which relates to *England* and *Scotland*. As to the other

branch which relates to *the Regent*, it will be no easy matter to find a fit person, but, if Dillon had once got the extraordinary money for *the King*, which he is now soliciting, little or nothing more will be to be expected of *the Regent*, whilst he continues in his present situation. If, indeed, he should fall out with his friend *King George*, as some think he will and must, if this last breaks openly with *the King of Spain*, of which there is great appearance, in that case *the Regent* will be fond enough of any that *the King* should employ, and then *M. de Torcy* would be the fittest for many obvious reasons, but you will have that point fully discussed from *Dillon* as *the King* will from *Queen Mary*. *Enclosed*,

EXTRACT from MR. DICCONSON'S COMPT BOOK.

	livres.	sols.
Feb. 4, 1717.—For two bills remitted to M.		
Inese, one of 1,856 <i>l.</i> , the other of 1,000 <i>l.</i>	.. 42,692	10
For the value of 1,000 <i>l.</i> remitted also to M.		
Inese by bills on Mr. Gordon	.. 15,000	0

[J. MENZIES] to [L. INESE].

[1718,] Monday, March 3 [-14].—I now have yours of the 5th and find my letters had come safe. Whether it is the goodness or the indolence of our great men and of our Post Office, I shall not determine. But it is a cold fit or a treacherous calm, which is not to be too much relied on, nor do you and I deal in dangerous points, which is the reason I do not send you of the new ballads which swarm everywhere in great abundance again. One to the tune of Chevy Chase and on the christening is reckoned extraordinary humour and wit. There must be some very industrious enemies who underhand promote that engine against the Government.

The last newspapers enclosed will show you how little news we have, except the first article of the *St. James' Evening Post* of Saturday last, which is a thing that has been very much suspected and talked of of late. It is much said to-day that an express arrived last night from Lord Stair with a certainty of the same news from the Regent.

The bill for the Commissioners of forfeited estates was read a first time to-day in the House of Lords. People judge variously what will be its fate there, and it is impossible yet to prophesy either as to that, or whether some critical points may not yet be broached in the House, *Habeas Corpus*, Test Acts &c. But, if it be true they are to rise next Monday or Tuesday, there is not time nor any such design at present.

In ten days or so after the Parliament is up, his Majesty sets out for Hanover, *coute qui coute*. As to the son, there are various whispers, which I shall not at present mention, but the most public is his being to submit, and that Walpole, who effects it, is to be restored to the Treasury, where a bold

man is necessary, now that his Majesty has occasion to touch deeply, Stanhope to be Master of Horse and Townshend, Ireland. The two last would be kicking upstairs.

SIR H. STIRLING to the DUKE OF ORMONDE.

1718, March 3 [-14]. Petersburg.—I had a letter last post from *Dr. Erskine's secretary* at his desire, telling me “that *the Czar* is of opinion that *the Duke of Ormonde* should positively go to Sweden, since he is of opinion that *Jerningham* either has not taken the proper method to get the King of Sweden [to] enter into the King's measures or that the Swedish ministry wants to have the proposition come from one of greater weight and authority, since all the instances *the Czar* has made and which, I am assured, have been very pressing have had no effect with the King of Sweden to make him relish the project you know of, which *the Czar* has extremely at heart, or they would not at least discover their inclinations, lest perhaps *the Czar* might have claimed a share of this merit, which they want to have entirely to themselves. Whatever is in it, I do really think the reasons for *the King's* measures the strongest, and that the same arguments which determined the Swedish ministry to that side will still stand good.

“I wish you may soon have accounts from *Jerningham* which will probably give light into that matter and at the same time free *the Czar* from the uneasiness he now lies under on account of *the Duke of Ormonde* staying where he is now, for he had letters from England, which demand either that he will remove the Duke of Ormonde or that they will look on it as an open breach and that they would act accordingly, if *the Duke of Ormonde* were any longer protected, though the Czar has no further regard to this, than that he would willingly carry fair and give as little umbrage as is possible, till matters were fully prepared, yet he shows a more than ordinary uneasiness to have that gentleman gone, which must be attended with several inconveniencies, should it happen before there come some advices from *Jerningham*. What you desired to be informed of concerning the Princess will not now be necessary since the Czar says he cannot think any more of it, till he sees what appearances there are like to be of success or at least the event of the treaty of which there is no certainty nor no accounts.

“*The Czar* is likely to stay yet some time in Moscow, but there is no going there without passes under his hand and likewise from Prince Menschikoff and the senators nor can any one stir five miles from this place without passes of the same nature, lest any concerned in the plot against the Czar should make their escape, amongst which last Prince Dolgorouky, your acquaintance, is said to be one, since he was of the number of those who were sent to Moscow in irons.” 2½ pages. Copy. The words in italics are in cipher, but deciphered. Enclosed in Ormonde's letter of 24 March. Also another copy thereof.

W. GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 15. Paris.—Concerning the receipt and dispatch of letters, payments and other business.—The Master of Stormont is come to Rouen. I am this minute 5,200 *livres* in advance for Mr. Dicconson's account, which with a Lord Wharton, a Mr. Leslie and others not to be named are pretty hard for me to bear. 2 *pages*.

COLIN CAMPBELL OF GLENDARULE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 15. *Bordeaux*.—After concerting matters with *R. Gordon* as I wrote last post, I considered it might not be amiss to wait till Monday, a post day from *Bayonne*, in case any letters might come from *Brigadier Campbell* or *Clanranald* and so it happened, for I received one from *Clanranald*. I transmit an exact double of what he wrote relating to that notorious villain *Barry*. You'll see how happy it is that he has been incapacitated from doing further mischief. Poor *Brigadier Campbell* has been so out of humour at this strange story that it seems he could not get himself in a temper to write so soon.

I wrote you some time ago that *Gen. Gordon* was come to these parts to see his sister that lives very near this, but he soon found he could not be there so retired as he could wish, so he is now removed, but, before he went, several of those he left at *Toulouse* followed him down, so that most of our folk are hereabouts. Its most certain the *Elector of Hanover* wants not *spies* at *Bordeaux*, *Bayonne*, &c.; therefore, if you have not business soon with the *Highlanders* and others, you may consider whether it's not proper they should be at least 40 leagues from such places, except such as *Brigadier Campbell* and *Clanranald* that will be necessarily employed, for no doubt the *Elector of Hanover* will always have his *spies* at work, therefore it were to be wished that none of the *King's* traders or servants appeared till the markets required it, lest it should raise the prices of goods and give advantage to competing traders. Till your orders to *Tullibardine* come, we shall advise all to live as quietly as possible.

Postscript.—I am since told by *R. Gordon*, whom I desired to inquire after *Barry*, that some of *Barry's* countrymen here give out he is at *Madrid*. I shall enquire about him and will inform you of all I hear, but, be where he will, those letters from *Stanhope* and *Carpenter* denote him a rogue, and, if he be at *Madrid*, you are best judge how he should be treated. *Clanranald* wrote me some time ago that, when he absconded, he was judged a man in tolerable circumstances, but was soon found to be in debt much beyond the value of his effects, so it seems he has fallen on those extraordinary ways to make up his wants. I say nothing of this last story to *Mr. Dillon*, lest it should make him uneasy. *Enclosed*,

CLANRANAID to GLENDARULE.

Last week Mr. Machar (Meagher), that was suspected to be of Barry's complices and accordingly prosecuted, being cleared and set at liberty, came here. I am acquainted with him by means of Brigadier Campbell, to whom he declared first and to us both afterwards, that, while Barry was in the convent and he himself in prison, a packet of letters came to him addressed to Barry and sent him from Bayonne by his orders. Machar, imagining there might be something in it that might do himself a disfavour in his then situation, opened it, and amongst the rest found two letters written in June or July last to Barry, one by General Stanhope, the other by Carpenter, by which it appeared there had been a correspondence between them and Barry for some time. Stanhope's mentioned a swift sailing ship which Barry capitulated, or at least would capitulate for, in his proposals to Stanhope. What they were, or whether Barry of himself made the first advances to those gentlemen or they to him, the devil and they know best, but Barry stole out of the convent some time ago and embarked on an English ship for London, where I believe he may be by this, if the water has not rived the woodie. One Sullivan, that was here with Machar, saw him on board. He told him he hoped to be soon back and might have occasion for his service and that of others of his calling, i.e. seamen and ship-masters.

Machar says there was in that packet a letter from Mar and one from Tullibardine to Barry, and a copy of one from Brigadier Campbell. I do not mind if any from you were mentioned, but I think there was one from Dillon. However, it's very like he'll regale his friends in England at those gentlemen's expense, for he has brought the whole cargo with him. The King's nephew near that place is also in for cakes and ale, for there's a letter from him to Barry, but of an old date, concerning Barry's project of a portable or flying m[i]nt.

I would have sent you this account last post, if Brigadier Campbell had not then undertaken to give Mar an account of it, but something intervened that has hitherto hindered him, and he is not yet in any humour to write, which makes me delay no longer, it being fit to be imparted to Mar with expedition. 1718, March 12. Bayonne. Copy.

JAMES III to the DUKE OF LORRAINE.

1718, March 15.—Having written to you some time before receiving yours of 2 January, I did not wish to trouble you again so soon. My health is very good and my affairs have every day a better appearance, though there is always some obscurity

about them. I hope to be able in a very little time to inform you of my decision about a personal matter, and you will be assuredly among the first to know, what your friendship for me makes you desire so much. I take all the interest I ought in your journey to Paris, and rejoice with Madame in the pleasure she feels in seeing again her family and her country, and in enjoying there every thing great and agreeable they have. I wish with all my heart that the main object of that journey corresponds with appearances, and that you have every ground for being satisfied with it.

We, too, have not been wanting in amusements here. "J'ay vû un opera a Fano, qui surpasse de beaucoup celuy de Paris, des scenes magnifiques, des voix eclatantes, et un theatre superbe, mais qui sans compliment cede au votre a Nancy. Nous avons eu encore des comedies ici, et ce qu'on appelle ici gioci di forze, qui sont aussi surprenans que singuliers, et au bout de tout cela nous avons un printemps charmant, qui a succedé aux neiges. Et cependant tant de charmes ne m'enchantent pas, et je meurs d'envie d'en estre quitte. Vous voyés mon mauvais gout." *French. Copy in Nairne's hand.* 2½ pages.

JAMES III to CARDINAL DE NOAILLES.

1718, March 15.—"Pour ne pas rendre ma correspondence importune, j'ay differé de repondre a votre lettre de 24 Jan., jusqu'a aujourd'hui, que *Card. Gualterio* m'envoie celle du 21 Fév. On ne scauroit estre plus sensible que je le suis a l'amitié dont elles sont toutes deux remplies, et je n'ay pas attendu jusqu'a present a prendre toute la part possible a ce qui est arrivé a *le Duc de Noailles*. Le changement de situation ne le rendra pas, je suis sur, moins de mes amis; celle ou il est le rendant autant a portée de parler en ma faveur sur des affaires encore grandes, qu'il l'estoit auparavant. En attendant, vos bons offices en faveur d'*argent* ne scauroient que donner un nouveau poids aux sollicitations de *la Reine* qui ne neglige rien de son cote dans le besoin etonnant ou nous sommes a cet egard.

"Les petits disagreeemens que je puis avoir du coté de *le Pape* ne me touchent guere; habitué a ma destinée, mes chagrins ont des objets plus solides, mais qui ne m'abattent pas, Dieu mercy. La consolation d'avoir fait son devoir dans les essentiels et la resolution avec la grace de Dieu de continuer avec un abandon de soy meme a la Providence n'empeschent pas de certaines choses, mais rendent tout en quelque façon doux et aisé. Du reste, je n'ay rien de nouveau a vous mander de *le Roi* (*i.e.* James himself), mais vous pouvez conter d'estre des premiers informé de l'affaire personnelle dont la decision ne scauroit, je crois, beaucoup tarder."

(Concerning the removal of *Inese* as in other letters.)

My health has been very good since the little journey I made. I earnestly desire the assistance of your prayers and the continuance of your friendship and confidence. *Copy in Nairne's hand. 2½ pages.*

JAMES III to the WIFE OF THE CONSTABLE DE COLONNA.

1718, March 15.—A little remembrance like that of my picture certainly does not deserve the compliments in your letter of the 12th. These with your civilities to me in Rome will never depart from my memory. I beg you to embrace il Signor Contestabile on my behalf, without forgetting his amiable daughter or Don Hieronimo, my friend. *Italian. Copy in Nairne's hand.*

JAMES III to the COUNTESS OF NITHSDALE.

1718, March 16. Urbino.—My knowledge of your personal worth and the just sense I ever retain of your own, your father's and your husband's personal merits and sufferings makes me have the greatest regret in not being able to comply with what I take to be the intent of yours of 19 January.

The supposition you go on is not yet come to pass, though I hope it will ere long, but, when it does, the same rules I have laid to myself as to places &c. I shall observe. As to my wife, whenever I have one, the number of persons of quality and merit now banished on my account and the uncertainty of my abode and all that relates to me, which will continue as long as I am abroad, have made me long since abolish fixed waiting, and resolve to take no persons into my family, as what was most suitable to my circumstances and would be generally most agreeable by avoiding all apparent preference and partiality. 'Twas on this resolution I refused several persons of distinction the places about me they asked, as Earl Panmure and others, and you may be sure, if this had been a time for such things, your husband's merit had not been forgot. After this, if it be convenient for Earl Nithsdale's and your circumstances to live where my future wife and I may happen to be, you may be sure to be very welcome, and that I shall endeavour to make your stay as agreeable as I have endeavoured to make it to your husband, whose singular merit with me I can never forget no more than the particular care the late Duchess of Powis had of me when a child. *Two copies.*

The DUKE OF MAR to GENERAL BROWN.

1718, March 16. Urbino.—Recommending the bearer, Mr. O'Hara, a fellow-countryman of the General's, whose family have always been dutiful and zealous for the King, and who has himself suffered in the King's service, and who is desirous to get into some service to avoid being burdensome to the King.—There was lately with us a young gentleman

(Mr. O[glethor]p) who served last year as a volunteer in your regiment, who made your compliments to the King in the best manner and did you otherwise justice at his Majesty's hands. 1½ page. Copy.

M. STIERNHOCK to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 16. Vienna.—I am informed by a sure hand that Secretary Schaub is the bearer of points for a settlement of the affairs of Spain and Italy agreed on as *ultimata* between the Regent and the Elector of Hanover not only as mediators but as arbiters of that settlement which they claim to arrange as they think fit. I have not yet had certain advice of these points, but the following are spoken of:—That the Emperor renounces the Crown of Spain for himself and his descendants and obliges himself to guarantee the King of Spain's renunciation of the Crown of France and the succession of the Regent and his descendents to that Crown; that the succession of Tuscany and Parma be settled in favour of the eldest son of the King of Spain by his second marriage; that the Duke of Savoy cedes Sicily to the Emperor as having been always united to the kingdom of Naples in consideration of an equivalent in the Milanese, retaining for himself and his descendents the royal title; that the Emperor remains in possession *in statu quo* of Mantua and Comachio, till the differences about these places and the territory belonging to them be amicably settled, that the differences between the Emperor and the Pope both about the Pope's conduct to the King of Spain and the kingdom of Naples be amicably adjusted, and that as regards trade and naval armaments on the Adriatic his Imperial Majesty should confine himself within a just moderation. The said Secretary presses strongly for positive and final decision of the Emperor on these points, that he may convey it immediately to the Court of France and thence to that of London, these two Courts acting, as it is said, in accord with regard to the King of Spain and the Duke of Savoy. The issue of this great Spanish and Italian scene is apparently at hand in one way or another. It is certain that the greater part of the ministry and the peoples of the Emperor wish it may be by a speedy settlement. But this does not hinder it being still uncertain if the Emperor will take that decision. People here are not without apprehension that notwithstanding this negotiation and the Regent's demonstrations of friendship towards the Emperor, the former may have a secret understanding with the King of Spain, the Duke of Savoy and other Italian princes with a view of dislodging the Emperor from Italy and may throw off the mask when everything shall be in readiness for the execution of this project. But the Regent assures the Emperor strongly of the integrity of his intentions towards him, provided he reciprocates them, and seriously

and without delay decides on the settlement proposed to him. In case this agreement between the House of Austria and that of Bourbon, reigning both in France and Spain, is confirmed, it must be seen if it will not turn sooner or later to the prejudice of the Elector of Hanover, notwithstanding that Prince be the instrument of it, joined with the Regent, who draws him into it, tottering as he is on his throne, and avails himself of him to attain his object of making the Emperor renounce Spain and guarantee his pretensions to the crown of France. Should the Emperor do so, and the affairs of the North should take such a course that the friendship of the Elector should become useless to him, I do not see what could engage his Imperial Majesty to have a great regard for that Prince except the ties of marriage and blood between the Houses of Austria and Brunswick, ties which indeed cause favour enough here towards that Elector, but which may notwithstanding in course of time not prove very solid unless supported by interests. I say the same thing of the Regent, if after this settlement circumstances take such a course as to make that Elector's friendship no longer necessary for his personal interest.

(Argument from the Spanish partition treaty between Louis XIV and the Prince of Orange that sometimes in treaties there are secret views contrary to those that appear on the surface.)

Mr. Schaub gives himself great airs on his gracious reception by the Regent and the conversations between that Prince and himself on the affairs of Europe in general. I imagine to myself that the Regent will have been playing a comedy with that little Swiss baboon (*magot*) metamorphosed into an English minister, as I also imagine to myself he is doing with the Elector and his whole ministry. It is curious that the Court of London employs at that of Vienna two Swiss, namely Messrs. St. Saphorin and Schaub, as instruments for this great work, without Messrs. Stanian and Sutton, the ministers, who are English by birth, having any commission on this subject, and knowing no more of it than what these Swiss think proper to tell them. St. Saphorin has been long a great favourite and confidant of Bernstein and Bothmar and Schaub is his pupil. The latter was recommended by the former as secretary to Mr. Stanian when minister to Switzerland. Since Queen Anne's death, he came here in the same capacity with Mr. (Lord) Cobham, the English minister, and after his departure has remained here, partly alone and partly with Messrs. Stanian and St. Saphorin. At present his regular employment is that of one of the chief secretaries in the Foreign Office in London.

The departure of the Swedish and Russian plenipotentiaries for Abo for the peace conferences is confirmed from everywhere. The Swedish are said to be Baron Lillienstett, Minister of State, and Count Gyllenborg, formerly minister to London, and

the Russian, General Bruss, and Counsellor Osterman. It is added, though not for certain, that there may be no other congress between their Swedish and Czarish Majesties but that of Abo, and that peace is considered certain between them, though its formal conclusion and publication may be delayed a little. It is believed that the Czar has given way about Reval and that the guaranty by the King of Sweden of the succession of the son of the Czar by his second marriage, after the renunciation already made by the eldest son, is to be one of the articles of the peace. There is also advice that his Swedish Majesty was on the point of invading Norway with an army of 30,000 men. Count de la Mark has written this last news with others from Lund, 8 February, to M. Poussin, the French envoy to Hamburg, from which they have been communicated hither. I am not surprised at being still without letters from Sweden, a profound silence usually prevailing at my Court under similar circumstances. When Count Reventlow, Minister of State of Holstein, was here, he used to receive some sometimes from his friend, Baron Görtz, but that is another matter, as this Baron is one of the chief Swedish ministers and the Count is his great friend and relation. It is not yet known for certain if the other allies of the North will be included in the peace, and if so, who they will be, though up to the present King Augustus and the King of Prussia have been spoken of. But what is certain is that they are all eager for peace, and the Elector of Hanover, at least according to appearances, is as strong for it or even more so than any of them, after they see the Czar has made the beginning, and that the King of Sweden is at the head of 70,000 fighting men full of ardour to avenge themselves on those who shall be the last, and to make them pay for his losses.

I humbly repeat my entreaty that you will have the kindness to inform me if you have secret intelligence with any of the Swedish Court and, if so, with whom, in order that, if you have it with any minister, I may address myself confidentially to him on what concerns his Britannic Majesty. You are too intelligent not to perceive that I wish to have this information only for my security in such delicate circumstances and to be better able to serve his Majesty at my Court. I have remarked as well by the letters of Baron Sparre (whose niece I have already informed you a brother of mine in Sweden married) as by what he said to me in 1714, when passing through this place from the Court of Berlin to the congress of Baden, that he is well-affected to his Majesty, but I do not know the state of affairs at my court well enough to be able to judge if the Baron can at present make insinuations in favour of his Majesty, and without knowing this I should not wish to expose my friend to the opposite party. I know from other sources that on his return to Sweden from his

embassy to France he was very graciously received by the King and that he stands very well with him, though I do not know exactly, if and in what manner he takes part in public affairs and on what footing he is with those who are at the helm of those affairs, nor do I at present carry on a regular correspondence with him, and he begged me when embarking at Lübeck for Sweden not to write to him at all on public affairs of a delicate nature, as the letters might by accident fall into wrong hands. Towards the king I have acted as a man of good will for just causes, and one attentive to answer to the confidence placed in me. I have thus used the confidence Mr. Walkingshaw showed to me, and that with which your Excellency has honoured me.

Postscript.—March 19.—The enclosed pieces have just been communicated to me. Though they do not speak of the peace between the King of Sweden and the Czar and those of the allies of the latter, who it is believed will be included in it, namely King Augustus and the King of Prussia, as certain and close at hand, it appears from other sources that it will be made between their Swedish and Czarish Majesties, whatever may happen to the other allies of the North, and I am assured that both the French ambassador in Sweden and the Imperial Resident and the Prussian Envoy at Petersburg have sent word that they are of that opinion, and that, if the King and the Czar agree on another congress, besides that of Abo, it will be only to solemnize the conclusion of the peace and on the part of the Czar to try to have King Augustus and the King of Prussia included in it and to save appearances with regard to his two other allies, the King of Denmark and the Elector of Hanover. After M. Fabrice, the bearer of proposals for peace, set out for Sweden, M. Ducker, a Swedish general formerly Governor of Stralsund, a Danish prisoner, who had the King of Denmark's permission to reside at Hamburg, has just set out suddenly from that place with an English passport, which was given without the knowledge and against the wish of the said king, and, according to what is added, entrusted by the English Resident at Hamburg with proposals for peace later than those of which M. Fabrice is the bearer. This is a step which joined to the mission of M. Fabrice and that of M. Haldan, makes one see how much the Elector finds it his interest to try to thwart the peace between their Swedish and Czarish Majesties, and at the same time the little confidence the allies of the North can have in one another. I am as yet ignorant what these proposals may be, but I hope they come too late to hinder the peace between the King and the Czar to the exclusion of the Elector. I believe it right to inform you of the measures taken by that Prince with this object, and to say that, though they may make some impression on a party in the Swedish Court, yet it appears to me that the serious intention of the Elector is not to restore the Duchies of Bremen and Verden but rather

to gain time, in order to make the King of Sweden lose a favourable and precious opportunity of closing with the Czar, and that it will be very difficult to make the said Prince and his chief minister, Bernsdorf, give up their plan both of establishing by the conquest of the Duchy of Bremen direct communication between Germany and England and of aggrandising himself in Germany and of making himself head of the Protestants there while weakening the Crown of Sweden in that country, which would be the case, even if the Elector should cede Saxe Lauenburg, the Hanoverian district between Mecklenburg and Pomerania, as an equivalent for Bremen, a plan of exchange, which it is said Bernsdorf is intending to suggest to his Swedish Majesty, adding a plan of a union with regard to religion under the pretext of anticipating the consequences which may hereafter result to the prejudice of the Protestant religion from the perpetual establishment of the Catholic religion and of the throne of Poland in the House of Saxony, which is so closely connected by marriage and interests with that of Austria. I have, however, no certain information about these projects.

People continue to say that besides the three foot regiments intended as reinforcements for Naples, for which, it is added, the transports are at last arrived at Fiume and these regiments have sailed or are just sailing from that port (of whom scarcely 5,000 will arrive in that kingdom), the Emperor will soon send to Italy as many troops as he thinks will enable him to act on the defensive till he finds himself in a condition to take the offensive, or till he sees the course the affairs of Europe in general will take, that he may conform his proceedings there to the part to be taken about the affairs of Spain and Italy, whether it be that of war or peace. Considering the Emperor's temper, it is thought most likely he will take that of war, although that is not agreeable to the sentiments and views of the majority of his ministers and peoples, and it is believed that in that case General Guy Staremberg will be commander-in-chief. As he is the declared enemy of both Prince Eugene and the Duke of Savoy, his choice, if he is chosen, is taken as a sign of the Emperor's resolution to compel, sword in hand, that Prince to submit to him, after he has finished with the Turks. One of the Imperial Court, who is apparently worthy of credit, told me that the Elector of Hanover is meddling in that arrangement in a way which seems but little suitable to his engagements with the Regent, he having lately strongly recommended to the Emperor to endeavour to make that Duke his real friend, adding that he, the Elector, was of opinion that the Emperor's interest demanded it, and that the Duke was inclined to it, provided he found his advantage in it, on which the Emperor is said to have answered in a haughty tone that, when the Duke should first have given substantial proof of his inclination

to attach himself to him and should have restored what he does not legitimately possess, he would then restore him his friendship, but not sooner. The Duke of Lorraine is not neglecting this opportunity of renewing here his claim on Monferrat, which the Emperor maintains the Duke of Savoy has forfeited as well as the part of the Milanese ceded to him on account of his breaches of the treaty made with the Emperor Leopold, and of appealing to his Imperial Majesty upon the promises he has given him after the breaches by the Duke of Savoy of the treaty by which Monferrat was ceded to him, though it belonged by right to the Duke of Lorraine. Notwithstanding the attempts of those who endeavour to bring about an agreement between the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy, it appears to me they will find it very difficult to succeed, or at least it will be necessary first that the Emperor shall see himself more pressed and shall see before his eyes the storm with which he is threatened. It also appears to me with regard to the Emperor's affairs in general that, notwithstanding the timidity of a part of his ministry under present circumstances, he does not imagine them to be so dangerous as yet, that he may not for a time suspend his decision as to what line he will take. I know not if I am wrong in imagining that, notwithstanding the character the Elector is openly playing with the Regent, he may be playing a different one underhand with the Emperor, that is, he may be trying to keep up the Spanish ideas of the Emperor and to give him hopes of his support, sooner or later, for carrying them out on condition of the Emperor's favouring him in return in his great design of appropriating the Duchies of Bremen and Verden. But it is certain that to that design he finds and will find strong opposition in the Emperor's German ministry and that ministry, far from being inclined to favour him, would gladly see the King of Sweden in a position to oblige him as well as the King of Prussia to restore what both of them have usurped from him, provided that, when making peace with the Czar, he would be willing to make it with King Augustus also and to become the Emperor's good friend. As to the personal ideas of the Emperor as regards the Elector, I imagine they are almost the same as those about the King of Sweden, because it is evidently for his interest with regard to the North. However, I do not believe them the same with regard to the South, and I do not answer that with regard to this last his Imperial Majesty does not continue to imagine that sooner or later he may make use of the Elector, and that this object of temptation, if not soon withdrawn from him, may not at last prevail over the consideration of his interest with regard to the balance of power in the North and over justice.

Mr. Stanian left yesterday to take up his post as ambassador at the Ottoman Court. Mr. Palmer is named to succeed him here, but will not arrive for some months.

Mr. Sutton remains here till the opening of a peace congress between the Roman and the Ottoman Emperors, which depends on the decision of the Porte after Prince Eugene's letter to the Grand Vizier. Meanwhile it is certain that the campaign will be opened by the Imperialists by the main army's marching on Widdin and Nisch in order to fight a pitched battle, should an opportunity present itself, and, if the Imperialists win it, then to march into Macedonia and Albania, and on another side by a detachment to attack the only two strong places which the Turks still have near Hungary, namely, Wihatsch and Zwornik, in order to drive out of the Turks their stiffness since the last campaign and to force them to make peace on the Emperor's terms.

The Cardinal of Saxe Zeitz and Count Wackerbart are arrived here to join Count Lagnasco in pressing the Emperor about the decision to be taken about a marriage between the Electoral Prince of Saxony and an Archduchess. I have notwithstanding reason to believe the Emperor will delay his decision for some time, although the inclination towards that Prince appears to increase among a large party of the Court and that it is probable that he will have at last an Archduchess for his wife. Count Wackerbart has orders to offer the Emperor two foot regiments on the Imperial footing, namely, of 2,300 men each, to be employed in Italy, which it is believed the Emperor will accept.

The Imperial Court persists in asking troops from the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, but that Prince excuses himself since the vexatious decision the Emperor has given him in the affair of Rheinfels, though General Major Boinebourg at his departure from here after that decision had given reason to hope that his Highness would give some. It is, however, not yet certain that he will not give some. People continue to speak of Palatine troops to be employed in the Emperor's service in Italy as also those of the Bishop of Wurzburg. When the Emperor is able and willing to oblige the other Princes of the Empire, he will doubtless have troops in considerable numbers, unless a change of circumstances supervening in the North and in Germany of such a nature, that those Princes partly should believe themselves able to employ their troops elsewhere more to their convenience, and partly should find it necessary for their safety not to deprive themselves of them, should hinder it.

Second Postscript.—Your Excellency may form exact ideas enough of everything known to me about the present situation of the general affairs of Europe. I believe it no longer necessary to write to you except occasionally, leaving the regular correspondence to M. Busi. *French. 48 pages. Probably enclosed,*

The CZAR to PRINCE DOLGOROUKI, his Ambassador in Poland.

You are on receipt hereof to represent to the King and his ministers that, as by virtue of our alliance we have always communicated to him all that has passed and has been proposed to us on the part of our enemy, so we promise most faithfully to communicate in future to him every thing that shall come to our knowledge. We therefore order you to inform the King of Poland that Baron Görtz has written from Lund to our minister 29 Nov. last, that, when he arrived, he gave his master an account of our good will and inclination for peace and of his interviews at Loo with Prince Kourakin, our ambassador, that on these representations the King of Sweden had resolved to send ministers to Danzig, as soon as he knew that we accepted that city as the place of congress; which city the Kings of Poland and Prussia had proposed. Thereupon we caused the Baron to be informed that we could not enter on an open negotiation without being assured of his master's sincere intentions for peace by the settlement of the preliminaries, and the King of Sweden, to give proofs of his inclination and good will, having resolved to charge some of his ministers to have an interview in Finland or in the neighbourhood of that province with ours to settle these preliminaries and to give explanations about the reciprocal intentions of their masters, we have therefore granted a commission to James de Bruss, our general of artillery and chancellor, who was already intended to go to Finland to make preparations for the next campaign, to hear the proposals that should be made by the Swedish ministers without entering into any negotiation or treaty with them, but only to report to us in writing. We promise to communicate to the King of Poland all that he shall inform us of, and you are to declare on our part, that we shall never enter into any negotiation or treaty of peace without that king's participation and consent. However, if by the propositions of the Swedish Ministers we shall see a real desire and inclination of their master for peace and that he has determined to send his plenipotentiaries to the appointed place to treat there about a general peace, we shall also name ours for that purpose, and we are persuaded the King of Poland will send his, and, in case the Swedes should wish to go on formally with the general treaty in Finland with us and our allies, we shall inform the King of Poland thereof, not wishing to agree to any treaty with Sweden if his Polish Majesty is not included in it. 1718, Jan. 5[-16]. Moscow. Copy. French.

BARON DE GÖRTZ to the COMTE DE FLEMING.

Having reported to the King that, when I saw your Excellency on my journey, you informed me your master would accept

Danzig as one of the places proposed by his Swedish Majesty for a congress for a general peace, and that Baron d'Ilguen had told me as much on the King of Prussia's part, and having added that I had every reason to believe his Czarish Majesty would make no difficulty in agreeing to the said city, his Majesty answered that that method of the negotiation of peace would have no more hindrances and that he was ready on his part to send ministers to Danzig, as soon as the necessary arrangements were made for the security of the ministers on their journey and for that of the city itself. 1717, 29 Nov. Lund. Copy. French.

Reply of the COMTE DE FLEMING to the last.

I received yesterday yours of 29 Nov., but have not received those that should have preceded it, and have had no news of your Excellency save what General Major Baron de Besenval has given me.

I am delighted to find your Excellency continues in our old sentiments regarding the general peace, and still more at what you write on the part of his Swedish Majesty, and should have been able to answer at once on the part of my master, were he in the same situation as the King of Sweden, but you know he has allies, with whom he must communicate. I do not doubt you have informed the mediators of the dispositions of his Swedish Majesty. My master will neglect nothing that may contribute to advance so salutary a work as the general peace. 1718, Feb. 23. Dresden. Copy. French.

FANNY OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 17. From the country.—I received yours of 19 Feb. and one by the same post from my brother to tell us how favourably and graciously he has been received by our master. He never found himself so happy and so pleased in his life. I wish it does not turn his head with loyalty.

The neighbour (Sparre) has been very kindly received by his master. He is made general of all his foot and is to be plenipotentiary, which, I suppose, you'll not dislike. There's proposals of a peace, which is like to be concluded, if not entirely finished, between the Czar, Sweden, Poland and Prussia, by which England and Denmark will find themselves the dupe. The neighbour ran several risks before he arrived and, to finish all, both his children fell ill of smallpox. He is made up with Görtz.

As for the Doctor (Ilay) your orders shall be obeyed. He shall not be pressed : you misunderstood me entirely when you thought he had a mind to draw secrets from you. It was from ourselves I took the liberty to tell you, when you had something to employ him in, to send us word ; we would put him to the

test. It's true, I believe, he expected to hear from you all this while, but it was in case your affairs were in a condition to give a final stroke. It was owing to what was told him that he perhaps founded that opinion. Some people have made it their study to betray their master. Though he's shy of promising, he's capable of no villainy, and is not of that number. The *Gazettes* will show you how he acts. He could easily have kept well with *King George*, had he had a mind, and is still in their power to do it. You say much more ought to be expected from him before he's trusted. You know no occasions have happened. If your friends entirely disapprove of his being amongst you, it's easy leaving him there. When you think him of use to you, you'll send us word. I wish he may be in the same humour he's in now.

There has been a promotion of Lieut.-Generals and *Maréchals du Camp*. M. de Belle-isle, the son, is one. They say there will not be one of *Maréchals de France*, which all the ancient Lieut.-Generals are sorry for. *Two pages.*

SIR H. PATERSON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 17.—I wrote to you 10 and 22 of last month, acknowledging the receipt of two of yours. I sent these two by the same route. That through Ger[man]y is certainly by much the nearest, if it's a sure direction. You have had, I hope, a full account from *Jerningham* of what he has done where he was. That affair seems now entirely to depend on the bargain betwixt the *Czar* and the *King of Sweden*. *Jerningham* arrived here last night and is to be to-night with *Prince Kurakin* and some others at *the Hague*, so by next post you shall have an account on what foot things are like to go. The enclosed being this morning sent me from *London* I would not delay forwarding it by this post. It is expected the Parliament will be up this week, and I suppose the Court will endeavour to get rid of them as soon as they can. The Mutiny Bill has passed the House of Lords though with a good deal of opposition, there being 81 to 77 on the main question, which is but a small majority. Those that opposed the bill have entered a protest, they say in very high terms. I hope to send it you in my next. There has not been such a hot debate nor such freedom of speech in that House this great while, and the Court did not pretend to answer the arguments of the opposition. They only said that it was the necessities of the government that required it, and called for the question. We are told letters are all now opened at the posthouse, and they are everywhere on the catch to see what handle they can find, for indeed they very much want something of that kind at present. We make no great haste here with our fleet, though very much pressed to it by the E[nglish] minister, and it's still believed by many that no ships will go out from these parts at present. The English fleet are getting ready, but they say are designed chiefly

for the Mediterranean, and only a few to be sent to the Baltic.
1½ page.

The DUKE OF MAR to SIR H. PATERSON.

1718, March 17.—Since I wrote to you the 5th and 6th by way of Germany and the 11th by way of France, I have very little to say further than the enclosed will tell you. After perusal, seal and deliver it.

We are longing much to hear from *Ormonde*. The last news I had from *Vienna* of the *Czar* and the *King of Sweden* was very good, but I long for the certainty of those and other matters from *Ormonde*. Your friend the *King* is very well and desires me to make his compliments to you and other friends with you.
Copy.

The DUKE OF MAR to STEWART OF INNERNY.

1718, March 17.—Last night Sir Peter arrived and gave me yours with the roll of drafts. I owe you a great many thanks for all your trouble about this commission. I do not doubt of your having taken the best information you could get about the architect, and to speak of his performances there must be a free Parliament and liberty of speech. I never was so disappointed in any thing of the kind. With a good deal of pain and not without muttering some curses I brought myself to look over the drafts and examine them for an hour attentively. All I can say of them is that he has made a goose pie of my plan and on it raised a modern Gothick superstructure of an order of his own, impracticable in a great many things and drawn without care or exactness. He has lost the spirit of the whole thing, and it cannot but make one regret the degeneracy of the present Romans from the old in their architecture, as well as in other things, though they have so many living monuments still in being to copy after, but they will be originals forsooth, and leave the example, which 'tis impossible to better, and all its noble simplicity for trifling gimerack insignificant ornaments, worthy of nobody but Vanbruge, and, when a bungler of a Scotch architect, who has in a manner seen nor read nothing in that way, finds it so, what must one of a right taste do? I beg you to let me know the fellow's name, that I may put a mark on him, to be avoided by all our acquaintances. It looks as if he were conscious of his own insufficiency by his not putting his name on the drafts. It is likely they have been done by some of his scholars, but, had he a good manner, so would they. I have been told formerly of one at Rome, who endeavours to pass for a great architect and has not been without his admirers, who affects all singularities and making things the reverse of all that went before him. I have a strong fancy this blade is he. It is no wonder that Italian said to you that any body was more capable to do the elevations than he who had them, but I will have done with scolding at this scrub great architect and come next to what you have

paid him, which I really think too small, considering how many drawings there are, and bad designs take as much trouble and time as good. You will hardly though, after what I have said, give him any more. I shall repay you at meeting, or, if you want it sooner, you may give a bill on the man Sir William E[llis] deals with there on me. You must not take any share to yourself in what I said of the architect, you could do nothing but by the information you had, and, since he was employed by the College of Cardinals &c., it was reasonable for you to have a good opinion of him.

I thought to have been with you at Rome before this, but some business we are expecting still detains me here, and 'tis likely it will do so till the end of this month or the beginning of next, when I intend certainly to see Rome. Should better business happen in the meantime to call *Mar* elsewhere, I believe both he and you would dispense with your seeing him then, but I fear that will scarce be so soon, and it would be a grating thing to be so long near Rome and not to see it.

Pray tell Lord Southesk that ere long he will hear of a convincing proof of those people he used not to like having much meddling, having less than ever, and next to none at all, which is all I can say of it now, and this only to yourselves. It is not the worse either that they have brought this on themselves.

Sir Peter is to leave this in a few days and Mr. Sheldon goes with him to look after some of his affairs in France on the death of Flanagan, his correspondent or money man; and Lord Edward goes soon after. Nobody knows yet of my going to Rome nor do I intend they should till I be just going.

We were very well entertained at Fano, where the operas were excellent, and our master is become a great liker of the Italian music. There were three very good voices there, and two more not bad. One of the first is now here with us and another is to come soon, and we have got a good deal of music wrote out. There's to be a toping opera at Bologna in May, where I believe the King may go, if better business do not happen sooner.

I had finished my elevations of the house I wrote you of much like or almost the same with this, before I had your drafts. You shall see them when we meet and I venture to say they can bide the test, having the *Maison Carrée* for my pattern. $4\frac{1}{2}$ pages. Copy.

J. MENZIES to L. INESE.

1718, Thursday, March 6[–17].—Five Dutch mails are due tomorrow so we have but scraps of your Paris news. Your *Gazette* has never anything new, and your written letter is precarious at best and is often also altered here.

I send you this night's *Evening Post*, because of a remarkable story in it of the trial of Shepherd. The relation is so near the truth that I need make no alteration. He is but 17, which is very young to be fond of martyrdom in this corrupted country.

The Court carries everything in Parliament. This day they have passed the bill in the House of Peers by 7 majority and as it came from the Commons in relation to the Commissioners for forfeited estates &c. Sir David Dalrymple rails now at the Union he was so sanguine for, and says that the Lords of Session may now shut up their doors. They were on it from 1 to 9, warm debates and high words. But words are but wind, and the various circumstances are not worthy of your knowledge.

Of the Commons most of the Tories are gone out of town and even some of the Whigs. As to the Prince's submission and the changes to be we have abundance of reports but no certainty yet.

Most people talk of the Parliament's rising next week, but there are several of another opinion and that there are new fish to fry.

Sixteen men-of-war that were ready are to go immediately to the Baltic. We rely on the Regent's word, to be as vigorous as we to bring the King of Spain to reason.

JAMES MURRAY to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, March 6[-17]. London.—I had yours of the 9th. N.S. and am in some measure pleased that *the Jacobites* have so long delayed *their* coming to town, whatever may be *their* reasons, because the agreement, which I suppose may be a part of *their* business, is already universally known. Whether *King George* has received the same accounts or in what manner it comes to be so, I will not take on me to determine. *The King's* projects for carrying on the trade gain at this time the approbation of a greater number of new people than at any time I ever remember. This proceeds from many different causes, one of which is that *the Prince of Wales*, who opposed him, is now utterly despised by almost everybody.

It is the universal opinion that his Majesty will go for Hanover as soon as the Parliament is up, but whither the Prince will submit so far as to go along with him is still a question. It is talked that Lord Sunderland is to be at the head of the Treasury, and Lord Stanhope to return to the Secretary's office in order to accompany the King to Germany and to wait on him during his stay there.

Pray let *Mar* know that the two gentlemen I formerly mentioned to him are now very near ripe for his project, if they could see their way through it. They have entirely detached themselves from the last company they were engaged in, and are in everything proposed to *the Parliament* by *the King's* friends strongly and entirely with them. The eldest goes soon to his estate in the North, and one can hardly believe that a man of his temper goes there for nothing. I have told by such hands as I can't well tell either how to believe or disbelieve that *the King* is by this time at his old habitation in the country. This report too, whether true or false, has got into too many hands. 1½ page.

LORD ORRERY to JAMES III.

1718, March 6[-17].—Upon the same subjects as are discussed more at length in his following letter to Mar.

LORD ORRERY to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 6[-17].—I have yours of 11 Feb. with one enclosed from *the King*, whose affairs since my last letter, as far as I can judge, are at least in as good a posture as they were. “*King George* continues to do him great service by his vile ways of acting and *the Prince of Wales*, if I am not much mistaken, by some late steps he has taken has ruined his credit to that degree that the merchants here care as little to have any dealings with him as with *King George* himself. The hopes you express of getting two substantial merchants to join with you may probably by this time be turned into a certainty, and, if right measures are taken, they two alone may be able to carry on the trade successfully, but it were to be wished that *the Regent* could be brought into it. That would make everything sure, and I should think all sorts of methods should be used to prevail upon him. He may perhaps have some diffidence of that good inclination towards the trade that is reported to be pretty general here, or rather I think he must have some scruple upon that account, for, however his domestic affairs may be yet unsettled, if he did not doubt whether the merchants in general were so well-disposed as is pretended, he could not hesitate one moment whether he should vigorously assist them, his own interest would be visible in it and he could not but see that no other project could in probability so easily and so certainly establish him and put him almost beyond a possibility of ever failing in any other project he shall ever form hereafter. To open his eyes in this matter, could it not be contrived that some merchant from hence might go to him and lay before him the condition of affairs here? if that were resolved upon it must be done with great caution, it must be a merchant of good reputation and great knowledge in the present circumstances of business here, one that *the Regent* can have a confidence in as well as one that can have some confidence in *the Regent*, for it will not only be troublesome but may be hazardous to the person that undertakes it, I mention this only as what were to be wished. I have but little hopes that a person willing and qualified for such an enterprise can easily be found, besides it might draw the affair into great length, which in my opinion is with the utmost care to be avoided, for there is so much corruption here amongst the merchants of all kinds, that it is to be apprehended, if there is not a near prospect of *the King's* success, several may soon be induced for profit to fall in with *King George*, who are not at present well inclined to him. I am sensible it is not in *the King's* power to push his business as fast perhaps as he himself must think it necessary, but I hint this, that there may at least

be no remissness in forwarding it as much as possible, and I cannot but believe that it would be right to try to open the trade with the assistance of those two substantial merchants you mention, even though *the Regent* could not be brought into the scheme of doing it. Measures well concerted here would, I am persuaded, carry the point, if a little French wine (troops) could once be safely set on shore here, though I do agree that to make the matter sure the more of that commodity can be landed here the better. There cannot be too much said nor done, indeed, to give satisfaction about *the King's religion*. That is an engine that his enemies make great use of against him and that his friends too have some uneasiness about. His alliance with *the Czar's* family, which we hope here is near concluded, may be an argument on his behalf upon this head. I wonder, if it be so forward, that neither you nor *the King* mention one word of it to me.

"You may depend, I think upon the good disposition of *the Duke of Argyle* and his friend. The last has of late spoken to me with more frankness than ever upon the subject and thinks that he has more than ordinary reason to detach himself from *King George* and *the Prince of Wales*, but I find he is concerned lest more assistance should be expected from him than is really consistent with his own security, or indeed necessary for the promoting the trade. I believe this uneasiness proceeds from a style of talking used to him by *James Murray*, but I am glad you have already taken care in this affair, for certainly it is of consequence that people should not think too much would be expected from them, and I could wish that I might have authority from *the King* to say to *the Duke of Argyle* and his friend particularly (and indeed to any other person where I should think it proper), that they might choose to promote the trade in their own way, and that *the King* would expect nothing from them against their inclinations or interest, and that they might be assured of a grateful acknowledgement from him of all their services in whatever way they should choose to serve him. I should be glad to receive some commission of that kind soon, as I should to be acquainted with more particulars concerning the trade than are either in *the King's* letter or yours, because nothing will induce people more to come into it than to see a probability of its success and nothing can show that but the particulars of the scheme and the manner of carrying it on. I wish too you would let me know what you mean by saying that *the Duke of Argyle* and his friend have it in their power to do more good than they are aware of. *The Parliament* will now in a few days be dismissed. It has done a great many vile things which will disgust many and probably be for the service of the trade. I am much concerned that *the King* and you reside at such a distance; it occasions such a slowness of correspondence as is of infinite disadvantage. I know you will remedy it as soon as you can and therefore I need say no more upon it." 4 pages.

JAMES III to the GOVERNOR OF FANO.

1718, March 17. Urbino.—Thanking him for his letter with the airs of the operas of Milan, and availing himself of the opportunity to thank him also for all the marks of his zeal and affection towards him during his short stay in his government, and asking to express his sentiments to the Gonfalonier and all the rest of the noblesse of Fano for their behaviour to him. *French. Entry Book 1, p. 232.*

JAMES III to POPE CLEMENT XI.

1718, March 17. Urbino.—Nominating to the vacant see of Elphin Carbery O'Kelly, D.D., Dean and formerly Vicar-General of Elphin, who is strongly recommended by the whole chapter and by the gentry of the diocese and also by the Archbishops of Tuam and Cashel. *Latin. Ibid. p. 233.*

JAMES III to CARDINAL IMPERIALI.

1718, March 17. Urbino.—Enclosing the above letter of nomination and requesting him to support it. *French. Ibid.*

COL. J. PARKER to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 18. Montargis.—Since your letter which I acknowledged as also one from Card. Gualterio very gracious but nothing to the purpose, you may believe me I was not born to beg. Possibly, when my case is publicly known, the merciless usurper may have that passive compassion to let me breathe in my native air. If he destroys me, I shall have less reason to complain than of the merciless country I am in that, after the services we have rendered them, allow us to starve and refuse us protection. I saw our circumstance ever since they sent us to Ireland to blow our fingers. I was twice wounded in their service at Maestricht and at Philipsburg. At Maestricht I was taken prisoner but by the Duke of Monmouth's interest released, in whose regiment I was captain. Had not the late King, my master, projected me for his service in England, I had been as well posted in France as either Gen. Dorrington or Sheldon, who was a cornet in Sir Henry Jones' regiment when I was a captain. I was early sacrificed to our present master in his minority by him who steered his interest as well as he did his father's, when he deserted him at Salisbury, because he would not obey his orders to furnish Portsmouth &c. with all necessaries alleging it was too late. I had this from the late king's own mouth. Oppression will make any man complain, but after two years suffering misery forced for bread to sell the necessaries I had, though the conjuncture was rude, I am sure her Majesty would never have thought to have put me on the footman's pension, had not my enemy done me this favour, and the many sharp provocations he has procured me since the late King's death have never furnished him with any thing to charge me with.

My last suit was, till my pension should be paid, to be protected from my debts.—Refused. Without some succour I must perish and perhaps in a gaol or quit the country. Since the June before the King parted for Scotland, when by Sir T. Higgons what my friends proposed was laid before his Majesty being rebutted, I made the answer that was given me.

By a late letter I have an account of the Northern late alliances against George. He further tells me that the difference between the father and supposed son is irreconcilable and both make parties and divide the Whigs, but that there are great endeavours to unite for a commonwealth, that the war with Spain will be a subject for enquiry into the secret negotiations with the Emperor, on which handle the Parliament will find George has broke faith with them and the conditions on which he usurped the crown. He adds that without a foreign force the King's friends will never unite or venture, which in England they doubt not will be brought to pass, that the commonwealth party will suffer no raising of troops on any pretext whatever. A house thus divided cannot long subsist. 3 pages.

T. OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 19.—Lord Southesk sets out for Naples tomorrow having a passport and letters of recommendation to the Vice-King. I hope to go there next week with my brother. (Recommending a Frenchman, Monsr. Defeau, who is at present the Pope's surgeon but designs to leave.) There is great talk here of the Spanish fleet, but nothing positive.

FANNY OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 19.—We have to-day received a letter—but, as he speaks only of his own affairs, it's needless to send it. It's not wonderful he has not sent the little book (cipher) he spoke of, since his time and thoughts have been entirely taken up with a very sensible trouble. His wife has made her escape from his mother and is arrived at London and has sworn the peace against him and her. He has been forced to give in 18,000*l.* bail to commit no violence against her. She is pursuing him in Doctors' Commons for a separate maintenance. All his enemies assist her. You may imagine how thoroughly he's vexed to be linked to such a woman and so used, but why did he take her, or why did he not keep her with him? It is a pitiful revenge in his enemies to increase their division. The same post tells us that *Bolingbroke* and *Berwick* is making up with *the King*. The Wh[ig]s endeavour to spread the story. The *Prince of Wales* has sold the Duke of Beaufort's house and bought the poor Duke of Ormonde's at Richmond of Lord Grantham. They talk of the Parliament's being up and George's going to Hanover immediately after.

The divisions between the father and son are more increased than ever. I hope you are entirely recovered. Methinks bad wine has a worse effect on you than bad water. We go next week to Paris.

The DUKE OF MAR to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, March 19.—The day after my writing to you by Freebairn I had yours of 21 Feb., and to-day I have yours of 28 Feb., but what was enclosed are not yet all deciphered, therefore this is only to acknowledge it.

(Rectifying a mistake of Dillon's about a paragraph in Mar's of 5 Feb. where he had thought Elmore *i.e.* the Emperor was written and not Aylmer *i.e.* Argyle.) *Copy.*

The DUKE OF MAR to OGILVIE OF BOYNE

1718, March 19.—Apologizing for his delay in answering his letter of 4 Jan., thanking him for his New Year's good wishes and condoling with him on the loss of his son and his lady, on which the King also sends his condolence.

You certainly had a very honest meaning in giving me an account of that idle story about Mr. Arbuthnot. His character is better established and of an older date than to be called in question on any such trifling story. *Copy.*

The DUKE OF MAR to FOTHERINGHAM OF POWRIE.

1718, March 19.—Concerning his letter of 15 Feb. enclosing one from Albarr (Auldbar, *i.e.* Young of Auldbar), to whom had been ordered 60 *livres* a month, which is what is given to other gentlemen of his rank.

If those who have pensions be not punctually paid, it is occasioned only by the want of money, what the King and Queen used to get, having been for some time very ill-paid and a great arrear of it owing.

I am sorry of your account of your own affair and do not at all doubt the people you mention doing all they can to stop anything that can make any of the King's people easy. We see in the news one of your name taken up in London. I hope it is not my friend David. *Two pages. Copy.*

T. BRUCE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 19. [Received at Urbino.] Brussels.—Yours of 15 Jan. was very welcome. It relieved us of our fears on a second report of *the King's* illness and likewise of some of your being indisposed. As to the former report of *the King's* illness, we had been undeceived long ago, and, observing that our accounts of it were very positive and after all without the least foundation, I had some jealousy that it was spread industriously. I judged that *King George's* friends, imagining that *the King's* credit might be in some measure a midcoupling in a bargain betwixt *the Czar* and *the King of Sweden*, thought this might make a seasonable demur in that affair at a critical juncture, for

which reason I wrote to *Sir H. Paterson* to signify the truth to *the Czar's* and *the King of Sweden's* factors, which he accordingly did, and they made the proper use of it, in acquainting their friends. As to Charles [Kinnaird] he bid me not write to him till he should send me a direction, but I have never heard from or of him but that he is in Scotland.

The use of the paper you left with *Mr. Inese* I believe is over, because I suppose the merchants for whom it was calculated have taken their plies. By what Col. Gi[bs]on told me of those two gentlemen in *the Emperor's* family and also of *Walkingshaw* I judged they opened themselves pretty much to him. His character is none of the most firm, but his uncle and he are not on speaking terms.

Mr. Ca[mpio]n has been at Charleville for six weeks. He goes for Paris in ten days. I have given him your compliments. What *Mar* has said to *the King* touching *T. Bruce* himself is amongst the many obligations he can never forget.

Mr. Falconbridge will be taken up about his affairs hereabouts for some time but, if any extraordinary occasion offers, he will be ready to make a visit to his friend, from whom he had a letter, telling him he will in a short time come up on purpose to make him a visit.

I suppose you have news from better hands. The unfortunate divisions at our Court still increase and it seems too plain that the accident touching the Duke of Newcastle was not the cause of a new quarrel but only a symptom of an old one, and the demands of reparation being so vastly beyond the proportion of the fault or rather entirely foreign to the nature of the injury, the last excepted, it is to be feared there is no disposition to have it made up. We are now told that the 12 judges, except Pryce and Eyres, have given their opinion that the King has by law a right to take the grandchildren into his care, as also that the King sent to the Prince, desiring he would waive his claim to the Regency in case himself was obliged to go abroad, which being rejected, the opinion of the same judges was asked, but all gave it that by the law and custom of England the heir apparent, if of age, must be Regent. These seem to be very odd steps and, if you join this last proposition to the four I last wrote of, one would think that by the first two demands the King looks on the Prince as an innocent not able to govern his own family, by the third that he must make himself infamous by betraying his friends and by this last that he designs either to be a Jacobite or an Usurper.

It seems now uncertain if the King goes this year to Hanover. He is chosen Governor of the South Sea Company. Some limitations or other legal impediments lay in the way and therefore a bill is brought in to qualify him. The Prince was put in the list with his father, but, so soon as he was informed of it, he excused himself to the company. The Duke of Shrewsbury is dead.

The Emperor has actually got 130,000*l.* in name of arrears owing in England, but as to the other matters of executing the Defensive Alliance of May, 1716, it is believed the Parliament will make difficulty in it. They talk of a squadron for the Baltic under the command of Sir G. Byng, and another to the Mediterranean under Sir John Jennings, and for that purpose to propose an augmentation to the 10,000 seamen already appointed, but nothing of that kind has yet been offered to the Parliament, though the King was in the House the other day, where he passed some bills without making any speech.

I believe you will find some difficulty from the public prints to make an uniform conjecture touching the resolutions of the Dutch on their naval equipments. The resolution is taken but first some of the deputies still stand out against it, and the Amsterdammers talk of making up the quotas, and in the next place the intention of this equipment as well as the number of ships and time of sailing is somewhat in the dark. Generally speaking they give out that it is to protect their commerce in the Baltic, and, if so, it's much to be feared that our friends, the Danes, may be as much if not more straitened by that squadron as our enemies, the Swedes, especially considering that of late the Swedes have offered a free trade in the Baltic to all neutrals, provided the Danes do the same, and there have been some conferences on that head of late betwixt the Pensionary and the Swedish and Danish ministers. We are told also that Mr. Chateaufort has asked the States whether they are to employ that squadron against the Swedes, and they avoided giving a positive answer, till they should have their Resident, Rumph, re-admitted to the Court of Sweden, an obstacle which can be easily taken off. This seems to agree with what I wrote before to you 30 Dec. and 4 Jan. The former post we had the Czar sick and dead, but the last shows there was no sort of ground for it, and says this report appears to have been spread on purpose to disorder some negotiations the Czar had on foot. This paragraph is in the *Amsterdam Gazette* and they write from Holland that Prince Kurakin, who was then at Amsterdam, caused it to be so inserted. 3 pages.

CHARLES FORBES to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 20. Paris.—I delayed answering your letter till I should get the return of a letter to Scotland which is not yet come. I render you my humble thanks for my commission. I only spoke to Mr. Innes as a friend anent my subsistence, before I had your letter, and never spoke to any before or since. My law process has cost me a great deal of trouble and charges and is not yet ended. As soon as it is, I shall acquaint you and be ready to reimburse what I owe. I desired Maurice Murray to write to his brother about the horse.

All those who daily come from England agree that the nation was never more ready to favour any design for the

King than now and several here complain of your Grace's staying in Italy, when you could be of more use here. Others say they will suspend saying anything till May pass and then they'll speak freely. But I find at bottom few of them are your real friends, not Dillon himself. Lord Panmure and Dr. Blair came here last night.

Postscript.—As I was closing this, Barrowfield came in and desired me plainly to tell you that Gen. Dillon never could be got at home and will plainly by his negligence and want of sense lose the King's interest.

C. FORMAN MACMAHON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 20. Versailles. About the middle of last month I acquainted the King and your Grace with my visit to Mr. Pulteney. I now beg to trouble you on my own account. My circumstances through the unfair usage I met with from some people with whom I trusted part of the little fortune I had left do not permit me to remain any longer with my family, so I am under an absolute necessity of separating from them to endeavour to get a subsistence in some foreign service, while I leave the pension their Majesties allow me towards the support of my wife and two daughters in some convent. I must leave my three sons to the courtesy of some relations in Ireland. I entreat your favour and assistance and that you will move his Majesty to confirm the pension of 45 *livres* a month to my wife in my absence. My thoughts are at present turned towards Spain, which, I believe, is likely to afford the greatest scene of action. Could I dare ask his Majesty's recommendation to that Court, the Queen, I believe, would make no difficulty to second it by a letter to the Queen of Spain. If recommendations cannot be granted, the continuing the pension to those I leave behind will be a very great favour and relief to them.
4 pages.

MONSIGNOR ERCOLE MARLIANI to [DAVID NAIRNE].

1718, March 20. Fano.—Desiring that the King would recommend him to Cardinal d'Adda and Cardinal Gualterio for the governorship of Ancona. *Italian*.

The DUKE OF ORMONDE to [LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON].

1718, March 20.—I received yours of 4 Feb. last post. Ormonde is very glad that *Queen Mary* approves of what he has done concerning *Sir H. Stirling* and hopes it will have the desired effect. Ormonde received a letter from *Sir H. Stirling* of 10 Feb., of which I sent a copy to *Dillon* in mine of the 27th. This is all I have heard concerning *Dr. Erskine*. I wish *Sir H. Stirling* may give a satisfactory account of the young gentleman (*i.e.* the Czar's daughter).

I expect *Jerningham's* comrade every day. I believe before this that *Jerningham* is with *Queen Mary* or that he has informed her of his arrival at Lübeck with an account of what

he has done in settling the trade. *Ormonde* knows nothing of his transactions, nor should he, till he saw *Jerningham's* companion.

I have received a letter from *the King* enclosed in *Dillon's*. The subject is indeed new to *Ormonde*. What *Dillon* answered for *Ormonde* was very right and I am sure that *the Bishop of Rochester* and *Lord Arran* have had not the least thought of what seems to be suspected. I am sure *the Bishop* will clear this matter and the messenger that is thought to be in fault.

JAMES III to the DUKE OF ORMONDE.

1718, March 20.—“My last letters from Paris brought me an account of *Jerningham's* negotiation, which I think he has performed extremely well on his side. I own I am not much surprised with the success he has met with, and, to judge impartially on the matter, I must needs say I think the *King of Suedland* has acted the only prudent part for him, considering his present circumstances, and one cannot call it an unkind part towards me, since it is manifest he can never effectually help me without being previously made up with the *Czar* and his frank and open way of proceeding with me does sufficiently show that it is the power and not the will that he wants to befriend me. But enough on this, since *Jerningham* will have been with you before this and have informed you of all. The point now is to compass the so much desired union and for that end I think nothing ought to be neglected, and I so much approve what the *Queen* acquaints me she was to write to you in relation to money that I send you here enclosed a letter for *Dr. Erskine* to re-inforce yet more the powers you already have and which makes it useless for me to condescend upon any particular sum, since that must be determined by you according as you find convenient or necessary. I am sure you will neglect nothing on your side to bring about this happy union and I cannot think of any thing that ought to be refused or ought not to be promised for to bring it about. I hope in God there will be no question of money for the present. *Cardinal Albani* gives still some hopes of getting some from the *Pope*, but I own sincerely to you, I despair of it myself. From *Spain* I have had the following answer ‘*Nondum advenit plenitudo temporis*, a little time more and it will be seen that proper measures will be taken to serve him.’ This is, you see, a little upon the oracle style, though it cannot be taken in a bad sense, and authorizes me to continue to use my most pressing solicitations on that side.

“The person I sent a wife-hunting into Germany is not yet returned, though I expect him daily, and with more impatience a return from you about *the Czar's* daughter, since I find by *Dillon* that you had received my letter on that subject. That affair is not yet come such a length as that I could mention it to the Doctor, and besides, if the young Princess in question

be so very young, why might not some of the Czar's nieces be thought of? I have heard a very good character in all respects of one and I wish you would have all of them enquired about, for, considering that, whether with the one or the other, the alliance would be of equal advantage and that the great disproportion of age betwixt the daughter and me would make the preference of a niece no slight, I see no politic reason can hinder me from making the character and person of one or the other determine my choice. I leave it to your prudence to manage these matters either with the Doctor or elsewhere as you think fit, and to your zeal the losing of no time towards enabling me to conclude what in general all my friends so much desire. The great advantages of an alliance with the Czar are very visible and there never could be any objection against it but in respect to Suedland, and that now ceases, since the last declares that his befriending me depends on an union with the other, which, considering its present circumstances, must totally destroy whatever jealousy might before have been taken on such an alliance.

"Pray let Sheridan know how pleased I am with his behaviour in his last journey, and deliver the enclosed to Jerningham, which he well deserves of me.

"Sheldon is gone to Paris for a few months to look after his affairs on poor Flanagan's death, and Duke of Mar is going to Rome for two or three weeks. We are in daily expectation of the Spanish fleet's coming on our opposite coast, which is all the news I can send you from hence." I reve on a merry meeting at Petersburg and do often please myself with the thoughts of being there soon with you. *Copy.*

Postscript in James' hand.—"Jerningham will be sure to mention to you what passed in relation to money, but as to that in the first place I have none now to offer, and in the second, though we had, on the footing things are now in as to Sweden, I think it would be improper and useless to make any offer of that kind, till Sweden is determined to assist me, and then new conjunctures must determine what is fit to be done, and in the meantime I am doing my best with Spain to get it in my power to offer or grant any thing of that nature." *3½ pages.*

JAMES III to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, March 20. Urbino.—This is only to enclose the power I thought necessary to leave dormant in your hands. The bearer wants not a long letter, being informed of most of my affairs except *the Czar marriage* (i.e. the Russian marriage). He promises to join me as soon as his affairs allow him and I shall be always glad to have him about me. Pray take care this order by any accident may not fall into other hands. God grant you may be long without the want of producing it. *At foot,*

It is my intention that in case of the Queen's death (whom God long preserve), that Lieut.-General Dillon and Mr. Dicconson shall be witnesses to the sealing up of all her papers and see them consigned in a proper place till my further order, notwithstanding any previous contrary order to that effect.

It is also my intention that in the above-mentioned case Lieut.-General Dillon should open my letters to the Queen, all except such as have written on them To the Queen alone, and these to keep till my further order.

JAMES III to LIEUT.-GENERAL DOMINICK SHELDON.

1718, March 20.—As for seeing the King of Sicily in your passage, I think you should by no means avoid it nor officiously seek it. If you see him, you can alone judge of what to say to him, that depending on his discourse. He will certainly speak of marriage. You may tell him in general you know I am about it and intent on it, and say also in general on my affairs what occurs, but nothing of what I was saying to you about *the King's* having hopes of going to *the Czar's* house.

You must not forget to speak of the great esteem &c. I have of him, but I believe he'll like it better to have no direct compliment made from me, and you must be sure to take no notice of what he said to Booth and yet less of his having begun a correspondence with me, though 'tis fit you should know it. If you see the Queen, you may make her compliments from me.

You'll take no notice to *Dillon* of my letters to *the Bishop of Rochester* and *Ormonde* about himself, but you cannot say too much of my kindness and confidence, and, if he has any uneasiness on that score or *Mar's*, you will endeavour to remove it, knowing as you do our behaviour towards him. Say nothing to *Inese* of details as to himself, but, as I don't desire his removal from business should be thought a disgrace, so I am far from hindering you from using all the civilities to him you think fit.

I am in some apprehension that some late letters of mine may not prove very agreeable to *Queen Mary*, and that *she* may be under some uneasiness whether in relation to my religion or as to *Mar's* doing *Queen Mary* or Catholics hurt with me. You know best what to say as to my own particular, and I believe *she* doth not want your word to be satisfied as to my duty to *her*, but as to *Mar* I must say I never yet found a Protestant so reasonable as to religious matters, nor anybody more unwilling to hurt anybody with me, or who has a truer duty for *Queen Mary*, of all which I have had instances which prove them sufficiently. If it comes in your way to do either *Mar* or me, if needful, justice, I am sure you will do it, but you must be sure to take no notice of my having mentioned any of these matters to you, and therefore only speak on those heads as *Queen Mary* gives you way for it.

I shall be glad to hear directly from yourself and shall not fail to acquaint you with my motions. I hope your health will allow of your soon joining me again.

I believe your leaving Italy at this time will give to some a handle of different discourse, but I think neither of us need much regard it. 3 pages. *Holograph.*

W. GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 21. Paris.—About the receipt and dispatch of letters.—The Duke of Gordon has procured privy seals for Lesendrum, Drum and John Gordon Cluny, and the first is already gone for London.

MR. DALMAHOY to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 21. Brussels.—I had your Grace's with the melancholy account of the death of my poor cousin, which goes very near me, losing so good a friend, so kind a relation and the King so good a subject, yet nothing shall ever make me do any thing contrary to his Majesty's commands or prejudicial to his interest, so I beg he will do in it as he in his wisdom thinks fit. That misfortunate gentleman shall make no honourable advances to me, but what shall be acceptable.

COUNT J. H. DE GAZOLA to DAVID NAIRNE.

1718, March 21. Piacenza.—By your letter of the 6th and by the Count of Castelblanco, who passed by here a few days ago on his way to France, I was delighted to hear of the King's good health and that he had enjoyed his little journey to Fano.

By my last letter I told you that his Serene Highness, my master, had offered Mr. Butler a cadet's place in his Irish Guards, which he declined, but having spoken again to his Serene Highness, he has given him a supernumerary place of reformed officer in this garrison, and, when there shall be any opening for his advancement, I shall not forget him.

As to English news you have doubtless heard of the deaths of the young Prince George William and of the Duke of Shrewsbury. The quarrel between the father and son always continues. In the lower chamber the party against the Court increases every day, and it is believed the Parliament is going to be dissolved.

In three or four days another detachment of Imperial infantry will pass through this state, marching from the Milanese into the Lunegiana.

Hitherto there is little appearance of a peace or truce with the Turk and the Court of Vienna is preparing for the campaign.

As regards our Italy you see the crisis is imminent. In a few weeks we shall be in a position to judge of our lot, either for war or peace. The result of the extraordinary missions from

the Courts of France and England to Vienna and Madrid with plans for an agreement will soon be known. I do not expect a result favourable to peace. *French.*

MEMORANDUM for SIR PETER REDMOND.

1718, March 21. Urbino.—At Paris you are to discourse with Mr. Dillon of the affair recommended to you about purchasing those goods in Spain. In your way to Spain you are to endeavour to see Lord Tullibardine and Glendarule, if they be near your road, and deliver Lord Tullibardine's letter to him, who will be able to give you some accounts of the steps already taken as to those goods. You must of necessity see Brigadier Campbell and Clanranald at Bayonne or wherever they are thereabouts, and, after delivering the letter to the Brigadier, you are to discourse with them about the goods, see the patterns they have, and get all the other information about them and the steps already taken by them in that business, and concert with them what is further to be done in it. From Madrid you are to correspond with Brigadier Campbell about the further procedure in this affair, in which you are to act in concert and to let me know what advance is made in it, and inform Mr. Dillon of the same, that he may get the money for purchasing the goods remitted to you.

The DUKE OF MAR to the MARQUESS OF TULLIBARDINE.

1718, March 21. Urbino.—Referring him to what has been written to Brigadier Campbell and hoping that Sir Peter will be very useful in that affair. *Copy.*

The DUKE OF MAR to BRIGADIER CAMPBELL.

1718, March 21. Urbino.—The bearer, Sir Peter Redmond, the King has confidence in. His ordinary residence is at Lisbon, but he is now going to Spain about some of his own affairs, and the King, thinking he will be able, as it were on his own account, to get an allowance or connivance for purchasing those goods which were recommended to your care, more easily than if it were known to be on his Majesty's, has thought fit to employ him in it. He is to go by Paris and Bayonne so will have occasion to see you and Clanranald as he passes and perhaps *Tullibardine* and *Glendarule*. You are therefore to show him the pattern and give him an account of all the steps *Barry* and you took about them and after his being at Madrid you are to keep a correspondence with him and act in concert as you and he find will conduce most to the affair in question. *Copy.*

MEMORANDUM.

1718, March 21. Urbino.—Of a payment for a large port papier to keep the Duke's drafts in.

JAMES III to ANTOINE DAVID, painter in Rome.

1718, March 21. Urbino.—Appointing him to be one of his painters. *Two drafts. There is also a copy in Entry Book 5, p. 77.*

JAMES III to the GONFALONIER and PRIORS OF FANO.

1718, March 21.—Thanking them for their letter of the 18th and for all the demonstrations of zeal and affection he had received from them and all the noblesse of Fano during his stay there, of which he had informed the Pope through Cardinal Gualterio. *French. Entry Book 1, p. 234.*

WILLIAM GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 22. Paris.—Above I send a copy of what you wrote me about the allowance of a servant for taking care of his Majesty's letters. I may say 800 *livres* a year is the least that such a servant can be maintained for. What Mr. Dicconson says in his letter to Sir W. Ellis is in some sense very true that I have had a good deal of trouble. It wants a little explanation, so I hope you will allow me to tell you what that gentleman ought to have advised. I never to this minute charged his account with one *sol* for my trouble of receiving and paying out any money for the King's account neither for my friends at Rotterdam, Brussels, Liège, Charleville, Bordeaux, Rouen, &c., except at Lyons for a small sum paid by a Frenchman, which is but a trifle for his commission and loss of exchange.

I have received and paid out before the end of December last upwards of 180,000 *livres*, which nobody would have done under 2 *per cent.*, having been obliged to keep accounts with all those places and correspond with them and be answerable to Mr. Dicconson for the whole. I have been constantly in advance 2, 3, 4 and sometimes upwards of 5,000 *livres* at a time, and never had any of the King's money but as I was to pay it out again, so you may easily find my task was neither profitable or agreeable, but, had it been quite otherwise, I am sure nobody will think I ought to have had less than 1 *per cent.* for paying and receiving money at the said places, and in that case my commission would be upwards of 1,800 *livres* instead of 1,200 *livres* that's placed for a servant's 1½ year's entertainment. The postages of letters and loss of exchange 'twixt Bordeaux and this and the other postages of my correspondents from Brussels, &c., which is no great sum, I charged to the King's account by Mr. Dicconson's allowance and the loss of exchange was only from Bordeaux when there was no money to remit, so I was by Mr. Dicconson's orders advised to allow them to draw, and I could not be obliged to be at the loss of the exchange, which could have been saved, had there been money to be remitted, but there was none, nor is there at this minute to pay February's and this month's subsistence, till it be got from the French Court, which is a very uncertain fund, and you will easily

believe I can't be much at peace, having every day letters from all quarters full of complaints forced by the necessities of poor gentlemen more than by their inclinations.

I can be very positive I never had a view of getting a *sol* nor never will as long as I have bread, till his Majesty can afford it without a grudge. I have given and lost a good deal on that score, but, having had no orders for so doing, I can't complain.

Lord Wharton has not yet paid me a penny, nor do I know what to expect about Mr. Leslie, as to which I hope you will send the King's orders, for I am sure Mr. Leslie laid out more on the King's account than he is resting me, which is about 5,000 *livres*.

I have placed to Mr. Dicconson according to your order the 335 *livres* 4 *sols* and the 300 *livres* drawn by Sir H. Paterson, so you may count to Sir W. Ellis for it. Lord Panmure and Dr. Blair came here on Sunday night, the 19th, both in very good health. *Prefixed*,

The DUKE OF MAR to WILLIAM GORDON.

The King approves of your having a servant on purpose to look after our letters, therefore you would see to have a discreet faithful one, and let me know what must be allowed him.—1716, 19 June. Avignon.

ROBERT FREEBAIRN to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, March 22. Paris.—Describing how he delivered various packets and letters there and at St. Germain's, and, as he understands that a letter from Scotland was sent to Urbino for him, requesting him to return it to him the very first post.

LAURENCE BERNARDI to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, March 22.—Receipt for the balance of an account for his board wages and for various payments for washing &c. with two other bills, one headed "Expenses for the month 22 December, 1717, and endorsed, from 22 December, 1717, to 22 March, 1718," and another from 22 December to 22 Jan., 1718, probably portions of the above account.

RECEIPT.

[1718, March 22.]—For board wages from 22 November to 22 March, 1718, and for Lord Southesk's servant.

MR. LAW to JAMES III.

1718, March 23. Paris.—I did not hope that the small occasion I had to show my zeal for the Queen's service should have procured me the honour of a line from your Majesty. I shall embrace with pleasure every opportunity of showing my attachment and profound respect.

MR. LAW to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 23. Paris.—Acknowledging his letter with the enclosure from the King, and expressing how sensible he is of the honour his Majesty does him.

LORD PITSLIGO to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 23. Leyden.—I am perhaps too slow in answering your kind letter of 15 January, but I was a little undetermined as to my quarters for this summer, so I delayed writing till I could tell you where I was likely to settle.

About the time I returned here everybody was looking for the indemnity, and it was natural to wait for a sight of it. When the exceptions of it were known, which are not a few, some were of opinion that the Parliament would make it better, either from good nature or contradiction to the Sovereign, and that the banishment would only continue against such as are attainted, but that has proved a mistake.

I then resolved to venture over to London, but was put off by information that the Duke of G[ordon] (without any application to him, God knows) was to get a privy seal for ten or twelve persons, whereof a friend of mine was one, and this friend and I being pretty closely linked together I could not pursue my resolution till I saw what became of the privy seal. At last I found the Duke was obliged to restrict his list to young Drum and Mr. Bisset of Lessendrum. Cluny is indeed included in the list, but would have got one by himself without the Duke's endeavours.

Though I found myself excluded from this particular grace as well as the universal, I had still a great mind to be in Britain, and was just packing up, when I heard of the proclamation against all that returned to Scotland and had a letter from London dissuading me absolutely from that resolution. I then thought it best to have patience, at least to endeavour it.

I made acquaintance with a very honest man, who is going in a few days to Germany. He has the language perfectly as he has the French and Italian and assures me I can live agreeably enough in several towns and in Vienna itself much cheaper than here. He proposes to settle at Vienna for some time, and I believe the best way I can pass this summer is to take a ramble with him, having very little to do here, and the garrison being strong enough besides. I've often thought that Scotsmen, when out of their own kingdom, are better in small companies than when many of them are together.

Only one thing vexes me, that my travelling should be at another's expense. I am struck indeed with his generosity in inviting me again to take the liberty I had given over. One great motive of my going to Britain was that my living there would have been no trouble to him, but 'tis scarce practicable on this side by the remittances I have had from home, and affairs there are not in the best state. On the other hand, I

believe our friend, as you call him, has uses enough for his money and I must own a thing that has a little of the old man in it. I reckoned being on such an establishment does not want abundance of censure, especially from some that will readily value themselves on living wholly at their own charge. Nothing is so much despised in this age as poverty or a small fortune, though it made sometimes the glory of former ages. I am angry with myself that I should ever trouble my head at anything others may think or say at random, but such a true liberty of spirit is not easily acquired. If you will be so good then as to tell W. G[ordon] to remit me 4 or 500 *livres* to any place I may call for it this summer, I should like it well to be done in that method, and I am writing to him to allow me credit on a merchant here for 250.

You said your quarters inspired people with dulness, which, I think, reigns as much here, only now and then some scandal comes over concerning a certain family at London, their quarrels among themselves and the disgust they give to others. Some comical pamphlets are every day coming out, which I suppose you get. The protestation of the Lords with relation to the Military Bill is pretty remarkable.

When I heard last from home, they were pretty well. I acquainted Dr. A[bercromb]y's lady of what you wrote, and give you hearty thanks for minding Mr. Hay. 3 pages.

ALESSANDRO LITTA, BISHOP OF CREMONA, to [? DAVID NAIRNE].

1718, March 23. Rome.—About the dispatch of letters.—I cannot yet tell you of my departure from Rome, as I have not yet received permission from his Imperial Majesty, my master, to take possession of my bishopric. In case I shall be obliged to leave Rome, I will inform you to whom you may have your letters sent here. *French*.

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, March 23. Vienna.—I hope you have received several packets. The Swedish Resident and myself impatiently expect news of them, especially as all the gazettes say that his Majesty was on the point of leaving Urbino. You can believe how necessary it is I should be informed either of his stay at or his departure from Urbino, that I may know where to direct to. Monr. Stiernhock has informed the Duke of Mar of the system of affairs at this Court, how they are very closely related to all the others in Europe. There is a prevalent report here that King James is going to marry the Princess Dowager of Courland. The English ministers make a great noise about it without producing much effect.

Yesterday there was a great conference here about the answer to be given to the English Court on the proposals brought by Secretary Caup (Schaub), but there is little appearance of an agreement with the Court of Madrid. On the contrary

people speak as a certainty of an army being formed in Italy. The Emperor's plenipotentiaries for treating with the Turks have not yet started from here, but General Virmond, who is intended as the Emperor's minister at the congress, is expected here to-morrow, and is immediately to proceed to the place of the congress with my brother-in-law, who was formerly secretary of the embassy at the Court of France and is to attend those conferences in the same capacity. Time will show, but there is but little appearance of this peace with the Turks being made. *French, partly in cipher.*

JAMES III to GEORGE JERNINGHAM.

1718, March 23.—Mr. Dillon sent me your long letter from Lübeck with an account of your late negotiation, and I am so satisfied with your performance in it that I cannot but take notice of it myself. The Duke of Ormonde's orders must be henceforth your rule. *Copy. Endorsed as sent to the Duke of Ormonde.*

JAMES III to DR. ERSKINE.

1718, March 23.—You will have with this, if not before, an account of the King of Swedland's good dispositions towards me and of the impossibility of their taking effect without his agreement with the Czar. "I am very sensible that that union is not without its difficulties, but I cannot but be of opinion that its failure will be attended with yet greater in process of time even to the Czar, since the King of Sweden's making up with the Elector of Hanover is become the alternative of his not doing it with the Czar, whose great wisdom and penetration cannot but foresee the consequences of such an union, considering especially the present situation of Europe and the present system of politics of its different princes. In fine in two words the case is now whether the Czar had rather have an implacable enemy on the throne of England and the same on that of Swedland or see both those powers united in his alliance by the strongest bonds of interest in Swedland and gratitude as well as interest in me. The great sense I have of the kindness the Czar has already expressed for me makes me offer these matters to his consideration as much on his own account as mine. I do not indeed pretend to enter into the detail of the obstacles there may be towards his union with the King of Swedland, but heartily offer my assistance towards the removing of them. If my personal help or attendance can be of any use, they are at his service as the only thing that depends on me at present, but, if any future promise on a restoration, which I look upon to be the necessary as well as natural consequence of the so much desired union, can any way facilitate matters, Duke Ormonde has the amplest powers for that effect, and to him I must refer you for all details. He has not let me be ignorant of my having in you a true friend with the Czar, whose alliance and friendship I so much covet and value, and I hope in God

you will be now the happy instrument of an union betwixt us, so glorious for your master and so beneficial for your country. I depend entirely on your zeal and prudence on this occasion and that you will lay the whole before the Czar in the properest and strongest manner. He being a Prince who looks, I know, more to essentials than forms make me choose rather to write to yourself in our native language than to himself in one unknown to him." If this letter has the desired effect, I hope to have it soon in my power to give you the most convincing proofs of my true regard for you. *Copy. Endorsed, as sent to the Duke of Ormonde.*

The DUKE OF ORMONDE to JAMES III.

1718, March 24.—*Ormonde* has received *the King's* of 7 January with an enclosed copy of *the King's* to *the Bishop of Rochester*. *Ormonde* does not doubt that *the Bishop* in his answer will clear what may have been mistaken and show that neither he nor his friends had the least thought of doing any thing that might choke (? shock) *Mar*, much less of thinking that it might be for *the King's* service to have him removed. *Ormonde* had a letter from *Sir H. Paterson* of 21 February, informing him that *Jerningham* was arrived at *Lübeck*, and had writ to him to know whether *I* was still in the same place *I* had directed him to write to. *Sir H. Paterson* supposed that *Jerningham* would soon be with me. *Ormonde* had since a letter from *Danzig* of the 11th that *Sheridan*, who goes by the name of *Brunet*, was expected there that night in his way hither and no mention of *Jerningham*. *Ormonde* will be ignorant of *his message* until he sees him.

I received last post a letter from *Sir H. Stirling*. Enclosed is the copy. I am sorry the accounts it gives are so different from what was expected and wished for. As soon as *Ormonde* has seen *Sheridan*, he will be able to judge what measures to take and acquaint *the King* with his resolution. 3 pages.

The DUKE OF ORMONDE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 24.—I suppose you will have heard of *Jerningham's* being arrived at *Lübeck*. I expect to see him or his companion every hour, but have not received any letter from either, so I am ignorant of their dealings. I refer you to *Ormonde's* letter to *the King*. What *Sir H. Stirling* writes is quite contrary to our expectations. *Sir H. Paterson* continues to send me letters and is a very punctual correspondent. I am sorry there should have been any mistakes, but am sure all will be set in a true light. You will see by *Sir H. Stirling's* an account of strange doings in *the Czar's Court*.

JAMES PATERSON to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, March 24. Palermo.—I received the 14th instant yours of 28 December, letting me know the Duke of Mar's sincerity

to serve me, and his denying the letter of recommendation I desired to our Vice-roy. I am sure, had he done it, it would have been the only service he has done to any of our family since that unfortunate marriage. Had I not trusted to his recommendation in England, I had friends whose recommendation would have been sufficient to have got me provided, but I am not the only one in the family he has given fair promises to without any thought of performing.

We are here as out of the world, not hearing sometimes once in two months what they are doing on the mainland. We have repeated news of the Spaniards' great preparations by sea, so the Vice-roy is taking the necessary precautions by repairing the fortifications and disposing the troops to the best advantage. We are to sail in four or five days for Villa Franca, where we are to embark some recruits for this place.

JAMES III to CARDINAL AQUAVIVA.

1718, March 24. Urbino.—I received your letter of the 16th with pleasure and with joy the answer of which you informed me word for word. I recognize in it the great genius of the author, and perfectly understand the goodness of it, but, without penetrating more into an oracle, which can be taken only in a favourable sense, I beg you, when giving my sincerest thanks to the author, to inform him that I have just received advices from Sweden, that that King is waiting only for peace with the Czar to join with him in my favour. They are actually engaged on that agreement, and there is every reason to believe it will not be delayed, and it is certain that the demand of the sum in question will follow closely on it. Without repeating what is said in the memoir, I leave it to you to picture the immense importance of having that sum ready, without which the best dispositions and the strongest alliances will become useless to me. 'Tis therefore to obtain for me what is so essential that I beg you to renew on every occasion your strongest instances. It is the greatest mark you can give me of your friendship and certainly one of the greatest services you could render to your master.

The good intelligence between us obliges me to inform you of the following fact. The great need we had in the last expedition to Scotland of arms proper for those Highlanders made me wish to anticipate a similar inconvenience, in case of a new attempt there. Since it is impossible to find such arms except in Spain without making much noise, I began some time ago to take steps for the purpose, but these having failed and observing in Sir Peter Redmond, whom you saw at Rome, much honesty and activity, I told him my idea and he undertook the execution of it with pleasure, and flatters himself he will be able to complete it without its being known, but he believes it will be proper at all hazards to inform the court of Spain, in order to anticipate any obstacle he might meet with

on that side. I told him that, having no correspondence with that court and knowing its present system, I clearly foresaw that such a step would do more harm than good, and that he had only to take his measures to do the thing as secretly as possible and to inform me of the difficulties he might meet with, which I would try to provide for. He has started for Madrid by Paris and Bayonne, where he is to stay to begin the execution of my orders, and where, after the arms are purchased, they are to be kept in a secret warehouse till required. I believe it will be necessary to inform our friend of this, that he may not through ignorance interpose any obstacle, and that in case of any complaint he may behave in a manner favourable to me, without any prejudice to his master's interests, which may be easily done, as the purchase is to be made under other plausible pretexts and without my appearing in it at all. I flatter myself our friend will be pleased at the way I have behaved in this matter, and, if you have any advice for me in it, I shall follow it with pleasure. $2\frac{1}{2}$ pages. *French. Draft in Nairne's hand with corrections by James.*

JAMES III to CARDINAL GUALTERIO.

1718, March 24. Urbino.—I have now to answer your two letters of the 16th and 19th. In reply to the first I have only to send you the enclosed, which you will read, seal and deliver. I am really edified and filled with admiration at your conduct to Cardinal Imperiali, and, if the affair in question should not succeed, it will certainly not be your fault. Whatever Cardinal Albani may say, I confess I expect no good of it.

I have always believed you to be one of my best friends but I have been more convinced of it than ever by your frankness on the occasion of my letter to Mr. Leslie. I beg you, however, to read those papers over again, for I am persuaded that weighing every word attentively you will not find the letter can be taken in a bad sense and what I have written to the Duke of Ormonde fully explains the object of that letter. “Je suis toujours persuadé que les Protestans n'en abuseront pas, mais, s'ils le font, je me croirai obligé de m'expliquer plus amplement, et cela, joint au pouvoir que j'ay donné a la Reine d'en faire de meme en tems et lieu, sera, je crois, une explication et une reparation suffisante. Le Pere Brown est de cet avis et ce n'est que par ce qui pourra arriver dans la suite que je pourrai regler ma conduite future a cet egard. En attendant le silence est le seul parti que nous avons a prendre, mais, si le Pape vous en parloit, je ne vois nul inconvenient a luy decouvrir que vous etes au fait de la chose, que vous scavez la pureté de mes intentions, qui n'ont jamais été autres que de confirmer un droit, que je ne scaurois oter et qui ne regarde point ma propre religion ni la doctrine Catholique, que j'ay deja pris des mesures pour empecher que les Protestans ne prennent la lettre en mauvais sens, et que, si elles ne suffisent

pas, j'en prendrai encore d'autres, car jusqu' a present je n'en ay point trouvé qui ait fait la moindre attention au preambule de la lettre mais uniquement a la confirmation du droit, qui est etabli par les loix et que je ne pretens point autoriser autrement. Aussi je ne trouve point encore que les plus scrupuleux ou les plus scavans a St. Germain me croient obligé de faire un plus grande explication ou reparation que celle que j'ay faite."

Mr. Sheldon left lately for St. Germain to attend for some months there to his private affairs.

The Duke of Mar will be in Rome next week. As he wishes to be there not only incognito but unknown, you will excuse his not staying with you. He could not resist the fine weather and the present sluggishness of business and I have not wished to prevent him from satisfying so just a curiosity for 3 weeks or a month. I doubt not he will request you to conduct him to his Holiness, who may perhaps be alarmed at his journey, but you can easily reassure him on that point. I doubt not he will show him his usual civilities, and that you will do justice to his merit, which increases every day by the new trials he continually undergoes, which serve only to increase his constancy and his attachment to me. I ought further to do him the justice to tell you that of all the Protestants I have known, I never met one less prejudiced against our religion nor more favourable to the Catholics. You will also soon see Lord Linton, Lord Nithsdale's nephew, who is here at present incognito. He comes of a Catholic family, whose zeal for me is well known.

I did not intend to write such a long letter, having been much depressed both in body and mind for some days, but I find myself much better at present.

I expect every moment answers on the different projects I have about marriage.

Nairne is sending you Cardinal Albani's letter of the 19th. You will acknowledge its arrival to him, for, till I receive the new letter he promises, I have nothing new to tell him. *French. Over 3 pages. In Nairne's hand with corrections and postscript by the King.*

THE DUKE OF MAR TO CARDINAL GUALTERIO.

1718, March 24. Urbino.—I believe I shall set out for Rome the beginning of next week but, intending to go by Loretto, it will be the end of it before I come to my journey's end. I think the more privately and unknown I be there, the better, my design being more to see things than people, and his Majesty is of the same opinion, so I will say nothing to anybody here till I actually set out, and I have not nor will let any know there of my coming but Mr. Steuart. I am very much obliged for your kind offer of lodging at your house, but, in the way I propose to be, that would not be so proper. Therefore I hope you will excuse me and advise with Mr. Steuart what will be the best and most private way for me, that he may have a lodging and what else I may want ready for me.

Besides my curiosity of seeing Rome, it will be a very sensible pleasure to me to have the opportunity of your more particular acquaintance. By what I hear of the Pope's temper and ways perhaps even this journey of mine might give him some uneasiness at this juncture, which makes me choose his not being acquainted with it, till I be there or so near that he cannot easily stop it, but I leave you to do in this as you think fit. Were I once there, he would see there's nothing further intended but what I have told you. I must desire you to introduce me to his Holiness, but I must beg your advice as to the time of your doing so, and perhaps it may be as well not to be till just before my departure, though I believe it will be but fit that you let him know of my being there and the way I propose to be in, as soon at least as I arrive, and that the last is my reason of not desiring to be introduced to him immediately.

Recommending Mr. Panton, who travels with Lord Linton.
Over 2 pages. English draft and French translation.

THE DUKE OF MAR TO STEUART OF INVERNITYTY.

1718, March 24. Urbino.—Requesting him to deliver the enclosed to Cardinal Gualterio and about his intended visit to Rome, getting him a lodging and other arrangements.—No one is to be with me but Will. Erskine and two servants. *Over 2 pages. Copy.*

THE DUKE OF MAR TO LORD TULLIBARDINE.

1718, March 24.—I heard last post from Mr. Inese of his not thinking fit of an oversman in a certain affair to be filled up by him or any with *St. Germain's* and that the papers were sent you to keep, till *the King* should send you directions about them. He has ordered me to let you know that, after you have informed yourself who will be the proper person for oversman, you should fill up his name in the blank of the paper sent you by *Inese*, it being impossible for him here to determine it, but you must first be sure that the person you pitch upon will accept and, as soon as you have filled it up, you are to forward them to the persons concerned. You will take care to choose one, who will act fairly betwixt the parties concerned and who has some knowledge in these matters.

R. Gordon would certainly be a very fit person for this, but there was some difference between him and the blind captain, who is the principal party, which makes him absolutely unfit. Were *Brigadier Campbell* there, he might do well, but he is not. By a letter I had lately from *General Gordon* I fancy he is thereabout and perhaps he might not be improper for it, but it is left entirely to you to make what choice you think fittest.

I wrote to you three days ago and to *Brigadier Campbell* with a gentleman going your way to *the King of Spain's* habitation, who, I thought, might see you, but by your being to remove

that is not certain, however he is certainly to meet *Brigadier Campbell*, whom I have told it was designed this man should be assisting about the goods recommended to his care, and that I hoped he might be able to procure the allowance wanting for purchasing those goods as if they were on his own account and that *the King* had no concern in them. His name is *Sir Peter Redmond*. He is gone for *Paris* with your old friend Sh[eldo]n, who is gone there about his private affairs, where he is to make but a short stay. (About Mar's intended visit to Rome.)

I had lately a peevish letter from the old laird (Malcolm of Grange) about his foolish affair, but he is particularly so, I find, at *Glendarule*. His friends with *Scotland* have heard of his being sent from *Bordeaux*, which makes them fancy there must be some odd thing in it, and that vexes him. I have told you my thoughts about it already, so I only suggest that anything those old stagers and particularly so staunch a one as the laird, say of folks amongst our friends at home has weight. Therefore I really think it would be for *Tullibardine's* and *Glendarule's* service to have him put in good humour again, as well as for its being agreeable to friends there to think there are no differences amongst any of us on this side.

I have not yet answered the letter, but, before I got it, I wrote to *Dillon* to let the laird know I had wrote to you upon it, to whom he ought to apply. 3 pages. Copy.

THE DUKE OF MAR TO SIR HUGH PATERSON.

1718, March 24.—I had yours of 20 February on the 19th and at the same time we had letters by *Dillon's* canal from *Jerningham*, which give us a good deal of satisfaction. However, much will depend on the present affair betwixt *the King of Sweden* and the *Czar*. *Jerningham* has done his part very well. *Queen Mary* or *Dillon* by her orders has some time ago wrote to *Jerningham* to go immediately on his receipt of it to *Ormonde*, which I reckon he would not wait for, but go straight and immediately to him on your letting him know where he was, so I do not write to him by you, but have done it the direct way by which we correspond with *Ormonde*, though, in case of its miscarriage, it is not amiss you let him know of my having now wrote so to him and also to *Ormonde* and to make all sure I am to send duplicates to *Dillon* to send his way.

You forgot to name the place from whence you wrote, but I suppose it was from *the Hague* or *Rotterdam*, whither I am very glad you are gone about the affair you mention, and I wish you may be successful.

Who do you mean by *Crammond*? There is no such surname in our list and that was never a Christian name? though I believe you mean *Charles*. [Kinnaird].

I long to hear from *Sir H. Stirling*, though the reason he gives you of his not writing was a good one, for then he could

have little to say. I hope that reason has ceased some time ago and that we shall hear something agreeable from him soon. When you write to him, let him know this.

(About his intended visit to Rome.) *Copy.*

The DUKE OF MAR to the DUKE OF ORMONDE.

1718, March 24.—Having seen the enclosed, I find there is little left for me to add to it of business. We long extremely to hear from you, which I hope will open a new scene. (About his intended visit to Rome, as in other letters.)

As the enclosed leaves me little to say to you, so does what is enclosed in it leave me little to say to that gentleman, but not being yet certain of his being in your parts I have wrote to him more fully by another canal, which may perhaps come sooner to him. I long to know of your hearing again from *Sir H. Stirling*, he being able to say but little in that you had from him and sent to *Dillon* in yours of 4 February. *Jerningham* would be with you long ago, whom, I fancy, you would soon dispatch again to the meeting betwixt the *Czar's* and the *King of Sweden's* people. The disappointment the *King* is like to meet with in what he expected of the affair of the money both from the *Pope* and *Francia* is lamentable. He is doing all he can to have it supplied elsewhere, though I see little prospect of his succeeding in that so soon as it is likely there may be occasion for it. The *Bishop of Rochester* and other friends there are doing what they can to help, but I fear that may take a long while doing and not be sufficient after all. This is no agreeable news, but it is necessary you should know the true state of that matter. By what *Jerningham* writes, there seems not to be so great occasion or necessity for it where he was at this time, as things stand, as we expected and indeed as is to be wished, but, if things go as we would have them, there certainly will be, before anything effectual can be done. The less you can promise now, must be made up, I think, with promising the more on the *restoration's* taking place, and I heartily wish that may supply the want as well as to serve to make the agreement betwixt the *Czar* and the *King of Sweden* easy, but it is almost needless for us at this distance to speak of those things, and you, who are so much nearer, can see much more clearly.

By what *Jerningham* writes, I see his fellow traveller has been of good use to him. If you have occasion of sending any body to us, I still wish he may be the man, unless the one you be to send be one who is to give us an account of the fine things you sent him to see. 2 pages. *Copy.*

The DUKE OF MAR to GEORGE JERNINGHAM.

1718, March 24.—I have seen what you have wrote to the *King* by *Dillon's* canal, and, he himself telling you how well he is pleased with all your part of it, 'tis needless for me to

repeat it. I see your fellow traveller has been of very good use to you, and, though unknown to one another, I beg you may make him my compliments. *The King* and I having both wrote to *Ormonde* of what business occurred to us, I need not repeat anything of it here.

I had a letter last post from *Sir H. Paterson*, who told me of your being arrived, but by what *Dillon* tells me of his or *Queen Mary's* having wrote to you about going immediately to *Ormonde*, which I suppose you would have however done, as soon as you knew where he was, I do not write to you by *Sir H. Paterson*.

Pray what is become of poor (literal) O'Burn? I fear he is not in a good way where he is. *Copy*.

THE DUKE OF MAR TO DR. ERSKINE.

1718, March 24.—This is only to cover the enclosed from our friend (the King), which is so full that it leaves me little to say, and besides I have wrote to you to-day by another canal, which may perhaps come sooner. It is by a servant of *the Czar's*, who is at *the Emperor's* habitation, though he knows nothing of the letters being from me, and it is in the old cipher of our friend, *Sir J. Erskine*, which I gave you, when we were together, and which I hope you have not lost. I tell you of this, that, if the letter should not come soon, you may cause enquire at the servant for it, who, I should think, will not venture to neglect sending it, when he knows it is for you, and I thought it the surest way to make it come soon and safe to your hands. I believe it is one *Mr. Busi* or *Stiernhock*, who is to give him the letter. I suppose *Sir H. Stirling* is with you. My compliments to him and to good Capt. Thomas [? Gordon], who, I am sorry to hear, has been ill. I long to hear from *Sir H. Stirling*, and ten to one but there may be an occasion for his making another journey to us, but that will depend much on you, and, if it could be of any use, I hope he will not be against it. Our friend *Ormonde* being so near you, with whom I hope you may have adjusted all before this come to you, I need say no more. *Copy*.

THE DUKE OF MAR TO DR. ERSKINE.

1718, March 24.—Though *the King* has wrote to you to-day by another canal all I have to say, yet I could not keep myself from giving you some account of it by this, which may perhaps reach you sooner, being uncertain where you now are, and perhaps any letter from you may come sooner and as safe the same way. I have a correspondent or two at *the Emperor's* habitation, to one of whom I send this and desired him to give it to a servant of *the Czar*, who is there and, I believe an acquaintance of yours, to forward safely to you. I have let none of them know from whom it is, only a relation of yours in general, and, if you write that way, you may address it to

Monsr. Gerard and send it to that servant with orders to give it to the person who gave him this, and it will come safe to me.

I should let you know who these correspondents are, by which you'll know if they are to be trusted, and I must also beg of you to let me know what character you have of them. One is *Stiernhock*, a servant of *the King of Sweden*, but, I believe, in no great credit with him or much employed for some time past, though I am informed his wishes are as yours and mine. The other is one *Busi*, who is very intimate with the other and was of some use to a friend of ours we sent last year to those parts, and he wrote to me that he was expecting to be some way employed by *the Czar* and, I think, spoke as if he knew you. They inform me sometimes of what passes in those parts, but I have never trusted either of them with anything of consequence.

The King has told you of the answer he got from *the King of Sweden* by the Beaux your acquaintance, whom he had sent to him, and who has behaved better than perhaps you would have expected. In a word *the King of Sweden* shows a great deal of good will towards *the King* and inclinations enough to serve him, but tells fairly and plainly that it is not in his power till he make up his accounts with *the Czar*, his chief creditor, which he was then going about, and, if that failed, that he would be obliged to make up with his other creditors, especially *King George*, who had made him offers which I know to be true by other accounts, but that, if *the Czar* and he could agree and he would enter into measures with him for serving *the King*, he (*the King of Sweden*) would do it with all his heart. This is really all I have expected of him for some time, and now that it so entirely depends on *the Czar* I have better hopes of it than ever, and I hope *Dr. Erskine* will get it managed so that I may not be disappointed. This is all I need say, since *the King* himself has wrote so fully by the other canal, and I hope *Ormonde* and you will have talked fully of it all, and in a good measure adjusted it before this reach you.

I cannot omit mentioning another article again, though I did so in my letter to you of 24 December. It is concerning *the Czar's daughter*, the proposal of whom I told you was so much to *the King's* liking. We are told since she is but 11, for which I am heartily sorry, but in that case might not one of *the nieces* be thought of? There are two of them, I am told, who are both of a good age and handsome. I should think it would be much the same thing as to *the Czar*, and, if he agrees, there need be no delay, and it would answer all our purposes. I confess I am so full of an alliance betwixt *the Czar* and *the King*, and that there should be no delay in it, that I could not but suggest this to you, who, I believe, has as great a mind to it as I can.

It may not be impossible, I think and hope, that we may meet in your parts ere long, which would be great consolation

to some of us, particularly to *the King* and your humble servant, and I hope would not be disagreeable to *the Czar* or you.

I much apprehend *the King of Sweden* and *the Czar* being very stiff on some of the articles betwixt them and it would be a pity that things should fail upon that. Could not *the King's* engaging on his carrying his suit at law to make up in some measure the loss to one or t'other of what he cedes by some of his (*the King's*) money facilitate matters being accommodated betwixt them? Sure in that case he could be of more use to them than all the difference betwixt them, when they cast up their accounts, would be, and I hope *the Czar* will consider of this and, rather than the accommodation should fail, take the expedient himself. $3\frac{1}{4}$ pages. Copy.

THE DUKE OF MAR to MONSR. STIERNHOCK.

1718, March 24. Ur[bino].—Apologizing for not having answered his letter of 16 February sooner and thanking him for the particular, universal and distinct accounts he gave in that and in those of 23 and 26 February.—By accounts from other places I believe the informations you give of things now in agitation throughout Europe are very good, and, if you will continue to do so sometimes, I'll look on it as a very great obligation, and, as you and I take our masters' interests to be pretty much the same, I hope it may be of some use. If I do not write to you often or do not give you account of things of much consequence, it is occasioned only by my situation here, where we know nothing but by letters, and those are so long by the way that any accounts I could give you from them would be too old and but a repetition of what you will have otherwise heard. This is not the least of our misfortunes in being obliged to reside here, which makes me the more earnestly wish that some thing may soon happen to open a door to our going elsewhere more in the way of business.

By your accounts and by what I have from other hands, there are so many projects on foot just now, as I believe have been in Europe for many years. What regard this country, on which a great many of them hinge, have so very many different powers and interests concerned, that in the ordinary course of business they cannot be brought in all appearance to a conclusion very soon, and some, who are engaged, have already been at so great charge and seem now to have so far got the start of others, whose hands are yet full elsewhere, that it is not likely they will stop in expectation of the conclusion of those schemes projected for them by others, who do not either seem to be in a condition to put an immediate stop to their present designs and some of them as little likely to support and preserve the schemes they now propose, if finished, so I am far from looking on the mediation of the powers you name as sure of taking place or having the effect they propose.

Both by what you say and accounts I have otherwise, I should think that the negotiations betwixt your master and him, who has been his most powerful enemy, are now pretty well advanced, if not concluded. It is a great pleasure to us here to see that your master finds it for his interest to endeavour an accommodation there rather than with those of the other side, who, I believe, have made some offers to him, and indeed, considering the usage he has so lately met with from them, besides his own interest, it is no more than was to be expected of so gallant a gentleman. I see very well we have little to expect from your master as things have turned, till the accommodation betwixt him and his antagonist I name above be finished, so you may be sure we do all in our power to facilitate that to him, and, without overvaluing ourselves, I may say we have contributed a good deal towards it. Whatever may be given out otherwise, I am sure there are good dispositions towards accommodating with him. I am only afraid he may be too unwilling and hard to be brought to cede some things, which the other thinks absolutely necessary for securing to him what your master, I presume, will make little difficulty in yielding, and even in this there are some measures taken to get that made as easy and advantageous to your master as possible, which I wish may have the desired effect.

Were the accommodation betwixt them once finished, I should have very good hopes of your master's being soon in as good a condition as ever as well as of justice being done to my master, and in my opinion it might give a turn to most of the affairs of Europe.

I hope and doubt not but the principal points betwixt your master and him, with whom the accommodation is now proposed, will be adjusted, before the general meeting at the place you name. I must desire you to explain one thing to me which I am informed of as to that general meeting, which a little surprises me, that is, the King of Portugal's being to have a minister there. Sure that can be of no advantage to your master and he will be only a spy on him as well as others for Hanover and the Dutch. I beg to hear from you from time to time what accounts you get of all relating to this business, and what are the dates of your last letters from your country, and, when I can give you any informations which can be of use to you and which I think you may not have otherwise, I shall be sure to do it.

I have some ground to fear that our friend at your Court mentioned in our former letters does not stand quite so well there as we both would wish or his merit deserves. I wish I may be mistaken and you will do me a pleasure, if you can give me more agreeable news of him. (About the necessity of their using a cipher in future, about how letters are to be addressed and about Mar's intended visit to Rome.)

Pray let me know if Monsr. Stengins be at Vienna, who was Resident at London for the Elector Palatine before

Hanover came there, and if Mr. Wortley Montagu, who was at the Porte from England last year, be returned or returning home.

They talk in this country as if the Spanish fleet was to be expected on the coast every day.

I enclose a letter for Dr. Erskine, Physician and Counsellor to the Czar, which I want sent him and perhaps it may be of some service at this time. Your mentioning the Czar's minister with you makes me give you the trouble of it, that, if you think fit, you or Monsr. Busi may give it him as a letter from a relation of the Doctor's, which had accidentally come to your hands, and desire him to forward it by the first sure occasion, but it will be by no means fit to mention my name to him. The Doctor is wrote to by another canal, that this letter is sent this way, which perhaps it is not amiss may be some way thrown out in talking to the minister, which may make him the more careful. But I refer it to your discretion, whether to speak of it to the minister or not, for, if you suspect his inclining another way, it will be better to return it to me than to trust it with him. If you think fit he be trusted, pray let him be desired to give any letter that may come in return addressed to Monsr. Gerard to the person who gives him this, and I hope you will take care it be forwarded to me. 7 pages.
Draft in Mar's hand.

DR. CHARLES LESLIE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 25. Paris.—Last post brought me yours of 24 Feb. from Fano.

“ *That excellent letter has been received with great pleasure and entire satisfaction in England, and it is printed there. I hear not of any one thing they would have added or subtracted or the expression altered, but remain perfectly satisfied with it *and the more since the Convocation has been prorogued the second time to June next, but they expect not to see it sit again while George reigns, but that the Church of England is to be modelled according to that of Hanover, and therefore that the Church of England has no security under God but the restoration of his Majesty, who has secured all their rights to them, even as far as they can ask, for which they are most thankful and rejoice in it, and, if their power were equal to their will, they would need no assistance to do the work themselves, so that his Majesty has great reason to be satisfied with what he has so graciously done, there being no ground to doubt it has had its full effect with those for whom it was designed, and great thanks are due to George for rivetting the nail by his second prorogation.

“ All the English here to whom I showed his Majesty's letter were in rapture upon it. Among others, I showed it to a member of the House of Commons, where it was mentioned on the debate of the Mutiny Bill. Some objecting danger

from the Pretender, another answered that he was far off and that he heard of nothing he was doing but settling Convocations with Mr. L[eslie], to which no reply was made. This I saw in a letter from him since he went to England, and he will satisfy others where he thinks it proper, that he saw the original in the King's own hand. I have the ill news that a lawsuit is commenced in Ireland against the only fortune I have left to give bread to my family there and I have none there to defend it." 2 pages. *The passage between asterisks is printed in the Stuart Papers, p. 37, note.*

GEORGE JERNINGHAM to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 25. The Hague.—When I wrote to the *King* from *Lübeck* I would have troubled *Mar*, had not I then thought he had been in some other part. You have undoubtedly seen the particulars *Jerningham* has already given of the *affairs of Sweden*, and I shall remain very desirous to know what resolutions you judge fit to be taken thereon. *Jerningham* lay under some difficulties when he arrived, and everybody knowing from what parts our *ship* came, I apprehended that my stay, although but for a few days, might be attended with some inconvenience at *Lübeck*. I removed thereon to these parts to find here in what situation affairs stood, which I thought more to the purpose than to make a long expensive journey on the uncertainty which everything appeared in then. I have since been frequently in conference with *Prince Curakin* and the *Swedish minister at the Hague*, who are both well-wishers to that agreement. I am informed by the first that the *Czar* has sent *ministers* already to *Finland* to expect *Görtz* or someone else from those parts, but to-day *Prince Curakin's* letters give him an account that *Görtz* had writ to one of those ministers to desire they would give him a rendezvous at *Thorn*, a place higher up in that country, but they answered that *Thorn* was not fit for such a meeting, because the country thereabouts was not inhabited nor the place provided with common necessities. Here that affair now sticks, and I wish the *King of Sweden* by these delays and chicanes does not provoke the *Czar* to renounce all commerce with him. This turn of the *King of Sweden* I take to be grounded on the new scheme lately offered them from *England*. The bearers of this new plan went from *Lübeck* to *Sweden* whilst I was there, which project has made me very uneasy, for some do not stick to say that the *Elector of Hanover* offers the *King of Sweden* to restore him all he is in possession of. If this be true, *Görtz* will have new difficulties to surmount, for many of the *ministry* will advise strongly for accepting these last offers, preferably to any other agreement, and this I take to be the reason *Görtz* wrote to the others in *Finland* to desire their removal, which is only a pretence to gain time. The *Czar's* minister at *Berlin* by his master's orders acquainted the *King of Prussia* that

he had sent persons to *Abo* in order to adjust preliminaries for a peace, which *the King of Prussia* was well satisfied with.

Letters from England relate that the Spanish ambassador has delivered a memoir to George, demanding by orders from his master to know whether England designs to send a fleet this season to the Mediterranean, which that King will look on as a just cause for a rupture and thereupon take his measures. We have not yet heard what answer is given, yet 'tis confidently said that orders are given to equip 16 men-of-war for the Mediterranean and 10 for the Baltic. The States equip their fleet but slowly and have not agreed whether they shall set forth 20 or 30. They have agreed this week to raise 6,000 seamen.

The promoters of this armament propose three ends therein, 1st, to secure the trade of the Baltic, in case things advance to a general rupture, 2ly, to prevent all the designs which *Görtz* may have in the North, and lastly to be in a position of defence, when others are preparing for war.

I do not apprehend I can as yet be of any service in *Finland* but, as soon as I have letters from those parts inviting me that way, I shall lose no time in performing the journey. I beg *the King* will give me orders to take Mr. Sheri[dan] with me, because I shall find him of service. 3 pages.

POPE CLEMENT XI. to JAMES III.

1718, March 26. Santa Maria Maggiore.—After reciting that by a brief of that date he had appointed Dr. Carbritius O'Kelly, Archdeacon of Elphin, to the vacant bishopric of Elphin, who had been nominated by his Majesty, but that no mention of such nomination had been made in the brief for reasons, which he will easily understand, declaring that by such omission no infringement was intended of his right of nomination, which is declared to be saved and preserved as if it had been expressly mentioned. *Latin. On parchment.*

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to JAMES III.

1718, March 26. Paris.—The great union and uncommon friendship that appears of late 'twixt *the Elector of Hanover* and *the Regent* is attributed by the latter's chief people to *Dubois'* industrious management, who, they say, ingratiates himself to *the Elector of Hanover* for a particular view of recompense and prefers his private interest to the good of this kingdom. They add, and some of the most distinguished among 'em told me so, that, if they could get *Dubois* laid aside, they would not then question being able to change *the Regent's* present opinion in regard to *the Elector of Hanover* and convince him that his own true interest and that of the nation require his supporting *the King of Spain, the King of Sicily* and the *Princes in Italy* against *the Emperor* and adherents. They can't, however, disagree but *Dubois'* great ascendant

over *the Regent* supported by his friend, *the Elector of Hanover*, are great difficulties to overcome. I wish they may succeed, which would prove of great consequence to *the King*. Those very people don't scruple to say at present that, if *the Pretender* were with *England* at the head of six thousand men, *the Elector of Hanover* and family would be soon chased out of that country, and by that means *France* and *Spain* well settled without any apprehension of future disturbance.

This is their way of reasoning now, which I shall improve as much as depends on me, and am extremely pleased to see so great a change in their opinion in a month's time.

By what is mentioned of *Dubois*, which I have good reasons to believe, I presume *the King* will not think it proper he should be trusted by friends with *England*. I already gave *James Murray* and *Sir R. Everard* a hint on this score, without informing them of the above facts, and prayed them not to name me as author, for fear the matter should come back to *the Regent*, whose access I should certainly lose. I did not tell them this last reason and only desired not to be cited for the advertisement.

The King of Spain sent late orders to *Monteleon* to depart from *England* the moment *the Elector of Hanover* would send a fleet to the Straits. I don't hear *the Emperor's* answer to any of the proposals made in relation to *the King of Spain* is yet come.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to JAMES III.

1718, Saturday, March 26. Paris.—“ I am informed by a sure hand that there have been additional proposals made in order to facilitate *the Emperor's* and *the King of Spain's* agreement, viz. that the inheritance of the *Dutchys of Tuscany* and *Parma* should come to *the King of Spain* and heirs, that *the King of Sicily* should have *Sardinia* and remit *Sicily* to *the Emperor*. *The Regent's* chief managers disapprove this scheme, but *the Regent* is so far plunged in *the Elector of Hanover's* measures, that 'tis not practicable to gain upon him to act contrary to them. There is no appearance, however, that this project can please *the King of Spain* and much less *the King of Sicily*, since the effecting of it would secure *Italy* to *the Emperor* and leave him master to dispute the proposed inheritance, when occasion requires his so doing. You'll easily see by *the Regent's* present disposition that it would not be reasonable or prudent to confide anything to him about *the King's* interest, till some plausible event happens that may engage him to espouse it, such as a general revolution with *England* in *the King's* favour, a rupture 'twixt *England* and *Spain* or a settled and fixed alliance 'twixt *the King of Sweden* and *the Czar* with sure hopes from both those Princes to be assisting to *the King* in the recovery of his own right. In any of these cases *the Regent's* clear interest for the succession

he has so much at heart will take place preferable to all other things, and in my humble opinion there is no depending otherwise on any material *succour* from him. Being well informed of the state of affairs here, I venture to speak my mind affirmatively and do think it necessary that *the King* should be fully apprized on this head, in order to avoid false computations and that he may not be deceived in his expectations from *the Regent*.

"I said nothing to friends with *England* of my little hopes of any immediate *succour* from *the Regent*, for fear of discouraging them, neither do I intend to do it without particular directions from *the King*."

BRIGADIER CAMPBELL to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 26. *Bayonne*.—I had not troubled you, but that I think it necessary in relation to the affair about which I went to *Spain* and have since attended here. I never had a word of distinct return as to the requisite recommendations nor the least encouragement of any money till of 5,000 *livres* per last post, nor as much as a positive order who should be employed in place of *Barry*, nor a power of choosing one, which was very necessary. I do not blame *Tullibardine* nor *Glendarule* for this, only *Mr. Dillon*, from whom I never had but a line of compliment, for he does not own the receipt of my letters, much less answer them.

It's very good that Providence has ordered things no worse. You'll perceive this by the enclosed duplicates, which were sent me from *Spain* and came the same minute with *W. Gordon's* about the money. I do not think they want a comment. The impatience of staying in a convent made him advance things and demand extravagantly. But it's obvious he has had a criminal correspondence from the first time *Mar* wrote him, and that he will tell ten times more than he or any other knows. He has several letters with him from *Mar*, and perhaps from *Dillon* (for the person who gave me an account of their contents was not positive as to him), one from *the Duke of Berwick*, one or two from *Tullibardine* and one 'tis said from *Brigadier Campbell*. His fellow sufferer, *Meagher*, and he have fallen out, and he has now discovered me this. Had I known of his double dealing sooner, it's likely he had not so easily escaped, for the clergy there are all well-inclined. I believe *Meagher* the same stuff with the other, but I cannot be positive he is a rogue or has sinister ends till we are better acquainted. I shall take care to give him no ground of jealousy. Another, who pretends to adore *the King* and who knew me from *Barry* and who read and transmitted *Barry Gen. Carpenter's* answers, has not discovered the least thing to me, though we see one another frequently. I thought till of late there was one honest man of our country here, and him I judged the person. In short, I never was among such a nest of —.

The happy discovery of *Barry's* coining with the slow answers to our too pressing letters has spoiled *Gen. Carpenter's* plot and his. The design, as appears evident to me, was in the first place "*Quocumque modo rem*"; then to reflect on *the King's* honour by buying those goods with false gold, and to have had them kidnapped by the way, and so to have continued doing for several years.

I have wrote fully of all this to *Tullibardine* and *Glendarule*, also to *Mr. Dillon*. I sent the former copies and to the latter an authentic duplicate, that he may not think I am imposed on in this. *Clanranald* has also wrote to the former two, and I believe they will all have patience till we hear from you. If *Dillon* or *Tullibardine* be of a different sentiment from *Clanranald's* and mine and plainly order otherwise, they shall be obeyed with all the caution imaginable, but I am hopeful they will not venture to give *Stair* such a handle against *Queen Mary* for things which may be had in several places without such a risk and even hereabouts, if we wait a fit time. I have insisted on this sufficiently fully to them, but with entire submission to their better judgements.

Though it's most convenient to write your pleasure to *Mr. Dillon* or *Tullibardine*, yet pray honour *Clanranald* or me with a line from yourself, which *W. Gordon* will safely convey to my hands considerably sooner than if it comes through theirs.

In the duplicate I send *Mr. Dillon* he positively requires a frigate to be sent him as being worth the while &c. In another I retain he requires young *Carpenter* himself to come in all haste to him. I cannot imagine what he has to say to them. He is good at invention and has been bloody afraid at the time. Had he got over in the middle of winter, we had infallibly had another Swedish or Popish plot, but I know not how far they may find him useful in this season. We shall soon hear more of him and his reception.

My circumstances have been uneasy these seven months, from the necessary extraordinary expenses. Pray order *W. Gordon* about them. *Enclosed,*

RICHARD BARRY to *COL. STANHOPE*, *Envoy Extraordinary*
at *Madrid*.

I was very sorry not to have been at Bayonne, when you passed, and am glad my son rendered you what service he could.

I have been in correspondence with Lord Stanhope and Gen. Carpenter these 12 months, specially with Gen. Carpenter, who wrote me not long since from my Lord and himself. In consequence I continued to execute their orders with a design to go, when I had finished, to London to give them an account of their commission, but, as matters were pretty well advanced, an unlucky accident happened here, through the fault of some seamen of a ship of mine, which rendered me suspected and obliged

me to take refuge in a Franciscan convent about a cannon shot from this city, whence I cannot part for fear of being taken nor dare I put myself into their hands, knowing their tedious proceeding and cruel long imprisonment, from which Mr. John Meagher's innocence could not preserve him, who was cast into a horrible dungeon loaden with irons, where he is still and like to be, till he perishes.

This unhappy circumstance obliges me to pray you to send your secretary or other person of entire satisfaction, to whom I may communicate Gen. Carpenter's letters and other matters of consequence and consult what is to be done next in order to my getting for London, which is very necessary and will be very acceptable service to his lordship and his Excellency, having matters of the last consequence to impart to them.

It is of great consequence that nobody may know of any correspondence between us.

I presume it will be necessary that the person you send should have the King's pass, as if bound for Paris, and on arrival here he may send me his servant and call for Padre Joseph, who speaks English, who will bring me to speak to him. I must again recommend that none but the person you send should have any knowledge of my having writ to you, for there are in that Court several who will guess and draw consequences from our correspondence, whereof they will advise others, who will thereby suspect me and so prevent what is intended.

I cannot give you any address to write to me, for my letters are intercepted, so that nothing can convey your orders to me but one sent expressly. Since the foregoing I am assured you may safely give your answer to the party that will remit you this, by whose means it will be conveyed to me. If you could come yourself, it would be much better and well worth your journey. Pray forward the enclosed after sealing it. It would be of good service, if you would order one of the packet-boats that comes to the Groyne to touch here to receive your further orders. 1717, Dec. 4. St. Sebastian. 3½ pages. Copy.

**RICHARD BARRY to GENERAL GEORGE CARPENTER,
at London.**

I wrote to you from hence in answer to your last, since which I have been disposing matters in order to wait on Lord Stanhope and you in a condition to render good service, which I am sure I can do, notwithstanding an accident that hinders much and obliged me to retire to a Franciscan convent, where I design to keep incognito, till I receive your orders in answer hereof, which is to pray you to communicate this to his lordship and obtain that a small frigate or one of the packet-boats that go from Falmouth

to the Groyne may be sent for me, either to this port or that of Passage, which is within half a league of this, and in it a person of capacity with whom I may concert and that he may have directions to come privately to said convent (directions how he is to be brought to the writer) in order to ship myself with him incognito and wait on his lordship and you with such a discovery as will prevent great troubles, and render the government very good service, the particulars whereof I dare not trust to paper.

The charges of a packet-boat touching here will not be considerable, and I can't go hence by land nor through France with any safety nor in my own ship as I designed, for both it and my goods are under a seizure without hopes of a main levée, at least for a long time, and the circumstances are such as cannot be exposed in their true colours, which makes the commonalty and even those that call themselves the justice imagine one thing for another in an affair of very great consequence, which it is necessary should be kept very private, which I hope to explain by word of mouth to his lordship and you, it being unsafe, difficult and dangerous to do it by writing. The sooner it's done the better in order to prevent a great design of the last consequence. (Directions how letters are to be addressed to him.)

I pray you to assure his lordship of the truth of what I write, which I can show in writing that can admit of no doubt.

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 26. Viehna.—You will see by the enclosed relation the important news I have just received from the Court of Muscovy of the renunciation of that crown by the eldest Czarish prince in favour of his brother. Peace between Sweden and Muscovy is still talked of as certain, and people are only waiting for the Czar's return to Petersburg for the completion of that important affair.

Yesterday this Court received by a courier from London by no means agreeable news about the assistance they were hoping for from the Elector of Hanover. This ministry is in great agitation, seeing the danger at hand from the great preparations of King Philip. It is said that the Emperor is sending into Lombardy as soon as possible 10,000 men, who are to hold themselves on the defensive. The certain report continues of an agreement between this Court and the Duke of Savoy on the terms of a marriage between the first Archduchess and the Prince of Piedmont.

In a few days the Emperor's plenipotentiaries for treating of peace with the Turks will set out. My brother-in-law, formerly secretary of the Imperial Embassy to France, is to go in that capacity to the said congress, but meanwhile all the troops begin to put themselves on the march for the continuance of the war.

Here and elsewhere it is believed that King James is starting from Urbino on the way to Courland. If so, I beg to be favoured with an address to which my letters may be sent. 4 pages. *French. Partly in cipher deciphered. Enclosed,*

The SAID RELATION.

Giving an account of the renunciation at Moscow by the Czar's eldest son of his right of succession to the throne in favour of his younger brother. French.

MONSR. STIERNHOCK to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 26. Vienna.—I communicate the enclosed news judging them worthy of your curiosity. One of them is bad, which comes from the Emperor's Resident at Petersburg. I would hope it will have no consequences. I beg you "*de bien menager ce que par le penchant pour la juste cause du roy, son maitre, et le motif de meriter l'honneur de la haute bienveillance de S. M. Britannique je communique avec tant de franchise a V.E., surtout ce qui regarde les affaires du Roy, mon maitre, ou il s'agit de ma fortune que mes avis soient menagés dans des conjunctures si delicates.*" *French. Enclosed,*

The SAID NEWS.

Giving an account of the intended movements of the Imperial forces against the Turks, of the reinforcements intended for Italy, and of the various negotiations for the settlement of the affairs of Spain and Italy.

The Imperial Court has just heard from their Resident at Petersburg that, Baron Görtz having written to excuse the delay of the departure of the Swedish ministers for Abo for the conference there with the Russian ministers about the peace, the Czar has taken this excuse as a sign that the King of Sweden is thinking only of amusing him, has shown his annoyance thereat and has ordered 30,000 men to march to invade Sweden. Those of the Court of Vienna, who fear the consequences of the peace between the King of Sweden and the Czar with the exclusion of King Augustus and of his return to Poland and Saxony and imagine that the Emperor will find his advantage rather in a peace between his Swedish Majesty and the Elector of Hanover, hoping that the peace of Poland may be included therein, let it be known that they are much pleased at this news. Others, however, let it be seen that it is indifferent to them with which of the two chiefs of the Northern League the King of Sweden should make peace, provided he be the Emperor's friend and his Imperial Majesty should have nothing to fear, should he return in arms to this side of the sea. We must see if the above news be confirmed and what the first letters from Sweden

say about it. It appears, however, that a part of the Imperial Ministry begins to be of opinion that to whatever side his Swedish Majesty should turn to begin the peace of the North and whatever place of congress he may agree on with a part of his enemies, even if that place be outside Germany, the Emperor would do well not to go on making the difficulties he has hitherto made from a point of honour with regard to his Imperial dignity and authority about the place of congress and should resolve to delay no longer taking part therein as mediator and for that purpose should send a minister to the place of congress, when he should be formally requested by the parties to do so. Hitherto he has not been formally requested by any of the parties, since the new negotiations for peace have been set on foot, though their ministers here have always testified, as they do still, that his mediation will be agreeable to their masters.

Since writing the above I have heard that M. Weselowski, the Czar's Resident, who had disappeared from fear upon receiving the news of the Czar's resolution to send here to arrest him and bring him prisoner to Petersburg, returned the day before yesterday upon later intelligence that Prince Menzikow and the Chancellor Chapirow had found means to remove the bad impression received by the Czar from M. Tolstoy of M. Weselowski's conduct with regard to the Czarovitch, which was the sole cause of the Resident's retreat, what was said of his being accused of malversation not proving true. The latest news from that Court has been accompanied by the Czar's order to inform the Emperor of the Czarovitch's renunciation for himself, his son and all his descendants. It is easy to judge that the notification that the nephew of the Empress will be deprived of the succession cannot but be disagreeable to the Emperor, but he apparently will dissemble his annoyance. French. 8 pages.

THE DUKE OF MAR to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, March 26.—The enclosed duplicates of what we sent two days ago to Ormonde the direct road answers all that was left for me to say in return to yours of Feb. 28 further than what I wrote you the 19th. *The King* desires they may be shown and explained to *Queen Mary*, and you may then seal and send them all to Ormonde, the way you used to write to him, in case the originals miscarry. You will see I have also wrote to *Dr. Erskine* another way, by which I am hopeful it will go safe and quick to him and that it may be of some use.

We long impatiently to hear from Ormonde of affairs betwixt the Czar and the King of Sweden, for sure they must be far advanced by this time one way or another.

I had letters t'other day from *the Emperor's* habitation by which I fear *the Emperor* will be prevailed on to give up *his* claim to *Spain*, which is not like to draw on these consequences we so much wish for, but there will still be many things required and to be adjusted in that, so it must take time, and it is not likely *Alberoni* will put a stop to his suit in expectation of it, when he has gone so far and has been at so great charge. *The Emperor*, I hear, makes now great court to *the King of Sicily* to engage him, but you will know more of all this where you are than we can.

My master has allowed me to go to see *Rome*, so I propose to set out on Monday. I shall be absent but about three weeks and heartily wish that some lucky thing may occasion my being called back sooner.

I wrote you a short note by *Sheldon*, who will, I suppose, be with you as soon as this.

I wrote to *Tullibardine* by *the King's* directions, to choose a right man for being oversman betwixt the captain and his crew at *Bordeaux* on *Inese's* having declined meddling any more in that, which I have as much mind to get free of as he can. The crew wrote me a recantation of what they had said of *Inese*, as I find they have done to himself. *Inese*, I see, is peevish at what I wrote him of a thing *James Murray* wrote to me had been wrote him from *Scotland*, but I wrote it as I had it, and where could I write of it else or from whence could it be supposed that such a message was said or thought to have come but from some with *St. Germain's* or *Paris*, which I take in that case to be the same, and I was far from charging *Inese* with being the sender, and only desired him to try to find out from whom it had come, so the measure he complains he meets with on that is not so hard as he would turn it, but those who have a mind to be angry will be so.

I had a letter to-day of the 6th from Mr. *Wogan* from *Ohlau*, as I suppose you would also, and *the King* writes of it to *Queen Mary*.

I have just received yours of the 8th, but have had time yet to read what was enclosed and we are all going just now to a kind of holy operâ. 2½ pages. Copy.

JAMES III.

1718, March 26. Urbino.—Warrant appointing Giovanni Pietro Sbraglia to be one of his musicians. *Latin. Entry Book 5, p. 77.*

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Sunday, March 27.—My health has been much out of order these 15 days, which hindered me from writing. Though it is now somewhat better, I can't brag of being yet in a condition to write at large, and therefore shall send only the heads of the most material facts. (List of letters sent and received.)

Yours of Feb. 18 requires no answer except the article concerning Mr. *Law*, who certainly has great access to *the Regent* and is looked on by everybody to be a favourite. He has also the reputation of a prudent judicious man and very fit for business, neither is his dexterity to be questioned in anything he undertakes. After all this my views in regard to him were about *money* affairs in case of certain occurrences, which, I believe, with good management he might be led into. I have not seen him since my sickness, but am told he is much pleased with the letters he received from *the King* and *Mar*.

For your further information I think myself obliged to tell you what I know and hear of him. He is in strict union and a fast friend to *Dubois*. Both are of the prevailing party near *the Regent*, which draws great envy upon them. *Dubois* has of late obtained his *pardon* from *the Elector of Hanover*, which is a new tie of friendship. *Stair* and *Law* were at great variance some time ago, but are now reconciled and frequently together. Both are very often shut up with *the Regent* for whole hours, which occasions great murmur among *the Regent's* chief people, who say openly that those two with *Dubois* govern all *foreign affairs*, and especially such as regard *England*.

You may depend on the truth of these facts, but I shall not determine what passes in private with *the Regent* nor the share *Law* may have in the direction of affairs, having no knowledge of it.

Your letter of Feb. 24 from Fano contains but one article that requires answer, wherein you say that you wrote your thoughts to *Inese* on a project he told you was offered to *the Regent* with regard to *the King*, and refer me to *Inese's* information. I have not been at St. Germain's these 20 days, nor am I informed of that project, therefore can say nothing of it.

I am very glad *the King* and *Mar* took the diversion of an opera and that the champagne is arrived at Leghorn, which will spirit you up a little in the mountainy raw air you are in. I hope it has or will rid you of the pain in your stomach and that this will find your health perfectly recovered.

TOM BRUCE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 27. Brussels.—I had to-day the enclosed from Mr. *Jerningham*. By what he writes to me, I am sorry to understand that the bargain he was looking after is in so backward and uncertain a condition, so contrary to expectation and to all our former accounts, which to this hour continue in the same strain. *Sir H. Paterson* and he have both cautioned me not to take any notice of it, which puts me to some small difficulty, for on the late advices some of our copartnery were too forward and open and I endeavoured rather to make them reserved, by doubting the authority and not giving any credit on that head till we should be further advised, so these

insinuations I formerly made seem to be agreeable to *Jerningham's* advices, but somewhat contrary to his instructions to conceal them. However, I shall steer as equal a course as I can.

The discontents here continue as formerly, though every day we are told that the Emperor is to please them by allowing them to take the old oaths conform to their constitution and *Magna Charta*.

The last letters from London bear that the Spanish minister had told the English ministers that, if any ships were sent into the Mediterranean to meddle in the affairs of Italy, his master would look on it as an open breach, to which ours answered that his master had no reason to apprehend anything from England, and that no harm was designed him from thence. They write notwithstanding that the whole English equipment, most of which was formerly designed for the Baltic, is now to go to the Mediterranean, and that the King goes in the middle of April to Hanover and that the Parliament is to be prorogued this week.

The Dutch equipment is in the same state. I was told yesterday by one who passed from Paris to Holland that the Regent had given a very short answer to the Dutch minister, when he asked him why he sent so many troops to Dauphiny, namely, that it was the King's pleasure.

The *Antwerp Courant* of Friday says that the Pretender is to leave Urbino to go marry the Czar's niece, that of Amsterdam of yesterday, that he is going to leave Urbino in view of a marriage, and that of Leyden that he is going to leave Italy with all his retinue, if he has not left it already, towards making a new attempt on Britain.

JOHN PATERSON to CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI.

1718, March 27. Urbino.—The 24th I enclosed you a letter from the Duke of Mar to Mr. Stiernhock, to whom my Lord desires you will make his excuse that he has not now time to acknowledge his of the 8th and 9th and return his thanks to him.

There was enclosed in that letter of Lord Mar's one addressed for Dr. Erskine, the Czar's physician, which was proposed to be forwarded him by means of the Russian Envoy at your Court, but now that we understand by yours of the 9th that he had absented himself *a l'impreveu*, and, being afraid that the letter for Dr. Erskine might by that means miscarry, I am ordered to desire you'll speak to Monsieur Stiernhock of it, and, if either you or he knows of any sure and safe way of conveying it to Dr. Erskine, so that it cannot fail of coming safe to his hands, that you'll forward it to the Doctor without loss of time, but, if you cannot find any such sure canal, that you can depend on its going safe, in that case you'll return it under cover to me.

Postscript.—Requesting him to return the packet left for Monsr. Germain (Wogan), who was then expected to pass his way, but has taken another route. *Copy*.

The EARL OF OXFORD to JAMES III.

1717[-8], March 16[-27]. Epsom. (? London).—“It is no small trouble that I cannot in these circumstances of distance and the course of our trade write to *the King* in the manner I ought to do nor express what my heart dictates. If it had been possible, I would have chose that *the King* should have first found my zeal by its effects rather than by any verbal professions, but, since *Anne Oglethorpe* has made known to you my intentions, I will omit nothing that is possible for me to do to promote the trade of *the King*. It is very true that our distance from *the King* is a very great hindrance to trade, but that must be borne until it can be conveniently altered. But I crave leave once for all to mention this. I hope *the King* will excuse his factors, if they act for the best and for fear of losing the market do not on all occasions wait for *the King's* particular directions as they ought and would do, were it not for the great distance we are at. You know that the woollen manufacture (the House of Stuart) is the ancient staple trade of the kingdom, and I can with much pleasure tell you that it grows every day more and more in fashion ; and those new goods (the House of Brunswick) are run down every day, people are ashamed to wear them and I hope the old trade will quickly be restored and flourish. But, though everything tends to this and has so good a prospect, yet there will be a necessity of encouragement from foreign markets, and we expect to hear the current price of goods in your market, as soon as it can be settled. It is not possible for *the King's* factor here to write upon that subject, it would be but guess-work at best ; but it is to be hoped that *the King* will take care by *Mar* to give such directions as he shall judge necessary from time to time, and the nearer it is to have the market begun the greater ought to be the care that the rival merchants do not find out what goods *the King* trades with.

“I find that several new traders are willing to come into the partnership, but they will take their own way of doing it, and in my poor opinion they should every one be encouraged to it, and to venture their cargo after their own fancy ; *Lord Oxford* will encourage everyone therein, unless *the King* forbids him, and will assure them of fair dealing and let them take their own way of doing it.

“Our great fair or mart at Bristol is over (*i.e.* the Parliament is prorogued), there has been some confusion by the scarcity of coin, yet I cannot but say *the King's* credit is very much improved as you will find by particular accounts.

“*Lord Oxford* studies to keep well with *the Bishop of Rochester*, and *the King* may depend upon it that nothing shall

cool him in promoting *the King's* interest, and he can assure you that successful pains have been taken with several of the same rank and trade with *the Bishop of Rochester*, and, as soon as it is proper, *the King* shall know their names and cargoes. It is made plain to them and to others that the woollen manufacture is the only ancient staple trade, and that there is no dependence to be had on any other new inventions.

"I now come to acknowledge the favour of *the King's* letter of Dec. 16. It was long in its passage, but that is not to be wondered at, it makes such lasting impressions upon me that I must leave it to time to show that which is not proper to be expressed in writing at present.

"I shall take the particulars in order as they lie in that letter. As to *the King's* return, I desire it may be for good and all, but in the meantime how to settle a quicker correspondence is what I have turned my thoughts towards, and many objections occur to every method; that which has fewest must be chosen. To have *the King* and *Mar* reside in different places may give some advantage in correspondence, but then it is attended with other great inconveniences: add to this that the spring brings on the best time for trade, and, until it is known here what channel trade will take, it is not possible to propose any tolerable method to remedy the distance.

"If it were possible to fix *the Regent* right in what is his own interest and that of all his partners in his own trade it would make everything easy to *the King* and to *the Regent* also.

"This leads me to the next point in the letter, wherein you are pleased to ask *Lord Oxford's* advice, which obliges him to give it plainly. He thinks, should that present (of the Cardinal's cap) be obtained for any of *the King's* countrymen, it would enrage *England* and in this juncture bankrupt that family which should have it, which are already too much pursued by their merciless creditors. On the other hand, I would not have *the King* drop that privilege; cannot the actual giving it be suspended until *the King* can find a proper object for it, who may do him considerable service in return for it? And cannot *the King* find one belonging to *France* who can effectually serve *the King* and fix *the Regent*? I hope I have explained this particular sufficiently.

"The head which follows in the letter is that of marriage. The reasons for not pursuing the former were so good and so strong they give everyone full satisfaction. I hope that condition will be very happy to *the King*. This I am sure of, that *England* ought to receive it as a sacrifice to *its* interest and make suitable returns to it.

"The next that follows relates to the project of the interloper. I did some months since send my thoughts of the conduct observed upon that occasion, that it was prudent and just, and the conclusion was acted with great generosity.

Less could not be done, and the nature of the thing would not allow more. An odd thing has happened just now in *England's* family relating to *King George*, of which you will hear publicly. It may give *the King* occasion to declare his mind and to expose such unfair traders. I will advise with *the King's* friends here upon that subject and *the King* shall hear farther. *The King* has the goodness to take notice of honest *Capt. Ogilvie*. He has a great mind to be in *the King's* service, and pitches upon one of two things. I dare not presume to ask such a matter, but I will venture to say nobody can exceed him in diligence and fidelity. If *the King* should have the goodness to give it him, it will be very inconvenient to have him remove at present while this method of correspondence is necessary, and I wonder how *Lord Oxford* came formerly to be misunderstood, for he did not intend to make use of any other channel but *Capt. Ogilvie's*, and in the present circumstances the utmost care is requisite to prevent any accident happening to interrupt the going on of our trade. This makes *Lord Oxford* cautious of not entering into particulars, but in time *the King* shall know who his friends are. They daily increase, though at present some will deal only in one part of the woollen manufacture and some in another; yet by degrees and step by step there is reason to believe all will come into partnership.

"If I have omitted anything here I will supply it in that to *Mar*. *Lord Oxford* will endeavour to say what is proper from *the King* to particular people.

"I am but an apprentice and factor and therefore am not able to express sufficiently what I would do for so good a master, but I shall show that I serve him heartily faithfully with a single regard to his interest only." 4 pages.

WILLIAM GORDON to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, March 28.—I had yours of the 10th by Mr. Freebairn and delivered the enclosed to the Earl of Panmure with your compliments to the Doctor.

Your three packets for my namesake at St. Germain's Mr. Freebairn delivered himself. When I go there, which is very seldom, I will see my cousin, for the females of that name as well as those of her trade use not to be hard-hearted.

Your friend Clangun must drink, get money where he will, but what he does as to the other affair I know not, and his master never learnt him that occupation. I shall mind your address, and your father's answer when it comes, and shall make your compliments to your Scots friends, among them James Cuming, who no doubt knew your hand and the rather that I dropped something to him, when I sent your letter, whereby he would guess from whom it came. I wrote your brother Thomas several times about two letters I addressed to him for Mr. Rate or the Duke of Mar, but never had a word

of answer, though I caused speak to him and told him he would be in no great danger to write to me about business. However, I hear he is very well, rolling about in his chariot and every thing of his house, wife and family conform, so he has got the start of you, though he be the younger brother.

I shall make your excuse to all your camerades that it's impossible for you to answer their expectations in writing to them, and I never expect to hear from you unless something of business obliges you. Your silence neither surprises nor disoblges me, for I know you have other fish to fry as to amuse yourself with writing letters of ceremony or civility.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to JAMES III.

1718, March 28. St. Germain's.—I came here last night by *Queen Mary's* pressing commands, though my health is not yet in a condition to support any fatigue. I received during my sickness at *Paris* yours of Feb. 16 and 23 and of the 9th instant, and* had last night from *Queen Mary* yours of Feb. 25 with the order concerning *Inese*. I have executed your commands as to the last point and can affirm with truth that *Inese* received them in the most dutiful and submissive manner. By what you write to me I don't question your having sufficient grounds, but I can't help saying that in all my dealings with *Inese* I found him a most upright man, extremely zealous and of a clear digested good judgment. I think myself obliged by principle of justice and honour to give this testimony, which is all I know of the matter. I presume *the King* will be informed of what *Inese* writes to *Mar* on this account.*

'Tis not in my power to express my great acknowledgement for your good opinion of me, as also for your bounty towards me. My duty and zeal for your person and service shall never be wanting, and I wish I could be able to answer for my capacity and judgment to go through all the business you charge me with. I shall use my utmost endeavours, but am too sincerely attached to your interest to undertake more than I can perform; therefore, when I find the burthen too great, I hope you will allow me to inform you of it that you may then name whom you think proper for corresponding with those *Inese* had to do with. I am persuaded *the King* won't disapprove this plain and natural manner of proceeding.

I expect *James Murray* will be here very soon, and hope to be able to write at large by him, which I am not in a condition to do at present. *The part between asterisks is printed in the Stuart Papers, p. 24, note. 3½ pages.*

[LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON] to [the DUKE OF MAR].

1718, Monday, March 28. St. Germain's.—This is in answer to yours of the 10th. You were right to say that what you wrote about *Inese* would surprise me and indeed it did

extremely. God prosper *the King*. I presume he has reasons for what he does. (Testimony in favour of Inese as in the last letter.)

All your directions as to *Inese* and other matters shall be punctually observed. I have no hopes of *Francia's* affair turning to good account. He prevaricated with us from the beginning to the end. However, if you can find means to apply to him, I think it would not be amiss. In my first conference with him I proposed to carry him to *Ormonde* and *Mar*, then in the neighbourhood of *Paris*. He answered he had no commission to speak to either of them, and that he did not think it proper without having directions from his club, as he called the friends who employed him. I gave an immediate account of this to *Queen Mary*, who, I am morally sure, never spoke to *Francia* of *Ormonde* or *Mar*. This is the real fact, by which you'll easily see that either the good friar has mistook *Francia* or that the other told him an untruth.

The account you had of *the King of Sweden* and *the Czar's agreement* was ill-grounded, as you have already seen by *Jerningham's* letter of Feb. 13 and the copy of *Sir H. Stirling's* of the 10th of that month O.S. Friends with *England* still believe they have adjusted affairs, but we have no sure news here of the factors' meeting or where the congress is to be. I expect daily with impatience a letter from *Ormonde* on this head.

I enclose *James Murray's* last to me, and think it necessary you should know that the same account he gives of the two gentlemen (this word is written instead of "brothers" erased) was sent to others this side of the water. George Hamilton showed me a late letter he had from *England*, where 'tis said that their being in *the King's* interest is no more doubted of. I told him I knew nothing of it, but that in all cases the matter should be kept very secret for reasons I mentioned needless to be repeated. This same news being wrote to other friends with *Paris*, I fear much it may be divulged, though without any ill design, and, if the report went back to *Argyle*, it is to be apprehended that it would disgust or at least displease him. I shall be very attentive to keep it down as much as depends on me.

I hope *James Murray* will be soon here and by him I'll write at large. (About his health and his coming to St. Germain's as in the last letter.) *Inese* sent me the enclosed packets to be forwarded. 4 pages.

L. INESE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 28. St. Germain's.—I received by Mr. Freebairn your letter of the 10th and by it the first news of the King's order that I should meddle no more in his affairs, and have since received from Mr. Dillon the order itself. (Then follows a long passage printed in *the Stuart Papers*, p. 24, note.)

I think myself obliged to return you my most humble thanks for your kind letter. It was indeed a great goodness to take so much pains to convince me that you knew nothing of this order, till after it was dispatched, of which, after what you say, I have not the least doubt; nay, I dare say, had your advice been asked, you had endeavoured to soften matters, so that the order might not be sent in so severe a manner as it was. The least intimation of the King's pleasure had been sufficient to make me do what I have myself so long and so often desired.

You say "I know best what is the matter that has occasioned the King to do so." I sincerely protest that I neither know nor can guess what I have done to offend him, unless it be that I have writ my thoughts to him with more freedom than was perhaps agreeable to him. But for my so doing I have this to say for myself that I had not only his allowance, but even his reiterated commands to write freely to himself whatever I thought for his service, and have often found that, when what I proposed happened to be contrary to his sentiments, far from being offended he encouraged me to continue with the same freedom. What besides made me continue in the same way was that he had formerly promised that, whenever he found fault with anything in my conduct, he would himself advertise me of it, and 'tis certain I had no advertisement given me. But this is what I had not said, had it not been necessary for answering your letter.

Now, as my behaviour on this nice occasion may perhaps be misrepresented, most people being apt to give things a good or bad turn as they themselves are well or ill affected, to prevent any impression such partial relaters may make, I shall here plainly and sincerely set down, what I have said and what I shall say to those who speak to me of this, that what the King has now done in laying me aside, I think both just and reasonable, that I doubt not that it will turn to his advantage, that it was ever my own opinion that it was not fit for any priest to be concerned in his temporal affairs, that the King and Queen know I never intruded myself into their affairs, but often and earnestly begged for leave to retire from being concerned in them, that it was only in obedience to their commands I continued to meddle in them, and that therefore, far from murmuring or complaining, I heartily approve and am entirely satisfied with what the King has now done. This is the substance of what I have said and shall say to those who, whether I will or not, will speak to me on this occasion, and, if you hear anything contrary to this or not consistent with it, I must beg you to do me the justice not to believe it. I shall conclude with returning you my most humble thanks for the kind offer of friendship you make me. Whatever letters may come from those who correspond with me shall be given to Mr. Dillon, and what letters may come for you under my cover shall be given to him or Mr. Gordon. As

soon as I knew the King's intentions, I wrote to those who used to correspond with me to leave off writing to me of anything relating to his Majesty's affairs, and not to expect to hear any more from me on that subject, because I was not to meddle any more in them, and therefore desired them to address themselves directly to you or Mr. Dillon. 4 pages.

CAPT. GEORGE CAMOCKE to QUEEN MARY.

1718, March 28. St. Germain's.—My friends in England lately signified to me that the pirates in America have two ships of 50 guns, two of 40 and about 16 sloops and brigantines of from 12 to 6 guns, and that they are now in possession of one of the Bahama Islands, and that they have built a citadel for their defence and have mounted 24 guns. Their number is 5,000 and they daily increase.

The Duke of Brunswick has issued a proclamation to pardon all such pirates as would lay down their arms and return to his obedience at a limited time, but they have rejected with contempt the said pardon, and did with one heart and voice proclaim James III for their king, and I am persuaded they are resolved to prosper or perish in their bold and brave undertaking, but it is humbly desired by them that his Majesty will send them a person who has borne some character in the English Royal Navy with a commission for captain general of America by sea and land with a full power to give commissions and such instructions as shall be thought needful to enable him to reduce the Bermudas to the King's obedience, for I am convinced that island may be easily surprised.

Such an enterprise as taking that island can never be effected but once, so, if we carry our point, which in my poor opinion I think there is no difficulty in effecting, I defy all the maritime powers in Europe to dislodge us; furthermore the advantage will be so great, that very few ships of the enemy trading to Guinea and the West Indies will escape us.

I most humbly offer my proposal how to make these people very useful to his Majesty, and I doubt not that pardoning and employing them against the common enemy will be the only means to make way for a restoration, for, if we can destroy the West India and Guinea trade, we shall make the English merchants for their own sakes for the advantage of trade rather desire a restoration than that the Duke of Brunswick should continue.

First, I most humbly propose that, since the Duke of Brunswick thinks it worth his while to give an indemnity to these pirates for all their depredations, certainly it must be my master's interest to grant them pardon and employ them against the common enemy. Therefore, I most humbly offer that, if his Majesty thinks me capable to undertake this great work, I will, with the interest of my friends in England, purchase a 50 gun ship at Cadiz with our own money, which

will cost about 15,000*l.*, and I will engage to man her with the King's own natural born subjects, and here is a person, who is trustworthy and has great interest amongst the Protestants as well as Catholics, who will rely on his word and trust him with money and whatever else is necessary for this expedition, if approved of. He will go to England and send me to Cadiz thirty sea officers of the very best that nation affords, who are desirous to serve under my command, and they also desire that he may be employed in every respect and empowered with instructions enabling him to go for England without loss of time for the more speedy making the necessary remittances to Cadiz for purchasing a proper ship.

Furthermore it is most humbly offered that the armateurs and captors shall have the full benefit of ships and cargoes that shall be taken and adjudged lawful prize for their own proper use, and that the net proceeds of the captors' share shall be divided in the same manner as was done in the late war between England and France, but there shall be given to his Majesty as a free gift out of the net proceeds of all prizes sufficient money to enable him to raise such a number of troops for to be able to undertake some noble enterprise to endeavour to restore him.

For the better encouragement to his Majesty's true subjects, who trade to America and may suffer with the disobedient and disloyal, I most humbly propose that such persons, as can within some limited time give good proof of their loyalty, shall have returned them the value of their goods, plate &c. but not the ship so taken, because that climate and the worm will soon damage them, and furthermore, if the necessity of the service requires their being made use of, then, that justice may be done to the loyal, it shall be ordered that such ships so taken shall be surveyed and valued, and, if made use of for the service, the armateurs and captors shall pay the proprietors within a twelvemonth and a day the valuation.

Lastly, the armateurs, who are to consist of seven, whereof the Admiral is to be accounted as one, shall be equally empowered, and no one shall have a superiority over the other by land, and the majority shall on all accounts be a determination of the matter proposed, and any three shall be sufficient to sign any order relating to prizes, and that it be inserted in the instructions to the Admiral that, if any armateur's affairs hinder him from being on the spot, it shall be lawful for him to name deputies who shall act with the same force as if he were present.

It shall be given to the Admiral in his instructions that at his arrival amongst the pirates, after the proclamation of pardon has been read, they are immediately to proceed on business, and the very first thing to be done in Council shall be to give his Majesty an account of our proceedings and intentions, and two sailing vessels shall be appointed for packet-boats

from our principal ports to Vigo or some other port in Biscay, which shall depart every six weeks or as necessity requires.

I most humbly supplicate that this proposal be sent express to the King and, as a good design succeeds from its being kept secret and a quick dispatch, I most humbly implore you will not suffer this plan to be communicated to any but to the King and the Dukes of Ormonde and Mar.

Since no expense is required from his Majesty and this plan is so promising, I can't but hope it will have an approbation, but, should it not be approved, I pray you to write to the King for his leave for my serving the King of Spain and that he will send me his commission for any one of the nine English Admirals with a letter of recommendation to that King, and I pray he will date it from the time I went with his Grace of Ormonde, but above all I prefer serving the King, if occasion offers. 12 pages.

DR. MAGHIE to LORD GERARD [? MAR].

1718, March 28. Urbino.—Licence to eat meat during the present Lent on account of his indisposition. *Latin*.

JAMES MURRAY to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, March 17[-28]. London.—I have yours of the 22nd N.S., and in it the bill you mention. I look on it as my happiness that *the King* thinks I can be of use to him by being here, and must submit to what he thinks proper in order to make me so. *George Kelly* came to town last Saturday night, having by *Sir R. Everard's* order left the goods to be brought by the waggon. We expect them every hour, and, as soon as they arrive, I shall be able to write to you more fully.

I am really surprised that what I wrote to you about a certain picture is so great a mystery, and you may easily believe I should have been more particular, had I imagined it possible that such a one could have come over without your knowledge or *Queen Mary's*. At the same time, I must own that I avoided naming particular persons and only mentioned the thing, because I desire it may be understood that I never write anything from a view to accuse any person, and that I am still more incapable of writing idle stories. But this, from the consequences of it, in my poor opinion deserved to be mentioned and for *Queen Mary's* further information and yours you'll be pleased to know that *Menzies* and *Anne Oglethorpe* have had in their possession the picture and have showed it either directly by themselves or by others to a great many people, some of quality and some much otherways, as the picture of one of the young ladies, nieces to *the Czar*, which has possessed people so much of a belief that *the King's* marriage is concluded, that the common health in all companies of his friends has been what would have been proper on a public declaration of such a thing, so you may judge what

figure some of our friends have made on this occasion. I think I need say no further. From whom or to whom it came, I know not, but as to Mr. *Menzies*, some to whom he showed it told me they saw it in his hands. As to the matter itself, I did not then nor do not yet know what may be in it, but, whether true or false, I saw in either case the ill consequences of making it public, and, had it been possible after this to have contradicted it, I thought it a strong reason to do so, that *Ormonde* had never thought fit to make the least mention of it.

The Parliament in all appearance will be up next Wednesday, and it's thought the King will go soon after to Hanover. The changes in our ministry you'll see in the public papers. I will write more fully soon about your private concerns. 2 pages.

WILLIAM GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 29. Paris.—Concerning the receipt and dispatch of letters.—I shall speak only to Mr. Dillon about the King's affairs and not to him except by your direction or in consequence of your orders to others. I communicated your paragraph to the Countess of Carington and caused the letter to Mademoiselle Ti[l]desley to be delivered to her own hand.

The Court of France are very unkind to the Queen in not paying her more regularly, which puts Mr. Dicconson out of case to furnish any fund for the last or this month, which is very uneasy to us all, for a good many, if not most, of the King's subjects, want credit as strangers and are reduced to great straits, though I do what I can to advance those in greatest want as long as I have it of my own.

Amongst the enclosed I think there's one from Lord Pitsligo, who writes me for credit in Holland, which I shall send him next post, and, because he was so kind and just as to put himself out of the list, you may be pleased to renew my orders of paying him, else Mr. Dicconson may scruple to allow it.

ROBERT FREEBAIRN to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 29. Paris.—I wrote to Mr. Paterson the 22nd that I had punctually obeyed your directions.

I take the liberty to inform you of what I find passing amongst our people here, and, if I do it with some freedom, I hope you will believe it proceeds from a zeal for his Majesty's service and a personal attachment to yourself.

In the first place, everybody is calling out against the Court of St. Germain's for some one thing or another, but all agree that what business is transacted for the King there is not done with that secrecy and perhaps honesty that needs were. That Court, say they, never wanted spies, nor is it now free of 'em. How should there otherwise come so many complaints from the King's friends in England, and so many things be

talked of in the coffee-house here? It is the openness at least of that Court that makes the King's friends at home so cautious and distrustful and those abroad so fearful and jealous, as considering them a set of people with whom they cannot deal with safety.

In the meantime everybody here seems well pleased that his Majesty has discharged Mr. Innes from meddling any more in his affairs, while others are not so well satisfied with Mr. Dillon's management. Nobody doubts of his bravery and integrity, but most people think he is acting a little out of his sphere and complain of him for being slow and of uneasy access. It is publicly talked that Mr. James Murray is expected quickly over and is to succeed him.

There is still the same peevish humour amongst some people there was formerly, but whence it proceeds I cannot learn, except that they have mutually concurred to flatter and deceive one another into an over-value of their own parts and merit.

Dr. Leslie tells me they have printed in England the letter the King wrote him, and that it has had great effect there. They have it here that the Duke of Argyle is gone down to Scotland disobliged and threatening, and that the Spanish ambassador has told the Court of England that his master will declare war, if they send above four ships into the Mediterranean.

All our people here go by their own names, except Lord Panmure, and are in all the public places and meet with no disturbance and are in great expectation that something is to be suddenly attempted.

I must again beg of you to forgive this liberty and to consider what I have told you only as a simple narrative.

GEORGE JERNINGHAM to JAMES III.

1718, March 29. The Hague.—Since I wrote last, we had the following account from *Sweden* by letters of the 10th and 11th N.S., that *Görtz* should have parted the 10th for *Finland*, but the *King of Sweden*, hearing that *Monsieur Fabricius* was arrived with new proposals from *England*, had ordered his delay till the said person came to *Court*, who was on the road and arrived at *Court* the 10th, on examination of which the *King of Sweden* found nothing answerable to his expectations, since the *Elector of Hanover*, notwithstanding his generosity in other points, was still resolved to keep *Bremen &c.* Hereupon *Görtz* had fresh orders to continue his journey as abovementioned and set out the 11th accordingly. This relation was given me by *Prince Curakin*, from whom I have had several friendly advices in regard to affairs now in motion. Amongst the rest he told me that he was fully of opinion that, unless the *King of Sweden* would agree without *Livonia*, nothing would be done in that affair. I said nothing thereto,

knowing how passionately bent *the King of Sweden* and his *ministry* are as to that point, and push that matter with much more fire than *Görtz*, who, having a distance view in all he does, would give up that or almost anything to finish affairs with *the Czar*, and thinks that what they give now will easily refall again upon the death of *the Czar*, and I believe his calculations would fall pretty right. The present confusions in *Muscovy* confirm the same, which I omit here, because all the printed papers are full of them. *The Czar* is not returned to *Petersburg*, which will retard proceedings at *Abo*. However, since things are brought to this light and carried this length, I am resolved to join *Ormonde* without loss of time. I propose to go to-morrow to *Amsterdam*, where *Prince Curakin* has given me a rendezvous, and thence forward. What I learn between this and then, I shall trouble you with by the next or the next post but one.

I apprehend a greater necessity than ever that *the King* applies now his credit with *the Czar*, for 'tis plain where the whole pinches, and, if we cannot soften that point, it will be all labour in vain.

I'll not trouble *Mar* with more particulars, being satisfied that you'll be pleased that the last efforts from *England* are come to nothing, which influences so much already that *the King of Denmark* has forbid the French minister at *Hamburg* to receive any more letters from *Sweden*, saying he cannot permit that correspondence any longer. 1½ page.

SIR H. PATERSON to L. INESE.

1718, March 29. *Leyden*.—I hope you got my last with the one enclosed from *Ormonde* to *Dillon*, which I gave you the trouble of, because I thought it the safest way. I received one lately from *Dillon* with one enclosed to *Jerningham*, which I answered last week, when I suppose he likewise heard from *Jerningham*, who arrived here two days before his, and who, I doubt not, has given him an account in what situation he found things here. I hope his coming into these parts will have no inconvenience, and that he may be with *Ormonde* in time or further that way, should there be occasion for it, and he proposes to set out on the first certain notice he has of *Görtz's* arrival in these parts. I have been with him some days at *the Hague*, where we saw several of the factors there and particularly *Prince Curakin* and *the King of Sweden's* friend, who are both very much for their friends' agreeing to the peace, and on the terms we wish, and they have both wrote to their friends in the strongest manner they can to persuade them to it. The last has told us of the late offers made to *the King of Sweden* on the part of *the Elector of Hanover*, and at the same time said he thought that *the King of Sweden* could not in honour make up with him. (About the refusal of these offers, the delay in *Görtz's* journey, and his eventual departure as in the last letter.)

I heard the other day from a pretty good hand that *the Regent* does not at present press *the King of Sweden* so much to settle a treaty with *the Elector of Hanover* as he has done of late, and there is reason to believe this, on what has now happened betwixt *the Elector of Hanover* and *the Emperor*, but you must know it better, and, if the case is so, I have no great fears that *the peace* will prevail betwixt *the King of Sweden* and *the Elector of Hanover*, for it has been by *the Regent's* canal and his interest only that that management has been on foot this while past and been so much pressed.

I shall see *Jerningham* to-morrow, and, if we find it confirmed that *Görtz* has parted from *Lund*, as there is reason to believe by the way these accounts come, I shall press his setting out without loss of time and even without waiting for the returns to what he has wrote to *Queen Mary*, which I must presume will be likewise *Queen Mary's* opinion, and, if he happens to be gone before he receives them, I shall take all care to dispatch them safely after them. You may communicate what you judge proper of this to *Queen Mary*, and I shall not fail to write again by next post, if anything further occurs.

We have not much news here at present, and we want two posts from E[nglan]d. (Reports from thence of threats of war by the Spanish ambassador, if ships were sent to the Mediterranean, as in other letters.) It is expected the Spanish minister here will soon make such another declaration. This has alarmed very much the merchants in E[nglan]d, but, notwithstanding, the fleet is still fitting out, and it's given out that 20 men-of-war are to go to the Mediterranean and 10 to the Baltic, and they still talk of putting out a squadron here, to which they are very much pressed by E[nglan]d, though they make no great haste to it, and it's even yet doubted by many that any will go from these parts. The two squadrons from E[nglan]d cannot be ready this two months, many of the ships being not yet put in commission, and neither victualled nor seamen yet provided. The bill about the forfeited estates, it's thought, will pass in the House of Lords, though it meets with great opposition there. It is of a very extraordinary nature, and among other odd clauses there is one that cuts off all personal creditors on these estates, and the Commissioners have the stating of all claims independent of the Lords of Session, which must make a very great confusion in Scotland, and many poor people will suffer by it.

I must desire you to forward the enclosed to *Mar* the first opportunity. It was sent me from home, when I heard likewise from the person you not long ago sent me some packets to forward to, who desires that *the King* and *Queen Mary* may be assured that our partners at *Scotland* are as ready and willing as ever to serve *the King*, who has got many new friends there, and the measures now taking there are not like to make them fewer. 3 pages.

MARIO, MARQUESS CORNIA, to "ILLUSTRISSIMO SIGNORE E PADRONE MIO" [? DAVID NAIRNE].

1718, March 29. Verona.—Thanking him for his replies and information.—I well know the royal condition of that personage, the justice of his cause, and am ready to treat him as if he were on his throne. I too am in a somewhat similar position, deriving royal blood from Duke Matthias and being by right of blood and succession sole heir to the states of my family, which were tyrannically usurped from my ancestors. Although the late Emperor Leopold, under whose august protection I lived 16 years till his death, and who created me knight of the order of St. George, formerly publicly declared me prince, I have contented myself with the title of marquess only as my father did, though he lived incognito many years in Verona, where he married the widow of Count Pizzinali, where I was born and lived till I was 15, when I lost my parents, and, though my mother had a fortune of 16,000 ducats, I never was able to get a farthing of it, the whole being consumed by Counts Pietro and Raimondo, my elder brothers. Don Nicola dal Fior and his comrade, Don Giuseppe, can inform you of my condition.

As to the affair you know of, I should not hesitate to confide it to such a person as Cardinal Gualterio. In treating of a matter so delicate and important I cannot put it down on paper and we are too far off to do it by word of mouth. I pray God to continue his favours to the personage you know of, and to conduct him to the wished-for haven, as the justice of his cause demands. *Italian.*

JAMES III to CARDINAL GUALTERIO.

1718, March 29. Urbino.—I was agreeably surprised to see the good turn the business of *money* has taken, but I cannot but be mortified at seeing the distrust shown towards *Gualterio*. One cannot sufficiently admire his prudence and his great moderation, his conduct in this affair being certainly the most prudent and that most in accordance with the interests of *the King*, who will always keep him informed of everything and will try by redoubling his confidence to make up for the want of it he finds elsewhere.

The affairs of the North are on the point of decision and it may well happen that, if *the money* affair is not soon finished, it will come too late. I tremble merely at thinking that I shall be obliged to say in that case, if the money in question is demanded of me, that I have none, for to all appearances everything will depend on that, so all the prudent solicitations you will be able to make on that subject are more necessary than ever.

You will find here *Cardinal Imperiali's* letter to me with my answer.

I shall wait for a letter from *Cardinal Albani* before writing to him, and, as I reckon that will come by the next ordinary,

you will see if it be proper to anticipate my letter by presenting to the Pope and all his family my compliments on the death of Donna Giulia.

You will put, if you please, the enclosed letter for Turin in the ordinary post without any mystery and without asking for a receipt from the postmaster at Turin, as was done in the case of the last. You will see I am using another address, but the answers will always be sent by that of *Cardinal Aquaviva*. I beg you to have particular attention to send me all the letters that shall come by that address.

I am to tell you that Mr. Wogan is returned. He has seen several princesses, among them the youngest Sobieski, of whom he gives a very advantageous character, and whom I might have to-morrow, if I wished, but the answers I am waiting for from elsewhere not having come, my indecision continues in spite of myself, though I hope it will not last long.

I approve extremely of your conduct with regard to *the Princess of Saxony*. My principal object in that affair should be to gain time, which will not be difficult from the turn that it is taking. For the rest, though I have almost wholly rejected it in myself, I believe it would be impolitic to declare myself as yet, to avoid confirming the suspicions people might have with regard to another marriage, and that in general I ought not to refuse anyone, till my choice is fixed, for different reasons too clear to be mentioned.

Wogan has not taken the least step with regard to *the Princess of Saxony*, following the orders of *Queen Mary* received before his departure. He did not bring the letter for the Rector of the Jesuits and, as the latter was not willing to take the responsibility of the packet which *Mar* sent directly from here, it has been consigned to a sure hand, from which it will be returned here to be thrown into the fire. I have believed I ought to set your mind at rest on that subject.

I should have told you that *the Princess of Baden* is pretty, but dwarfish, and therefore *the King* is to think of her no longer.

The Duke of Mar does not intend to go into company at Rome, and I find it very good that he does not for all sorts of reasons. There are however particular cases in which he will let himself be guided by you. The [Pope's] nephews, the Secretary of State and Cardinal Imperiali would perhaps expect a visit, and civilities in those directions would perhaps be well spent, but in this you will decide. He will have with him Mr. Erskine and Mr. Stuart, whom you know. You may employ them as interpreters for common and ordinary matters, but as for the secrets and above all as regards *money* he does not expect to learn anything at Rome, unless you may be able to make yourself understood by him in French, of which he understands only a very little.

If I could have imagined that my going to Fourlo would have made so much noise, I would have certainly informed you beforehand, but, as you heard nothing of it from me,

I presume that it will have caused you no uneasiness. In my situation little mysterious journeys from time to time cannot but have a good effect for the time when it will be a question of leaving for good, which may soon happen, if the affairs of the North are once settled. However that may be, my recent trip has procured me lights and information which will serve me in a serious affair. I see, when that occasion shall come, I ought not to let *the President here* into the secret, and I will tell you, though in the deepest confidence, that *the Duke of Parma* has a man here who is ordered to send him an express when *the King* shall leave for good. I am told he was sent here some time ago, but of this I am not sure, but it matters little. I have reason to believe the spy wishes me well, but it is well to know there is such a thing, since he has always to obey his orders.

My last letter leaves me nothing more to say about what I have written to Leslie. I am always more and more convinced that you will not hear anything said about it where you are, and that, however this may be, my last letter will be sufficient for you to obviate all inconveniences that may arise from it on the part of *the Pope*. *French. Draft and fair copy with some variations. The last sentence is only in the draft.*

JAMES III to the KING OF S[ICILY].

1718, March 29. Rome.—I would have sooner acknowledged your letter of the 2nd and expressed my concern at your accident, if I had not been afraid of troubling you. I ardently wish that your health may be re-established, but I am a little surprised that a letter I saw a little while ago from one of your friends says nothing of your accident. As to what you have told me about *the Princess of Baden* I have made particular enquiries about *her*, and it appears to me from the report of an eye-witness that *she* is not fit for the purpose you proposed. However, *the King* assures me there are several other prospects with regard to that and that he is working efficaciously to provide for the affair you have so earnestly recommended to him. He hopes to come to the end of it soon and doubts not you would approve of the steps he has taken, were it possible to explain them to you by writing. He hopes notwithstanding in a little while to give you satisfactory news about a matter he has so much at heart, and the execution of which does not depend on him, and is not so easy as might be imagined.

I shall not fail to address my letters as you order. It is pretended that letters are often opened in the Milanese, but this ought not to trouble a correspondence relating solely to family affairs. People here are very uneasy from their well-founded apprehensions of a war in Italy, but, without meddling with politics which interest us less than other people, I will tell you for your amusement that I learned the other day everything was in excitement and alarm at Urbino at the unexpected departure of the Chevalier de St. George, no one

knew where. The politicians were much puzzled at it, and afterwards as much surprised at his return the same day, and it is known since he had gone only to see a Roman antiquity some miles from here. Apparently another time people will not remark so much on his movements which ought not to surprise or interest this country so much. *The King*, who is always in the country, is well, but cannot tell you anything positive of his lawsuit. It would appear to be going well, but he does not yet see very clearly in it and everything is undecided, but, since you kindly take an interest in it, he will inform you of its progress. 3 pages. *French. Copy.*

JAMES III to CARDINAL IMPERIALI.

1718, March 29. Urbino.—I received only to-day your letter of Feb. 12 with the enclosed brief of his Holiness, and I have had the pleasure of seeing by what you write to me on the 23rd instant that his Holiness has also approved of the last nomination which I have made of Carberie Kelly to the Bishopric of Elphin. I beg you to convey my most humble acknowledgements to the Pope for both and to accept my most sincere thanks for the zeal you show towards me on every occasion. In such matters I always take so much precaution and follow such precise rules that, thank God, my conscience has nothing to reproach itself with, but it will believe that it will always act with more certainty with the assistance of your advice, which I beg you to continue, seeing above all by experience the value I place and always shall place upon it.

Touching the other matter mentioned in your letter, Cardinal Gualterio has informed me of the method he has proposed to himself to bring it to a good end, and he has since written that it is going well, but that he is not in a position to give me details. I can never explain to you how sensible I am of the part you have taken in it, being convinced that, if it succeeds, I shall owe it chiefly to your care and advice. Your zeal in it is such that I have only to ask the continuance of it, at the same time repeating that my all may depend on a speedy and favourable decision.

So poor a token of my gratitude as my portrait does not deserve your attention. Would to God it were in my power to give you more substantial proofs of my sincere friendship.

However incognito the Duke of Mar wishes to be during his stay at Rome, he will always be pleased to pay you his respects in person if you find it good, though his ignorance of foreign languages will deprive him of the advantage of your conversation. 2½ pages. *French. Draft and fair copy. This and the last letter were enclosed in that to Cardinal Gualterio.*

The EARL OF OXFORD to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 18[-29].—I have troubled *the King* with a very long letter and I now sit down to answer *Mar's*.

In general there seems to be everywhere and every day an increase of desire to trade with *the King* and the Interloper's interest manifestly dwindles away. The best care is taken here to improve every opportunity and to dispose every person for the good of your partner's trade, but I cannot too often mention how necessary caution is, and that they who are willing to come into the trade should be suffered to do it their own way and in their own method, and, the nearer you are to open shop, the greater care must be taken to prevent the Interloper's knowing what goods you will bring to market.

A particular matter I think proper to mention to you, before I do it to *the King*, is this : many, who are disposed to come into the trade, are afraid of what they have done formerly. This has been answered to several, but perhaps it may be convenient in some particular cases to have particular assurances, and no doubt their zeal for the present trade will atone for all their former dealings with Interlopers. I would be understood to mean only those who are in the common circumstances of all other traders and who have not distinguished themselves by particular exorbitant malice.

Though I am sure *Mar* needs not that I should write to him, I cannot but declare my opinion that I would draw, if possible, everybody into partnership with *the King* who is worth gaining, and convert all former disputes into the single contention which shall most promote the trade.

This leads me to write on the subject of china ware (money). I desire to be rightly understood that I will do my very utmost in that and in everything else, not only to serve but to please *the King*. But I should be a dishonest factor if I did not represent the difficulties of it, and the hazard of dealing in such brittle ware. There have been some abuses in that trade which *Mar*, I believe, does not yet know and which *the King*, I hope, never will be told, which have made that traffic much more difficult than it really was in itself. I say this not to excuse me from exerting myself, but to prevent a false confidence, but on the other hand you may be assured that, as soon as trade begins to look towards a setting up, you cannot fail of money.

Poor *Capt. Ogilvie* is sensible of *Mar's* goodness. I have at his request ventured to recommend him to *the King*, and leave it to you to act therein as shall seem most proper. He will stay to manage the affairs of the partnership where he is, or where *the King* and *Mar* shall judge best.

I would not repeat anything in this that I have said in *the King's* ; you may be sure yours of Dec. 24 and 29 began with the most pleasing account, I mean *the King's* good health.

As to the next particular, which is of a very nice nature, you have stated it very truly. I have wrote my thoughts at large to *the King* on it, and I cannot help thinking that *the King* might make good use of that privilege with *France*

or somewhere else, but as to *England* your reasoning is extremely just. I am infinitely obliged for the participation of this nice matter which *the King* and you have given me, and I hope I have answered fully.

As to the marriage, I hope my next will be to make compliments to you on that subject. I am sure it will be received here with the greatest pleasure and the greatest anger according as people's inclinations are for or against your trade.
3½ pages.

THE DUKE OF ORMONDE TO JAMES III.

1718, March 30.—*Ormonde* received *the King's* of Feb. 3 with a copy of his of Jan. 29 by way of *Prague* and wonders at the negligence of the postmaster that had forgotten the letters for so long. I find all were recovered but two of Sept. 18 and Oct. 2, but *Dillon's* transmitting copies of *Ormonde's* makes up for that loss. *Ormonde* told me he expected to see either *Jerningham* or his companion every moment. That hindered his answering *the King's* by the first post after his receiving *Mar's*, but there is no time lost, for, after I had informed him of the postmaster's neglect, he said he did not care to write anything concerning our trade by that way.

Ormonde wishes there may be use for money, but, till he sees *Jerningham*, he cannot inform *the King* of anything concerning that part of our trade. *Ormonde* has sent a copy of a letter to *Dillon* that he received from *Sir H. Stirling* of March 3. A copy was also sent to *the King* relating to *the marriage*, which gives but a bad account of the condition it is in.

I am glad *the King* sees there was no reason to suspect what he was uneasy at concerning *the Bishop of Rochester*.

I am sorry that nothing is to be expected from *the Pope*, should there be any occasion for his friendship, and that the *Jew's* message is come to nothing. I fear *the King of Spain's* affairs will not give him leave to mind our little commerce.

I had almost forgotten to tell *the King* that what is mentioned by *Dr. Erskine* concerning marriage was meant conditionally, as he will see in *Sir H. Stirling's*. Since I began this, *Jerningham's* friend is arrived and has brought me a copy of the accounts he sent *the King*. I have sent to *Dr. Erskine* to know what *the Czar* will do, that *Ormonde* may know how to take his measures. When he has his answer, *the King* shall be acquainted with it. 5 pages.

THE DUKE OF ORMONDE TO THE DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 30.—*Ormonde* received *Mar's* of Feb. 3 the 26th instant. In the enclosed you will see the reasons that hindered him from answering yours sooner.

I must refer you to a letter I have written to *the King*. You are before this informed of *Jerningham's* transactions. I am sorry he could not adjust his affair to his satisfaction.

Ormonde has heard from *the Bishop of Rochester* and *James Murray* with accounts of our trade and they give hopes of its thriving, but I fear the loss of *Jerningham's* effects may be very prejudicial.

What is mentioned concerning *Argyle* and *Ilay* is what, I own, I could hardly believe. *Ormonde* was of opinion that they should be offered to have a share in our joint stocks, though he is of your opinion that they will not care to purchase. I think there is but little appearance of *the Elector of Hanover* and *Ormonde's* being in the same trade, but there is no help for it. You shall hear from *Ormonde* as soon as he has any account from *Dr. Erskine*. 3 pages.

THE DUKE OF ORMONDE TO SIR H. STIRLING.

1718, March 30.—I send you this, that you may acquaint *Dr. Erskine* with the contents of it.

Yesterday *Jerningham's* companion (*i.e.* *Sheridan*) arrived with a letter from *Jerningham*, which informs *Ormonde* that *the King of Sweden* desires to make peace with the *Czar* preferably to all others, but, until that be agreed on, he is not in a condition to help the *King* and *the King of Sweden* desires that *the King* should use his endeavours to bring the *Czar* and him to an agreement. If that cannot be compassed, he must be obliged to agree with *the Elector of Hanover*. It is not practicable for *Ormonde* to go to *Sweden*, for *the King of Sweden* would not let *Jerningham* and his companion stay, being very uneasy at the time that they were there for fear of their being discovered and would not consent to any person's coming to *Sweden* that belongs to *the King*.

The Czar has resolved, I suppose, what to do in this matter ; if there be no likelihood of an agreement between the *Czar* and *the King of Sweden*, *Ormonde* hopes that the *Czar* will be pleased to give passes for him and his company to return. As to *Ormonde*, considering his circumstances, he does not think it proper to go by the way of *Prussia*. This you need not mention to any unless to the *Czar*. *Ormonde* will make use of the passes with all the discretion that is necessary. Our number is increased by a gentleman and a servant who came from *Italy* and brought me letters from *the King*—yours came by this person—and by *Jerningham's* companion (*i.e.* *Sheridan*).

The enclosed will show you how I desire the passes may be drawn.

I am sorry for the account that *Sir H. Stirling* gives me that there is no further hope of what you mentioned concerning the princess, unless matters be adjusted with the *King of Sweden*. Pray explain this to *Dr. Erskine*. Copy enclosed in *Ormonde's* letter to *Dillon* of April 18.

FANNY OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 30. From the country.—I received yours of the 10th. We shall obey your orders in giving an account

to *Lord Ilay*, but it's not safe to send the copy of the paper by the post in cipher for fear of its miscarrying. Both he and you would blame us. We must wait for a sure occasion.

We fancy that the properest turn to give to him in sending him word of it is to tell him that you've writ us word that, though he acts so coldly and reservedly that there is no openness of heart of his side, yet *the King*, who will always act by him the reverse of D (? the Elector of Hanover), is willing to take hold of the least occasion to lay *favours* on him, and therefore on his manner of behaving, since you writ to him, he looks on him to be in his interest at present, without examining if he has explained himself sufficiently in his letters, and that, as the first step of what he intends to do for him, he has sent a paper to be left with *the pardon*; that he does not doubt, but, when it's time, he'll merit the good will he has for him, and by his actions give him room to do for him what you proposed. This way of writing is making him value as much as possible what you've sent, and is, I think, the sense of your letter. He'll be very well pleased that you've been so kind to write the paper yourself, for that's much safest.

The friend (Mezières) bids me tell you that, when he repeated to you so often, that he thought it would be proper for *the King* to send certain papers, 'twas because he really thought 'twas his interest. He does not know *Lord Ilay*. He thought he could not be bought too dear, since you were of opinion he and his friends could be of such essential service. That made him believe it was better gaining him entirely, that, in case he did not act right afterwards, he was doubly guilty, and that 'twas not venturing much, since what is given him is but conditional, but now that you seem to think he is not of such consequence you're right to be reserved in your offers; in a word, as he has no other motive but his zeal for *the King* in this affair, he will follow exactly your orders.

I've writ you the misfortune he is now under. He was with my mother in a very melancholy and splenetic way. He told her he had a book and letter to send us, but had not had time to buy it, but that he had not forgot it. I will press him to take a trip over here, as you order. Methinks his journey here can be of no great use, if ——— is not in the same place, but I believe 'tis not proper to propose to him anything of that nature, till he has settled some way or other his affairs with his lady. If he followed my advice, 'twould be to make up with her; it's only giving a scene to divert his enemies to do otherwise. I fancy whatever is done for him will end in himself by reason of his situation as well as his health. You may easily believe that in our letters we tell him he is too mysterious and extol to him the generous acting of *the King*.

Mezières and my sister are extremely mortified that they were not at Paris when Lord Panmure arrived. They would have been overjoyed to have seen a person that has gained

the esteem of all the world. You do them justice to believe that anybody you recommend will be treated with all the friendship in their power. They hope he'll not be gone before they arrive.

They talk of the Parliament's being broke up and George's going to his own country. Mr. Hutchison (? the Prince of Wales) is fallen out with the Princess. They had some words in the drawing-room. I never heard of such a quarrelling family. When I see Renny (René Macdonnell) I'll tell him you remember him. About three weeks ago he had like to break his neck with a fall at St. Germain's. Unluckily for him 'twas but like. He has kept his bed ever since, and, by what I hear, it will stick by him a good while. I am very glad you've found such charms in your Italian music. It will make you pass some dull hours. You'll be such a perfect foreigner when you go home that I reckon you'll have no patience to see Pinktheman and Jubilee Dick. $2\frac{1}{2}$ pages.

FATHER ARCHANGEL GRÆME to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 30. Calais.—Complaining that he has never had the least return to all his letters since Mar's return.—

To-day I had occasion to send another packet of yours to *Capt. Ogilvie*, not as I sent the last, though in my opinion the safest way, but by *Capt. Ogilvie's* own skipper, who arrived here last night and returns this evening's tide, in order to bring *Capt. Ogilvie* hither again. I sent by the same skipper on advice from Sir R[edmon]d Ev[erard] three large packets, which an Irish gentleman, who came over about two months ago and went up the country, left with me as he went back four or five days ago.

I had letters from London this morning giving account that Capt. Leonard and one Hawkins, who were both here on the list, are seized and in prison. As the first was at Preston and a deserter to boot, I am afraid it will go hard with him, but he has nobody but himself to blame for it, for your namesake knows I did all I could to dissuade him from going over. The Italian Count, brother to the Duchess of Shrewsbury, was hanged at Tyburn two days ago, and so was poor Sheppard. George pretends he has certain intelligence of a design against England by a foreign power and has obtained of the Parliament that a certain number of ships be forthwith rigged out for the greater security of the nation. However, it is certainly affirmed he will take a trip to Hanover about the end of April or beginning of May.

The Jew here gave out to everybody about three weeks ago that the King was gone from Italy and had ordered all the nobility to retire to their respective homes with all manner of secrecy and speed &c. and about ten days ago he told Pat. Smyth and Flint he had orders to tell them to be in readiness to go over in 24 hours' warning and that he was to provide 40*l.* for their voyage. I trouble you with this

account, that, if you know he was really ordered to spread about this news, you may know he has done his commission, and, in case he had no such orders, you may inquire into the reasons that make him talk after so strange a manner. In a word, I suspect him very much of underhand dealings and my reason is that I have perceived of late that he not only talks, as if he designed to give the alarm to the Government, by venting about every idle story of good news, as he calls them, but also observes me and pries into all my actions as if he were hired to be a spy on me, but, provided he be not hired by the King's enemies, I shall care the less, for I don't fear being observed by his friends. 2½ pages.

SIR PETER REDMOND to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 30. Turin.—We arrived here yesterday, having delayed at Bologna and Piacenza almost three days. I was afraid the first three days I should have lost Mr. Sheldon. He grew very weak, ate but little and coughed all night, but, since he left Milan, is better. I threatened to leave him there with Monsignor Molinos, if he would not eat and be a good child. I hope I shall deliver him alive to his friends in France. I have a real value for him; as he is a very honest gentleman and faithful subject, and he had need of these good qualities and being recommended by the King to make his peevishness supportable. I never stood so much in awe of any one to keep him in temper, and 'twould be happy for me I had had such a governor from 10 to 20, before I was hardened in rusticity and unpoliteness.

I found myself recommended from Rome to Piacenza, where the Duke was very gracious to me, and I go by him better introduced to the Cardinal, so I hope I shall be able to have a connivance to ship off the contraband goods or perhaps do greater matters, when 'tis thought fit to employ me.

I went this morning to my friend's house here, and, gazing at pictures in the antechambers, he espied me and immediately had me called in to him, where he treated me with the same freedom and gallantry as formerly. He'll have it that the King is shortly to leave Italy. He is mighty cheerful and well, and is certainly that great and wise man he is justly esteemed in the world. He often asked me your character, wherein I did you justice, but don't know whether it be for your credit that I should say you were an honest as well as wise man, for of all the ministers I have known I could find but few that were truly honest, and he is so very perfect in policy and piety that 'tis hard to know which of them can recommend a man to him most. When he asked of the King's health, I could not avoid telling him he was very well and robust, for I found in my former discourse he had it, that he was puny and sickly. I told him likewise I heard his Majesty express much respect and consideration for him, which, I hope, can do no harm. He says the confusions in England are greater than ever and

of many kinds. God increase them, till the King be restored. Though he talked many things to me, I am persuaded he talked nothing but what he was indifferent were published to anyone, so I would not have anyone think my vanity is got to that height as to think he talked to me anything of confidence. 'Tis certain he was diverted in talking to me. I had pleasure and vanity in answering him, and telling others that so great and wise a man did me such honours, and, the more I found people detract me for my vanities that way, the more I took pleasure to give them diversion with my acquaintance amongst the Cardinals and great ones of Rome. If all things be vanity, as Solomon says, such vanities as are not offensive to God or man are the happiest and most pardonable. I touch on this, because I found at Urbino my vanity was entertainment and of much mirth.

I shall stay at Paris, I believe, till I hear from you and thence and wherever I am shall acquaint you with what occurs to me.

THE COUNT OF CASTELBLANCO to [? DAVID NAIRNE].

1718, March 30. Turin.—The day I left Genoa I received your letter of the 10th, in which you informed me of the King's perfect health. Yesterday I received the confirmation of it by Mr. Sheldon, who arrived here in good health. I shall leave to-morrow for Paris, where I hope to arrive the 15th, and to proceed thence to the waters the beginning of May. I have had the letter of Cardinal Gualterio in answer to that you wrote to him concerning me, and am grateful for his kindness, and I shall not fail to write to him to express my gratitude. I beg you to make my compliments to Lords Mar, Perth and Clermont and all the rest of our friends.
French.

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 30. Vienna.—Sending him the enclosed from the Swedish Minister there, to which he refers himself.—

I have since just heard that certain news has arrived here that Baron Görtz has set out for the Isle of Aland, near Finland, for the treaty of peace with Muscovy, where also are to be the ministers of that Crown. There has been also a rumour that that negotiation has been broken off. God grant that we shall soon hear of the conclusion of it.

This Court does not willingly see that the Czarowitch has had to renounce the Crown of Muscovy and a part of this ministry repents of having allowed the said Prince to leave the territories of the Emperor. It is also certain that the Marquess Pras, the Duke of Savoy's minister, is here, who flatters himself with an agreement between this Court and that of Turin on the terms of a marriage. However, I believe that these are only amusements. In a few days we shall know

the decision. The Emperor always remains firm not to sign and to agree to the terms of settlement proposed by the Regent and the Court of London. People rather think here of commencing a war against King Philip, but how I know not. The plenipotentiaries for the treaty with the Turks have not yet set out, but will apparently be at the place of congress in fifteen days. *French. 4 pages.*

MONSR. STIERNHOCK to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 30. Vienna.—Since my last I have learnt from a good hand that the Austrian ministers appear inclined to accept the propositions arranged between the Regent and the Elector of Hanover and brought here by the Anglo-Swiss Secretary, while the Spanish ministers, including Comte Stella, a Neapolitan, and Comte Altheim, surnamed here the Spaniard, as he is married to a Spanish lady, though by birth an Austrian, both favourites of the Emperor, are of a contrary opinion, namely that the Emperor ought either to delay as long as possible coming to an agreement with the King of Spain, or, if he sees himself obliged to it, not to do it according to the plan of the Regent and the Elector, that is to say not guaranteeing the succession of the first to the Crown of France, but rather that of King Philip to that Crown on the terms of the cession or partition of Spain in case of the death of the young King of France, and that Prince Eugene holds a sort of intermediate place between these two opinions but in such manner that he insinuates to the Emperor that, whichever of the above policies he adopts, it will be advantageous to him to begin by coming to terms with the Duke of Savoy and attaching that House to himself by a marriage. It is said that supported by the credit of Comte Altheim he has obtained the Emperor's consent to the sending here of two Savoyard ministers named the Marquesses del Borgo and d'Ussol, who keep themselves incognito here since the beginning of March. It is added that the Duke of Savoy is endeavouring to effect an agreement between the Emperor and the King of Spain. I have too little penetration to decide which of the two courses proposed to the Emperor he will adopt. But it seems to me that he will not come to a decision so soon, believing himself in no necessity of hurrying, that those who propose to him the above courses will be obliged to content themselves for some time with dilatory answers, unless some great storm, which the Emperor does not as yet regard as near, should force him to hurry. When he is obliged to decide, it seems that the opinion of the Spanish ministry may prevail. A renewed patent of the Emperor relating to the carrying out the new plan of trade in the Austrian ports on the Adriatic conceived in more efficacious terms for the maintenance of that trade against everyone that might disturb it, than that published last year, makes one see among other signs that his Majesty has as yet no fear with regard to Italy.

People begin to say that the King of Spain and the Duke of Savoy have a secret understanding with King James, and that, if they come to an agreement with the Emperor, they will try to bring the interests of his Britannic Majesty into it. I cannot well reconcile this news with what Mr. O'Bryan (Walkinshaw) told me of the secret intelligence between the Regent and King James, nor with the trouble the Elector is giving himself to reconcile the Duke of Savoy with the Emperor, and, according to what some add, separately from the Regent, unless indeed the Regent and the Duke of Savoy are playing a comedy with the Elector and at bottom both are inclined to leave him in the lurch, provided they can attain their object without him. Also it is said that the Regent has been and is making insinuations to the Emperor separately from the Elector. If he does, he is paying that Elector in his own coin. I learn that there are news from France that with regard to the succession the King of Spain's party is stronger than the Regent's. I know you will be better informed directly from France, and mention it only to show you in what way it is spoken of here. There is so much confusion in present circumstances that I am at my wits' end when I wish to reason justly about their issue. I content myself with communicating faithfully to your Excellency what comes to my knowledge, praying for such a denouement of all the scenes that appear on the theatre of Europe as shall be advantageous both to the just cause of his Britannic and to that of his Swedish Majesty.

As to my master's attitude about the difference between the King of Spain and the Regent, I have grounds for believing him indifferent and inclined always to continue a good friend to the Crown of France, whoever the reigning Prince may be, provided that Prince be his in turn. His plan is to try to unite as regards himself the friendship of France with that of the Emperor.

Yesterday I received news of the departure of Count Velling, a Swedish senator, who is charged with the care of affairs beyond the sea, from the city of Bremen to Cassel. I have not been informed of the object of his journey, but it is manifest that he will confer with the Landgrave about the feelers thrown out on the part of the Elector for peace with his Swedish Majesty. It must be seen if his Majesty is only employing the peace negotiation with Hanover in order to push on that with Muscovy and to give it weight, which I hope and desire, or whether he is more inclined to the first than the last in case he soon perceives the intentions of the Court of Hanover to come to terms with him conformably to justice and the advantage of his Majesty. I, however, continue to doubt if that Court has such intentions, unless they see themselves threatened with a great and imminent danger. It is much to be wished that the friends of his Britannic Majesty should be willing and able to set in movement without delay

the means they intend to employ in his favour, and make his Swedish Majesty see plainly that he will find much more solid resources for his restoration in that of his Britannic Majesty than in a peace with the Elector while he continues on the British throne. I believe I shall please you by communicating what I may learn about the above mentioned peace in order that his Britannic Majesty may be able to take in time his measures about it.

I have just learnt that the dragoman of the English embassy at the Ottoman Court has arrived at Belgrade with a letter giving information of the resolution of the said Court taken after receiving Prince Eugene's letter to send their plenipotentiaries to the place accepted for the Congress by the Emperor. After this news arrives here, General Virmond, the first Imperial plenipotentiary, M. Ruzini, the Venetian plenipotentiary, who is expected here every day, and Mr. Sutton, the first mediator, will set out as soon as possible from here to the Congress. *French. 14 pages.*

JAMES III. to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 30. Urbino.—“I have been very well-diverted, since we parted, as John [Paterson] tells you, and to him I refer, though I will not let the post pass without giving my blessing to my godson, who will, I hope, come safe and sound to his journey's end. I have written to *the King of Sicily* only in generals and to Cardinals Imperiali and Gualterio. *Cardinal Gualterio* will not be able to inform you much as to *money*, for I find they would or rather have shut him out of the secret, of which I know no more details, only that the affair goes on well. Cockburne shall go to Rimini in a day or two. Wogan's real journey is not known, and, I believe, scarce suspected. . . . I write a line to *Ormonde* on *Wogan's* return and to spur him in a better affair of that kind.

“Nairne writes to the postmaster at Rome that, if there be time to send you the French packet, you may open it and forward by the post to me my letters before the post for this part, that he should send them to you. In that case take out my letters and send them with the material ones to yourself, if there be any, to our Cardinal for me and keep the pack either to answer, or send me, if needful, by the following post. I quite forgot this before you went.” *Holograph.*

JAMES III. to the DUKE OF ORMONDE.

1718, March 30.—“This is only to tell you that Wogan saw me t'other day and has performed his part very well. The Princess of Baden is a dwarf and the Princess of Saxe is too old, besides that the more I see in that matter the less I like it. The last he did not see. He gives a good character of two Countesses of Furstemburg, who are also of the best

quality of Germany, but by what I hear from him the youngest of the Sobieskis is, all considered, preferable to any, and she I may have when I please. I suppose you know what relations she has. After this, it is accounts from you that can alone determine me. I beg of you to make all dispatch possible in bringing that particular in your parts to an issue. No alliance can be comparable to that, but, if it can't be had, it were pity to lose a good one that I am sure of now, by letting my determination linger too long." *Holograph.*

RANDALL CORKER.

1718, March 30.—Receipt at foot of a bill for clothes supplied to the Duke of Mar, dated the 27th, he having received 12 *Philips* from James Kerby, Mr. Paterson's servant.

PHILIP V. to JAMES III.

1718, March 31.—Informing him of the birth of a princess. *French. Holograph.*

E[LIZABETH LADY] S[ANDWICH] to JAMES III.

1718, March 31.—If anything could add to the faithful zeal I have ever had for your service, it would be the great honour you have done me by laying your commands on me, which I receive with all imaginable duty and respect.

I have not neglected such opportunities as have offered of trying to give the person you mention other views of his interest than those he has hitherto appeared so fond of. I represented the vast difference in the personal worth and merits of the two persons concerned, and showed him how naturally and reasonably my master's interests and his were interwoven, and from those principles more sincerity and constancy might be expected from our friendship than could be hoped for from the other side. He is at present sick and confined to his chamber. I will not fail to pursue your commands with great assiduity and give you an account as soon as anything occurs that shall deserve your knowledge. *Noted as received 27 August. (Probably dated old style.)*

CAPT. GEORGE CAMOCKE to QUEEN MARY.

1718, March 31.—The multiplicity of thought the other night put out of my memory the short detail of those friends in England who are desirous to be concerned in that glorious enterprise I gave your Majesty a plan of to be sent to the King. I have desired Mr. Pye to wait on you and to show you what through forgetfulness I neglected. I told you, when I delivered you that plan, it would very much contribute to the restoration, so I most humbly beg to repeat the true character Mr. Pye bears among my friends in England, viz., that they will trust him and no other with the King's instructions for the affair in hand, and, however it has been insinuated

to his prejudice, I am persuaded the King's friends in England have quite another idea of him, for they are fully satisfied of his loyalty and zeal and have been convinced of his capacity and ability and of his being fitly qualified for such business, and, if I mistook not your Majesty, you said that this gentleman had been very active in buying arms and distributed them *apropos*. This from the consequence shows that he was not discovered, notwithstanding the craftiness of the Whigs. It is a plain indication of his capacity and secrecy, and it should be a great motive to remove all objections insinuated to his prejudice. I am certain your piety and goodness will oblige you to interpose with the King to restore this worthy man to his good graces. 3 pages.

LORD TULLIBARDINE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 31.—Since my last of 28 Jan. *Glendarule* has written to you what has occurred in these parts, so I had nothing to trouble you with till now. Two days ago I had a letter from *Brigadier Campbell* giving a full account of *Barry's* most surprising behaviour. He says he has writ to you everything that has come to light as to his black intrigues, so I can say no more, having writ to Mr. *Dillon* what seemed necessary on this emergency, of which a double is enclosed. Nothing further can be done this way, but to wait some days till accounts come that may instruct how to go on with the affair or at least direct what is to be done till the last necessary orders can arrive from you as to what concerns this.

I wrote 28 Feb. to *John Paterson*, with a letter enclosed to the King, at the same time *Glendarule* wrote to you. The young man *Murray* departed about a month ago for Scotland. We'll know soon if he arrive safe. He is particularly to inform *Tullibardine's* friends how sensible they ought to be of the King's extraordinary bounty and favours to him and his brother. I believe he will not neglect to let them likewise know *Tullibardine's* singular obligations to Mar.

BRIGADIER JOHN HAY to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 31. Urbino.—I can't help writing you an account of what passed here the day we parted, though it must come with more circumstances from one who was left on the place and was witness to all the deep reasonings and speculations that passed on the King's leaving this place, which nobody doubted in the least was for a much longer term and perhaps for ever. This everybody gave entirely in to from the President to the cobbler. I need say nothing of the *Cordon Verte*. You saw enough of his story, before you went, to be able to judge how he spent the rest of the day. He walked above two hours on the ramparts with my lady, where, I am told by a gentleman who saw it, there were a great many tears shed on both sides, and, I am afraid by the dismal look

he has as yet, he has both given himself the trouble to take leave in all the forms, and, after he found his disappointment, to congratulate with her on it, which, I believe, was no easy matter, since I fancy his good nature may engage him to endeavour to please his companion as well as himself, and you know how difficult it is to satisfy a large voracious stomach.

Tom Forster was mightily confounded in the morning, when he came to Court, only with the design of taking leave of you, and, I suppose, to give you some directions about tinctura &c. to find that the King was to go, but his confusion proceeded from a quite other source than that of several others, for all his concern was that he should put himself in the way, as if he was asking to know something not thought fit he should be trusted with, and after an hour or two in agony he begged of Paterson to let you know he knew nothing of the King's going away, and came only with the design of seeing you, and so went straight home and swallowed a double dose of tinctura, fearing he should not have time to take physic enough before receiving the King's orders to march, which he supposed were left with some body and would appear in a day or two. I don't pretend to unriddle the thoughts of our politicians here, for I believe scarce two thought or looked the same way. Booth, whom I take to be one of the deepest, had Cadiz, Brest and Danzig all in his view, but did not know where to fix, at the same time assuring himself that those left here would have no orders nor hear anything of the King for three months at least. Sir William [Ellis] was by far the calmest person, for, if he thought us quite gone, he comforted himself that he had got rid of us so cheap. The President and his subjects all gave in to it, so far that he wrote it to Rome, though, as he says, in a very cool manner, which I can scarce believe, for I am persuaded he was very hot at the time. He did not say when the King came back, what had been his own opinion, but told what had been talked in the town.

Some said the King was gone to Loretto to assist at your christening, and, I suppose, do you the honour to stand himself godfather. I suppose they imagined Will [? Erskine] and I would get a sprinkling by the by, which I dare swear Will never once thought of, so pray don't surprise him with anything of that kind. Others of the town fancied that he might be gone to Rome to condole with the Pope on the loss of an old woman, his relation, lately dead at Pesaro, but those that thought so low were only the vulgar, and those capable of a deep thought were as much confounded, when the King returned, as when they knew he was gone. The journey had the same effect on people as if all their suppositions had been real, for everyone concludes that, if there was a real journey to make, it would be done in the same manner, and so apply it everyone to himself.

The King desires you to make his compliments to Lord Southesk and bids me tell you he has taken two sheets of

your large drawing paper, with which you can easily provide yourself at Rome, and that he had been almost stifled with the smell, I suppose of tinctura, when he opened your bureau.

Mr. Broun set out Tuesday by Loretto. $4\frac{1}{2}$ pages.

JOHN PATERSON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 31. Urbino.—Since I saw you, no letters have come nor anything happened worth troubling you about, so this serves only to cover the enclosed, which Mr. Forster would have me forward to you. He showed me what was in it, and 'tis so full that I need not add anything. He is pleased indeed to be very merry with us all, though I cannot deny there is a good deal of truth in it, except *Nairne's* part, where I believe he is mistaken. Had this been really intended for a bite, as I presume you know it was not, it would have had all its effects, for not a single man of us was not bit with it, in so far that it is not possible to imagine how diverting this scene must have been to anybody who knew the King was to return, had there been any such amongst us. Forster was as much out of humour as anybody, but that proceeded from so right a motive that 'twere unkind to conceal his story. As soon as he saw the King go into his shess (chaise), he called me aside in the greatest possible hurry and concern, saying that he wished, when he rose that morning, he had broken his neck. He declared he had no other meaning but to have the honour to kiss your hands, without having had the least suspicion of the King's being to go off, as some called it, or making his escape according to others, and yet, said he, so unhappy am I, that the King will certainly believe I have had some hint of it, and that I was officious enough to come on purpose to watch his motions, which he was sure he could not but take amiss. He took it for granted that either I had orders to make my escape next morning, or was to correspond with you, and in either case he conjured me to make his innocence known to you, that you might do him justice at the King's hands, and promised me, the next time the King should happen to move, to lie a bed, till he was out of sight of the town. The persons that seemed to take it worst were *Lord Nithsdale*, *Lord Kilsyth*, *Lord Clermont* and *Lord Edward Drummond*, and indeed some of them have not quite recovered their countenances, as if they thought their understandings had been imposed on only to gratify a piece of humour. I had several very political conversations with some of them and particularly with *Mr. Macmahon*, who endeavoured to appear very composed, as if willing people should believe he was in the secret, and that he knew that the King was gone, though he had discretion enough not to own it directly.

Our newspapers which came last Tuesday were full of the proceedings of the House of Lords on the Military Bill, and I would hope that their behaviour on that, as likewise with

regard to the treaty between George and the Emperor, will be attended with good consequences. It will, one would think, have this effect amongst others that it will encourage and confirm many of the Tories in the House of Commons that have been wavering hitherto and determine them to take heart of grace, but these papers I presume you will have seen. The first English letters will probably mention the particulars, and therefore I wish you may have time to open the packet before the post part from Rome, which the King told me he was to write to you about ; if there be any letters addressed to me, I wish you may have time to open them too, because there may be enclosures for you. 3 pages.

J. MENZIES to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Thursday, March 20[-31].—Two days ago I had yours of 15 Feb., N.S. You say you writ another the day before, but I have never had it, nor any news of its coming to any stage in the way. I am always agreeably surprised when James Craggs lets any letter at all pass through his purgatory.

I had also yours of 23 and 29 Dec., which the friend at Calais sent by a sure hand, who came from him in two days hither. But, it being about three months old, it must have lain at least two somewhere, but it is not in my power to divine where.

Lord Oxford had his enclosed packet half an hour after I got it, and will give you an account of it himself. You may be sure he wondered too at the long delay. Since *Mrs. Ogilvie* goes now certainly in a few days, it would be imprudent in me to enter now into a detail of any business by the post. As to news, that varies every day so shamelessly, that a report we are positively assured of to-day becomes in three or four after a most ridiculous romance. Of this kind are most of our speculations on foreign affairs, for nobody tells us what we may rely on.

Our Gazette of Tuesday is plain and positive that the treaty between the King of Sweden and the Czar is broke off, which confounds our malcontents extremely, who pleased themselves with hopes of something from thence.

That Gazette is also so particular, so positive and so very full of the deposition of the young Czar and all that extraordinary scene, that many here look on it to have an emphatic meaning towards another young Czar in the world, I mean the description given of it. If the fact be true, it is a very strange one and must have strange consequences, whether he keep him alive in a prison or dispatch him, which is most probable.

For some time we had most warm discourse of our fitting out our fleet for the Baltic, but now we seem to have no design that way at all, which makes it believed that matters go very amicably between us and Sweden, and that a good

understanding is very far advanced underhand. You see the reports, even in the public news, of Gen. Ducker.

But these are such strange surmises that without a little more time and patience it is hard to make any reasonable judgement of them, no more than we can of your Regent, whose real intentions nobody whosoever here can divine.

Monsr. Monteleone at last gave in his memorial in writing last Monday, a whole week after his verbal one. He has got no answer to either as yet. The substance was that the Most Catholic King was extremely surprised to hear of such an armament in England to go in all the appearance of hostility to the Mediterranean and on the coasts of Spain. That he could hardly think it possible in the time of a profound peace and friendship founded on the most sacred treaties and the visible interest of England. That therefore he hoped his Britannic Majesty would lay aside all such thoughts, but that, if he should persist in this armament, the King of Spain would take it for a plain violation of the peace and must take his measures accordingly.

The noise of this and then his Majesty's message for more seamen and more money has given a strong and general notion of a war with Spain, and so all stocks and especially South Sea have fallen considerably. Monteleone foresaw this fall as certain and has got 10,000*l.* in a week by stock jobbing.

Your cousin *Menzies* has been so ill that, if he take not some speedy care of his health, he must drop down dead in the streets.

You may rely that *Ducker* has been in town here and a new marriage seems certain. It is long since I had a sad opinion of Mistress *Görtz*, the match-maker.

COLIN CAMPBELL OF GLENDARULE to the *DUKE OF MAR*.

1718, April 1. Near *Bordeaux*.—By what you had last post from *Brigadier Campbell* with the enclosed now sent from *Lord Tullibardine* you'll see how much all here are embarrassed by *Barry's* treachery. The great difficulties that occur to me are, first, should there be any occasion for that cargo this season, delaying making it up entirely till *Mar's* return comes to their letters will certainly take up so much time that it will not be possible to fit them up for the markets, which cannot but incapacitate the *Highlanders* to act their part; on the other hand, to go on buying those goods after so notorious a discovery and not knowing what measures the *King of Spain* has to keep with the *Elector of Hanover* might look like too much precipitation. Yet, when I consider that what *Barry* has already done in this will put the *Elector of Hanover* sufficiently on his guard, so that it will not be easy to provide a cargo of that kind anywhere, but he may hear something of

it, and, seeing a person in his situation will always be on his guard after what has happened now and some time before, it is not probable he can be surprised. This last consideration inclined *Tullibardine* and me to lose as little time as possible, but it was judged securest to wait *Mr. Dillon's* orders and to delay sending *Brigadier Campbell* the [5] thousand *livres* which were ready to be sent him, till *Dillon's* return came, for in this but ten days could be lost.

Just as *Tullibardine* and I had finished our letters, yours of 6 March came, which brought him to a resolution in the affair in hand, for, after *Barry's* treachery, it is not possible to think anything can be done to purpose in *the King of Spain's* lands without his permission or at least connivance. Therefore we judged it necessary instantly to recall *Brigadier Campbell* and *Clanranald* from those parts, till this affair be put on a better footing, and then they may soon return. Continuing them there might do harm and help to strengthen *Barry's* villainous story to *the Elector of Hanover*, seeing he wants not a correspondence with several of his countrymen in those parts and particularly where they remain in, so it was thought best to recall them, till this be once more set a going. I am the more troubled it should miscarry, as I know nowhere a considerable quantity of these goods can be got but in *the King of Spain's* bounds. I again foresee that, when the other greater branches of *the King's* commerce require him to try the markets, *the Highlanders* must go whatever way he is provided for them, which cannot but create uneasiness to *the Highlanders'* friends, till something is done for them.

Tullibardine has writ you so fully that I have nothing to add; only to assure you I will observe your hint in relation to *Mr. Inese*. Since his civilities to me at *Paris* on my first coming there, I have sometimes writ to him and he to me, but all was compliments and never a word of business. I have not yet sent him a double of the vindication I gave *Mar* to be laid before *the King* of my part in *Lord Lovat's* story, though I think I had your allowance for it, in order to remove the odd impressions had of me at *St. Germain's*. I once mentioned it in a letter to him, but now I will not send it. I once wrote to him on that foolish story of the old laird and others at *Bordeaux*, who had sent their complaints to him, to which he soon gave a satisfying return. When *Capt. George's* crew complained of him, he wrote to the old laird to justify him, and desired, if I was not at *Bordeaux*, that I might be acquainted, and, the laird being then at *Cahors*, I went to *Bordeaux* and called for such of the crew as were there and did what I could to satisfy them of *Inese's* good intentions and that they might soon expect your orders about it. On this occasion I wrote to him and had his return, and these are the only particular subjects we ever corresponded on. $2\frac{1}{2}$ pages. Damaged.

• *GEORGE JERNINGHAM to the DUKE OF MAR.*

1718, April 1. Amsterdam.—Being on the eve of my departure for the Northern parts, this day I took leave of *Prince Curakin*, whom I was forced to visit in bed, he being very much out of order. He favoured me with a passport and said many very obliging things in favour of *the King*. He told me that *the Czar* was not, as he had heard, returned to *Petersburg*, for which he seemed much concerned, imagining that the affairs in *Muscovy* are not so quiet as his late letters gave him an account. That late proceeding of disinheriting son and grandson appears very unaccountable and unjust. Notwithstanding, it seems to offer a fair occasion of making up with *the King of Sweden*, and, if *Görtz* attacks him on this weak side and promises to make his master guaranty for the succession *the Czar* has in view, I believe he will carry his point with flying colours.

As everything disposes at present to a general rupture, so everybody applies himself to strengthen his party with what new alliances he can, and, since *France* inclines to look more favourably on us, who has made himself powerful by being joined with *the Czar* and *the King of Prussia*, so, methinks, nothing could be added more advantageous there too, than to join the interest of *the Czar's* with that of *Spain*. I discoursed this one day at *the Hague* pretty fully and found it so agreeable to *the King of Spain's* man that he has written to court about it, and, if *the King of Spain* approves, as 'tis likely he will, I believe *Jerningham* will be desired to propose the same, when he comes into those parts, for which consideration I thought fit to mention it, to know if *the King* approves that I meddle therein. I can't see that such an alliance can do us any hurt and possibly it may do us great service.

If *the King* thinks *Jerningham* can be of any service to him in being in *Holland* after this expedition be over, I believe I shall not be permitted to stay there, unless I could get some public character to support my reputation, which perchance *the Czar* would not scruple much to give me, for, since I was absent, *the Emperor's* minister had a memorial sent him from *Vienna* delivered there by *the Elector of Hanover's* minister complaining highly against the conduct of this poor man, whom we had made our friend, saying that he was obnoxious to the *States* and an enemy to *England*, that he had frequent conferences with *Jerningham*, rebel, *personne d'une dangereuse consequence*, inviolablement attaché aux intérêts du *Prétendant*, that we kept a correspondence with one, qui s'appel O'Brien, at the court of V[ienna], and that he had done many things against the interest of his master and the like. My poor friend was so struck with this unexpected blow that he scarce ate or slept for five days, and, had not a third person comforted him and advised him to deny the whole and helped him to vindicate himself in his

answer to this aspersion, 'twas much feared it would have influenced his brain. This, I believe, is sufficient to let you see in what situation I am in these parts, and in how much a worse if I return home. If therefore you judge it convenient, I'll apply to *the Czar* for his protection in this affair.

Here are between 3 and 4,000 men now working hard to get 30 men-of-war ready, which, it is commonly said, cannot be ready before June. I shall wait your orders by the time I join *Ormonde*. 3 pages.

THOMAS FORSTER to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 1. Urbino.—His Majesty going to the Furlo the day you went hence made a very comical scene among our chimerical statesmen here. Indeed, I believe there were as many different opinions and as confused as the languages were at Babel. My part will be told you by Mr. Paterson and Mr. Hay concludes his letter with the account of my preparing my body for the expedition, believing it sure we were to move very soon. The scene opened betwixt Mr. Booth and Blomer, the latter lamenting extremely that he never had got so good and so great a quantity of provisions as that morning, when there was no occasion for them, but was soon comforted by Mr. Booth's telling him the table was to be kept as formerly. The next was Mr. Booth's tea table, where Mr. Paterson and I were invited. Mr. Nairne was expected, but not being in the secret cast such a damp on his spirits that he could not appear, so we were deprived of his ingenious conversation, but Mr. Booth supplied that with one politic observation that, if this account should go to England, though his Majesty should return in four or five days, it would certainly unite the father and son. The tea table over, down we came to the billiard room, enter Lord Clermont in his nightgown with so confused looks that it gave me an idea how Pitts appeared after my escape. Lord Clermont with Mr. Booth go to walk in the great room, and after an hour's conversation it was agreed we should hear nothing of you in six weeks and about three months hence we might be with you after all your affairs were settled. Sir W. Ellis, not much given to make visits, goes down to Mr. Wogan, hoping to learn something relating to the movement, but was mightily disappointed, Charles preparing for a march, and Macmahon began to complain of his rheumatic pains, that bathing in the sea was good for them, he would go down to Pesaro and by that means hoped to gain one day's journey. After this all the Lords and commoners, except Lord Winton, Mr. Carnegie and his club, Mr. Macmahon and Mr. Wogan, all the rest came to court, and one after another moved towards Lord Clermont's apartment. What passed I cannot tell, not going there or entering into their politics, lest I should fall under the bill of mutiny and desertion, but I perceived them very much

dissatisfied by their looks, which perfectly resembled those of his Grace of Perth's at your going off. Only one thing would have made me wish to have been in the secret, viz., to have heard their different opinions and resolutions. Lord Perth was comforted in the evening by walking hand in hand for about two hours with his madam. The Italians have sent the account all over Italy, but one of them, who would be wiser than the rest, said his Majesty was gone to Loretto to make you a Christian. Mr. Panton was to send some of us an account from Rome how you did, believing you were gone there to be incog. for some time, that you might go off more private. At his Majesty's return the confusion was not at all lessened. Some thought themselves played upon; others that the way of going off now in jest would in a little time prove in earnest, which will stick with them for some time. I wish the time of removing may be soon and in what manner is most agreeable to his Majesty. 3 pages.

JAMES III. to the EARL MARISCHAL.

1718, April 1.—You will, I am sure, do me the justice to believe that my silence since you left me did not proceed from want of true regard and kindness. Matters have been of late in great uncertainty, but now a crisis seems to draw near, and will, I hope, be for the better. In the meantime the uncertainty of my abode and motions is such that I think you cannot do better than remain some time about where you now are, and where you will be more *à portée* of being really useful to me. You shall not fail of hearing from me on any new occasion, and it will be fit you let Mr. Dillon know where to transmit my orders to you. Mr. Inese being now no more concerned in my affairs, it is to him, when not straight to the Queen, that you must address when anything concerns them. Remember me very kindly to your brother and in a particular manner to your mother, if you can easily when you write to her. I never had better health, for, though this country is as bad as the Highlands, the climate is excellent and much better than at Pesaro. *Copy.*

The FOUR CONSULS OF RIMINI.

1718, April 1.—Testimonial to the conduct of Antonio Muti, lieut.-governor of that city, during the absence of Giovanni Baptista Vidoni, the Governor. *Latin.*

Endorsed, "Anonymous letter to Card. Acquaviva. Bologna, 8 March, 1724."

FANNY OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 2. From the country.—As the news from all parts assures them that *the King* is going, if not already, to be married to the niece of *the Czar*, they conclude it's true either with her or some other, therefore desiring for her niece

the promise to be one of the six maids of honour to the new Queen, with particulars of her sister's family and the reasons that make her desire this.

We have not heard from *Lord Ilay*. The neighbour (Sparre) has not writ, which surprises M[ezières] mightily. 4½ pages.

The PRINCE DE VAUDEMONT to JAMES III.

1718, April 2. Commercy.—As I had the honour of seeing the Queen only two days before my departure from Paris, I intended to give you an account from here of the perfect health in which I found her, which I would not have failed to do sooner, had I not been hindered by the vapours. I never found her face looking so well nor her air so lively. She will have given you an account of what was said while she permitted me to be with her, which would have been longer, had not Madame and the Duchess of Lorraine arrived. I had since a long conversation with the good Dillon, who is more full of zeal and attachment for your service than ever. May God bless you and do you justice, of which I have never seen so much appearance as now. Your Majesty will have heard of the stay of the Comte de Blamont (*i.e.* the Duke of Lorraine) at Paris. It is certain that he and his wife have done wonders there and have made themselves adored. I stayed there longer on their account than I intended and left only a few days before they believed they were going a few days after me, which they were not allowed to do, people having always detained them by endless pleasures. Besides, I believe that the Parlement not having concluded about his business has partly delayed them, and it is only for to-day or the day after to-morrow that their departure from Paris has been fixed. *French.* 5 pages.

MONSR. STIERNHOCK to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 2.—The general report of the rupture of the negotiations between Sweden and Russia is false. I have certain news of the departure of Baron Görtz from Lund accompanied by M. de Klinkowstrom, chief secretary for Foreign Affairs, for the Island of Aland in order to treat about the peace between their Swedish and Czarish Majesties. The delay of the Swedish mission was caused by the King's reluctance to treat in a town of his own in the Czar's occupation, as Abo is, which was proposed by the Czar, by the proposal made by Baron Görtz in the King's name to the Czar of the said island for the meeting of the ministers, that Swedish island not being occupied by the Czar, and the necessity of building some wooden huts there for lodging the ministers and their suite before their arrival, since the island is very thinly inhabited and contains no town or large village. His Czarish Majesty has taken this delay *pour un amusement du tapis*, but there is reason to believe he will be disabused of this notion by the mission of Baron Görtz to the said place,

and I hope he will give way to the delicacy of his Swedish Majesty on the point of honour, which is so great that he is capable of sacrificing his interests for what he believes relates to his glory. Meanwhile his Majesty is also listening to the Hanoverian proposals. I would hope it is not in order to accept them, but only to make the Czar see not only that it is in his power to accept other offers, if that Prince will not soon agree to the proposals of peace offered by his Majesty, but also in that case to make a great storm fall upon him. I assure you that this storm is ready to fall on the Czar, so as to cause his destruction, if he does not immediately accept the conditions proposed by his Swedish Majesty.

It is certain that the Marquis d'Ussol, the Duke of Savoy's minister, is here, but it is said the Marquis del Borgo is not, though the report of it is very prevalent. *French. 5 pages.*

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, April 2. Vienna.—We have it confirmed that the conferences for the peace between Muscovy and Sweden have recommenced in the Island of Aland with appearances of success, but we understand that the Court of England moves heaven and earth to be included in them, and even that the Elector of Hanover has offered the King of Sweden 100,000*l.* sterling on the condition of his keeping Bremen and Verden for ten years, but the Swedish Resident here is of opinion that without the speedy restitution of the said countries his master will never bring himself to accept any terms.

It is remarkable that the Court here seems unlikely to intervene in the said peace; and rather is thinking seriously of an accommodation with King Philip, and it is said the Emperor is disposed to make a renunciation of the Spanish monarchy, for which object the day before yesterday a great conference was held in his presence, immediately after which a courier was dispatched to France and England. This is the more probable, as at present nothing at all is said here of sending a *corps d'armée* into Italy. An envoy of the King of Sicily is here incognito. They are also working hard at an agreement between the Emperor and the King of Sicily, who presses very strongly that an archduchess should be given to the Prince of Piedmont. The English Court does all it can to bring about the accommodation with King Philip.

The Turks appear at present more inclined for peace and have pressed the Emperor's plenipotentiaries to repair to the place of congress, for which it is believed they will all set out in 14 days.

I am keeping a letter which the officer Connell (*i.e.* Capt. O'Brien) left with me for a Mr. Germain (*i.e.* Wogan) that my lord duke recommended to me. I have had him searched for, but he cannot have arrived here. You will be kind enough to tell me whether I should keep the letter or sent it back to you. *French. 5 pages.*

JAMES III. to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 3. Urbino.—There were no letters from *Lady Mar*. All that were for you I read, and Paterson sends them unciphered. Dillon is sick and *Capt. Ogilvie*, I believe, quite mad, and I have no particular directions to give you about answers. I think Mr. Inese was not in the wrong in stopping your letter to *Menzies* on the grounds he writ you. *James Murray*, I see, is a little jealous on account of the story of the picture, which I don't understand, but I see the point relates to a *marriage* in the North, which they think is kept from them. *Ormonde's* way of expressing on that head is unaccountable, as well as his saying nothing on my long letter, which he must have received, though I see nothing very plain of O'Brien's being come to him. The prints mentioning Sir H. S[tirling] is cruel, but a little time will soon clear those points. I shall send you on Friday what I write to the Queen of business. You must return me such copies and her letters I send you by the post after always. *The Pope's money* is, I think, in no good way, for I hear not of any particular progress in that matter. I would fain be after next Saturday, for I fear my letters then will not be very agreeable. Lord Edward leaves us to-morrow.

Cardinal Gualterio thinks I should not say anything about my letter to Leslie, except I hear more of it, which I dare say I shall not. Wogan says he saw the original, that Leslie made no wrong construction on it, and that *Dillon* liked it before he had been at St. Germain's, but not so well after. The consequence and application of one particular extends to others.

Our good Cardinal will, I hope, come here after Easter. I am very well.

On a separate piece.—This is a product of Friday's idleness for you to forward. I thought it could do but good, and too long a silence might increase peevishness, besides that the thing was natural and reasonable in itself. *Holograph.*

JOHN PATERSON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 3. Urbino.—You'll see by the enclosed sent you by the King's command that the accounts we had by the former post in the French papers have been very ill-grounded, though I would fain hope they may still make something of the treaty with the Emperor and the Swedish trade &c. but the King told me he was to write to you, so I need not give you any further trouble. I could make nothing of the picture *James Murray* mentions in his two letters, but I hope you will understand it. *Capt. Ogilvie* is extremely to blame. I pray you have a good account of the packets Father Græme mentions, for I have my fears about them, and indeed in the present critical situation that *commis* had needs be a very honest man not to think of making some advantage of them,

and I am the more concerned, because I suspect the powers about the affair of the *money* which were dispatched from hence about 12 or 13 Feb. are in one or other of these packets.

The DUKE OF ORMONDE to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, April 3.—Last Friday *Ormonde* received yours of 5 March. The packets you sent were due last Tuesday. He was very sorry you had been indisposed, but mightily pleased you were perfectly recovered.

I received *Queen Mary's* enclosed in yours and have writ to *Sir H. Stirling* to acquaint *Dr. Erskine* with the proposal *Queen Mary* has mentioned, provided he thought it proper, but I much fear it will not have the effect desired, for *the Czar* has set his heart upon keeping of *Reval* and has laid out a great deal of money upon the town and in improving of the harbour, which will now receive the biggest ships in his fleet and is the best on this side the *Baltic*. *Jerningham* in his to *Ormonde* mentions *Livonia* in general.

I am sorry *money* is in so desperate a way. *The King* informed me of it in his. The young gentleman (i.e. the *Czar's* daughter) you mention is but 11 years old. *Ormonde* is distant from *Petersburg* 150 French leagues and *Ormonde* has no certainty of the *Czar's* return to *Petersburg*.

All our monks are very thankful for your kind remembrances of them. We keep close to our cloister.

Poor *O'Berne* hopes he has not lost his company, and would not take two regiments to be obliged to live in the *Czar's* country, unless the *King's* service required it. He was very near losing his nose in the frost . . . *Holograph*. Probably enclosed,

The DUKE OF ORMONDE to SIR H. STIRLING.

Since my last of 30 March I have received orders to make a proposal to the *Czar*, first to acquaint *Dr. Erskine* with it and, if he thinks it proper, to have it propos'd, then to desire *Dr. Erskine* to mention it to the *Czar*.

The proposal is to offer to the *Czar* from the *King* two hundred thousand pounds who will engage himself to pay it in three months after his restoration as an equivalent for what the *Czar* should yield to the *King* of *Sweden*. You'll send me *Dr. Erskine's* answer as soon as you can. I hear there is to be a congress at *Danzig*. Pray let me know if you have heard anything of it. *Görtz* told *Jerningham* so, but that was three months ago. Extract.

The EARL MARISCHAL to QUEEN MARY.

1718, April 3.—The morning one that calls himself *Young* and says he was a sergeant under me, whose face I think I remember, but can't be positively sure, came and told me that, being an upholsterer, he saw a letter in *Lord Stair's* cabinet,

when he was putting up the window curtains, signed Sutherland, which said that their only security was in the Chevalier's being dispatched and that Stair should immediately send an envoyé, he said first to Venice and afterwards to Vienna, and he says one was sent yesterday morning. *Extract.*

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to JAMES III.

1718, April 4. *St. Germain's*.—I sent you by last Tuesday's post two letters dated 26 March at *Paris* and one of the 28th from here. I have remained here since then to recover my health, which is not yet very good, though much better.

Several come from *Paris* yesterday assure it is generally reported there that *the Emperor* acquiesced to the proposals made to him in relation to *the King of Spain* and that a courier lately come from *the Elector of Hanover* to *the Regent* has brought this news. I intend to go to *Paris* in two days and hope I shall be able to inform *the King* of the truth of this.

I gave *Ormonde* an account of the above proposals, as also of the sudden and great change I found in *the Regent's* chief people as to *the Elector of Hanover*, but have said nothing to him of *the Regent* being entirely plunged in *the Elector of Hanover's* measures. I think it necessary to inform *the King* of this, that he may either communicate it or not as shall seem most proper.

The Bishop of Rochester and *Lord Arran* have at last received the cargo, which they might have had much sooner, if the conveyance they proposed themselves had been established in due time and in a fixed place, as they promised it should. I hope, by what I have said to them, it will be well settled for the future. *Lord Oxford* had *Mar's* letter concerning the collection of money about a month ago, so that he had time enough to act his part before the separation of friends with *the Parliament*. *George Kelly* writes to me from *England* that *the Bishop*, *Lord Arran*, and *Lord Oxford* appointed a meeting, which makes me hope we shall soon have a concerted and favourable account from them. The great noise about the picture is still a riddle to me, though it be partly explained by *James Murray's* last letter, which I enclose to *Mar*. It seems *the Bishop* and *Lord Arran* were a little jealous I had not given them early advice about this, which they imagined was a fact well-known to me and communicated to several with *England* by orders. I am very easy as to that, being sure time will convince them that 'tis not my way to write ill-grounded stories, and much less what I have no knowledge of. I think, however, it would not be amiss that *the King* and *Mar* should inquire into it and disprove the proceedings of such as gave rise to such a report. When *James Murray*, comes, he'll be able to give full information on this score.

A friend at *Paris* sent me word that a match 'twixt *the King of Sicily's* son and one of the *Archduchesses* (daughter to *Joseph*)

was privately talked of and that *the Emperor* in consideration of this would renounce his pretensions to *Sicily*.

I enclose a packet received three days ago from *Ormonde* for *the King*. All he says to me is that he had no news from *Dr. Erskine*, *Sir H. Stirling* or *Jerningham* since his last of 27 Feb.

In yours to me of 25 Feb. you mention I should show *Inese* the order for delivering the papers concerning your affairs. I did not think it proper to communicate any of the contents of the letter to him, and only gave him the order, which he desired should remain in his hands as a discharge for the delivery of the papers. Please let me know if you approve, or if you'll have me get it back. *Over 3 pages.*

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 4. *St. Germain's*.—I sent you by last Tuesday's post a letter of 27 March from *Paris* and one of the 28th from here. When I received *Jerningham's* of 13 Feb. from *Lübeck* I wrote to him by *Queen Mary's* orders to go straight to *Ormonde*. *Queen Mary* had some days ago a letter from *Jerningham* of 22 March, saying that, being referred to *Prince Curakin* and *the Swedish minister at the Hague*, he thought it proper to come to *Holland*, where he actually is. I have written to him again by directions that, since he did not think it convenient to execute the first order I sent, *Queen Mary* was now of opinion he should remain with *Holland*, till he had certain accounts of *the King of Sweden's* and *the Czar's* factors being met. Our public news here says that the said factors have been already together at *Abo* and separated without coming to any conclusion. It's also reported that *the Elector of Hanover* has sent new proposals of agreement to *the King of Sweden*. A little time will make us see clearer into these various reports.

Inese delivered me all the ciphers he had concerning *the King's* affairs, and has writ himself to all his correspondents not to apply any more to him about business. The ill reports at *Paris* on his being laid aside are very mortifying to him, but he is resolved not to say anything for his own justification.

Enclosed are a letter from *Ormonde* and *James Murray's* last to me. I expect he will be soon this side of the water.

Marquess Palioli (*Paleotti*) was hanged 28 March for murdering his servant.

One Sheapheard, a young fellow, was hanged the same day for saying he would kill G[eorge], and another fined 20s. for blasphemy and saying he would kill God Almighty. *Nearly 3 pages.*

LORD PANMURE to JAMES III.

1718, April 4. *Paris*.—Returning his most humble thanks for the expressions of kindness in the letter his Majesty honoured him with by Mr. Freebairn, and referring him to his

letter to the Duke of Mar for accounts of what he had heard from his wife and of what he had said to the Queen.

LORD PANMURE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 4. Paris.—I was very glad to know by yours by Mr. Freebairn that you were well. I had a good journey here. I stayed a day and a half at Milan and saw an opera there which was really fine, and they have a large noble theatre, and, as I passed at Verona, I saw an old Roman amphitheatre, the inside of which is preserved entire, which is certainly a very pretty piece of antiquity, but I doubt not you saw this, as you went to Venice.

I have had letters from my wife telling me she has now no hopes of getting anything done for me, so I am not disappointed, for you know I always told you I had no hopes of it. She also gives me some account of the bill in favour of the Commissioners of Enquiry, by which they are empowered to turn out the factors named by the Lords of Session, to put the forfeited estates immediately to sale, the personal debts to be cut off, and that there are a great many other hard things in that bill, but I doubt not you will have a particular account of this from others. She says some hope no merchants will be found to buy them, but that others think there will, and that some talk the public companies in London will buy them, as they did the Irish forfeitures. She has not yet got her jointure, so must stay at London till that affair is over, and then is to go to Scotland to prevent all she can the bad consequences of that bill as to me and to endeavour to get a tack from the Commissioners of my two houses and the enclosed grounds about them and thereby to keep possession as long as she can, for I suppose they will have no regard to the tack she has already from the factor named by the Lords of Session.

I waited on the Queen at St. Germain's and told her the reasons of my leaving Urbino, and that I was resolved to have done it, even though I had heard nothing of what my wife was endeavouring to get done for me at London and that I had told you this oftener than once. I also informed her of my circumstances, such as I have represented to the King and yourself. She seemed concerned and said she regretted my condition, and the more that she could not but say I had some reason to complain, but desired that I would not let it be known that any other reason had made me come but that of what my wife was endeavouring to get done for me, lest it might prove prejudicial to the King's affairs. I said I had told this to very few and would be very loth to do anything that would do any prejudice to his affairs, but that I did not see what prejudice this could do, it being known I was not trusted or employed by the King, which can be no secret, seeing all at Urbino cannot but know I was very rarely in private with him, which I behoved to have been often, if I had been

employed or trusted by him. (Regretting that he has not been thought worthy to be one of those so trusted and employed.)

I am not yet determined where to go. I would willingly stay here, but find it very expensive, though I live very privately, and my journey has exhausted my money very much, for it cost me 90 *louis d'ors* more than what the King gave me, and I am sure I endeavoured to make the journey as cheap as I could, but Dr. Blair could not but be a considerable addition of expense to me, seeing his diet cost as much as my own, for I always paid so much a head as the cheapest way; and then there was an additional post horse. I could live here without being disturbed by the Government, for the Lord Marischal and others appear publicly here and go by their own names.

Major Crichton, who was major in my regiment, has writ to me that he never got more of the King's money than what captains get, and that he expects as much as other majors. He has certainly suffered very much, having been severely wounded at Sheriffmuir, and was afterwards prisoner at Stirling Castle, whence he made his escape, and he had a commission in one of the regiments abroad, which he lost by joining the King's army. I desire also you will mind what I spoke to you about Lieut.-col. Leslie, who was in the same regiment. I left with you his letter to me. Maurice Murray, brother to the Laird of Abercairnrie, told me he had writ to you the beginning of February about 400 *louis d'ors* of the King's, which he was trusted with when the King came from Perth, but never had any return from you, and that he was willing to account for them. The very next day he was discovered to be wrong in the head and is now mad to that degree that they are forced to bind him. (Soliciting for one Trotter at St. Germain's the place of clerk of the kitchen instead of Birkenhead, lately dead. His father suffered on the King's account and was executed for the holding out of the Bass.) 6 pages.

LORD PANMURE to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, April 4. Paris.—Thanking him for taking care of the letter he sent him.—I have still the same opinion of our friend Carmelitano, which I had at Urbino, and wish I could meet with such a one here.

I had a good journey, and was very much delighted with the operas at Venice, whereof I saw four in four different houses, and all very good, and I saw also a very good one at Milan, where there is a noble and large theatre. I have seen some since I came here, which are indeed far short of those in Italy, either as to the music or decorations, and the theatres in Italy are much larger and nobler and the houses hold a great many more people, but after all the French operas have their own beauties, even as to the music, and their dancing is excellent,

and such as I believe is not to be seen anywhere else. They have also a great many people on the stage in very good clothes, which certainly makes a good appearance.

As for the sinister accidents you speak of, I suppose I will be in no danger of them, though, as you say, it has been the case of many an honest man.—Requesting him to deliver the enclosed letter to Lord Winton.

THOMAS BRUCE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 4. Br[ussels].—I had to-day yours of 6 March by *Sir H. Paterson's* canal, and the same day one from *Mr. Inese* informing me he was to write to me no more on the King's affairs. (About an address at Brussels to which Mar might direct to him.) Cousin David is not a little mortified by your answer, and really I do not see any of our people lives more frugally than he does, but we are sometimes obliged for our credit's sake to do what otherwise we would not, and he in particular for the reasons I formerly wrote of. *Sir H. Paterson* was to write to you about Sir Peter's son, but it seems his letter has not come to you. I have made him your compliments as you desired. It was James Carstairs who came over with him.

I was told by *M. de Wilda* that the 130,000*l.* was not given, but only lent to the Emperor on interest. The differences betwixt the Emperor and the commoners here are not yet composed, nor any money at yet given him from Brabant, but it's believed that affair will be ended this week. I understand by *M. de Wilda* that by orders from Vienna the direction of that affair is put into the hands of *M. de Welde*, an eminent lawyer here. He has already had some meetings with the people about it. It's said that the Emperor is to allow the deacons to take the old oath, which, it's hoped, will please them, and get money to pay the Emperor's debts in this country, for having hitherto got none, he is in arrear to everybody here. I am told, if *M. de Welde* succeeds in this, he goes for Vienna. The Gazettes tell us that the Emperor has made an alliance with the King of Sicily and gives one of the archduchesses to his son. The last letters from Vienna give great hopes of a peace with the Turks. We see in the Gazettes that several German regiments, which were appointed to march, are stopped, which makes people give the greater credit to that report, and likewise to another, that the Emperor is in treaty with Spain.

The Duke of Leeds is in town and *M. de Prié*, who is on a project of cleansing the port of Ostend and was informed that the Duke had some years ago made a plan of that work, took means the other day to have him invited to dine with him, and begged his assistance in it. The Duke has been advised to show all the civility he can in that point, but not to be too forward in it, till he can have his plan from England,

which may put off time a little, till he sees further about him. I persuade myself that the Dutch will be ill-pleased with M. de Prié's project, but what remarks they can make on the Duke's meddling in it, it is not easy to judge, but certainly they will be amused with it. I believe by this time *Mr. Jerningham* is gone from Holland. 2 pages.

W. GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 5. Paris.—Concerning the receipt and dispatch of letters and begging his Grace's favour for John Trotter, who desires to succeed to Mr. Birkenhead, clerk of the King's kitchen, who is some days dead.

W. GORDON to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, April 5. Paris.—Requesting his interest in favour of the said John Trotter, who is at present groom of the Privy Chamber to the King.

FOTHRINGHAME OF POWRIE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 5. Paris.—Requesting his interest in favour of the said John Trotter.—I wrote to you six or seven weeks ago, enclosing a letter from my son-in-law, to which I have not yet had any return.

MR. RIGBY to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 5. Toulon.—I was honoured with your letter of 1 Feb. We are here in the greatest misery in the world. It is now 15 months that we have not been paid and God knows when we shall. All the news we have here is that there will be a war between the Spaniard and the English and that his Majesty is going to be married to the Czar's daughter, which I wish may be true. I had a letter of 22 March from a friend in England telling me that his Majesty has more friends than ever, and that they increase every day, and that George loses ground every day, which, if true, is very good news. I wrote to-day to the Countess at Avignon and told her I had a letter from you and that you desired to be remembered to her and the rest of the ladies there. Last month I gave my man a letter to you. He had the misfortune to kill a man in this country. I ask a thousand pardons for the liberty. He is a very honest lad and a good servant, if any gentleman has an occasion for a man. I beg you will assure his Majesty I am always ready to serve him with my life and fortune. If I had wherewithal, you had seen me at Urbino, but I am the most miserablest man in the world that I have not wherewithal to follow my master. Last week passed here Sir Robert Brown and Mr. Compton for Italy, two very honest gentlemen. We drank his Majesty's health and yours, and they design to go and see his Majesty, if it be possible without danger.

We have had this year about 20 English merchantmen in this port, all declaring public for the King.

I received to-day a letter from London from James Eyre, a merchant, a very great Whig, and he desires me to write him the news of the health of the young gentleman in Italy, meaning his Majesty, that they have had news in London that he was very much indisposed, which was a great trouble to him and a great many others of his friends, so I answered that his Majesty was never in better health than he is at present.

I cannot imagine the reason I did not receive your letter till to-day, which is two months since it has been writ.
3 pages.

SIR HUGH PATERSON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 5.—I received both yours of 5 and 11 March last post and all the other letters you mention, which are all sent to those they were for, except that to *H. Straiton*, which I did not think convenient to send the common way, *the Government there* having been in use of late to open letters, and you know *Mar's* hand is pretty well known there, and anything from him would be enough at present to make a handle, though they could make nothing else of it. I therefore wrote myself to *H. Straiton* and told him what's happened to *Inese* and that he is to write no more to him of anything relating to *the King*, for which I referred him to *Mar's* letter, which he shall have very soon by a sure occasion. I wrote to *Lady Mar* along with that from *Mar* to her and told her how she can very safely send all her letters here.

I enclosed that to *James Murray* to a friend at *London*, who would lose no time delivering it, if he was there, and, if it comes too late, it will be returned. I wrote to him likewise myself and told him I had a very safe way of getting anything sent to *London* and from it here generally once a week, which he might use, and that I should send him an address as soon as I heard of his being on this side, but, if the Squire (*James Hamilton*) is obliged to come away, we shall be at a loss for one there to deliver and receive any goods, our correspondence having been taken care of that way by him and another must be thought of, which *Mar* may adjust with *James Murray*. I am very glad *James Murray* is coming to be in the way *Mar* mentions, for I hope *Newton* and *Daly* (*i.e.* the King's friends in *England* and *Scotland*) will have entire confidence in him, he being very well known to them, and you know these two merchants never much cared to have dealings with most of the old traders near *Paris* (*i.e.* at *St. Germain's*).

I see no bad effect *Inese* being laid aside will have with the two above mentioned, but the contrary, and, whatever reason *the King* has for it, his pleasure in that is enough for *Sir H. Paterson*, as it will be in anything else; I have only spoke of it to *H. Maule* and *Mar's* cousin, *L[ord] P[it]sligo*, who are both very well pleased with it. I hear often from *Menzies*,

and perhaps that may be the reason he writes so seldom to *Mar*, for I told him I should always communicate to *Mar* and *Ormonde* anything material, which I did to *Ormonde*, and I wrote it to *Inese* or *Dillon* and desired my letters should be forwarded to *Mar*, after they were communicated to *Queen Mary*, and a part of two of *Menzies'* letters were in the two I sent under *Inese's* cover, which, if I am not mistaken, he acknowledged, so I cannot conceive why *Mar* has not got them. There was indeed not so much of consequence in them, as there has not been much in most of *Menzies'*. *Dillon's* writing so seldom and giving no returns made me write more frequently to *Inese* of late, and I wrote to him pretty fully the 29th past. (Abstract of this letter calendared ante, p. 218.)

On these accounts *Sir H. Paterson* pressed *Jerningham's* going immediately to *Ormonde*, without waiting for further instructions, so he set out from this two days ago and will lose no time till he is with *Ormonde*. He told me he had given *the King* a full account of his late expedition long ago, and that he wrote to *Mar* from *the Hague* and *Amsterdam*, proposing that *the King* should write a line to *the Czar* to entreat him to settle his lawsuit with *the King of Sweden* and to offer his good offices to adjust any differences remaining between them, the chief of which seem to be *Reval* and *Wiborg*, which *the King of Sweden* insists on having back, thinking he cannot be sure of *Bailie* (? the Baltic) and *Ogle* (? Finland) without these two.

The King's letter may have a good effect with *the Czar*, when he tells him how much *the restoration* depends on that bargain. It may be enclosed to *Sir H. Stirling*, who will deliver it or get *Dr. Erskine* to do it, and he may be offered some money on *the restoration's* succeeding. There is one about him with whom he much advises, that it's thought proper to apply to this way, and it's what both *Görtz* and *Prince Kurakin* advise, he being the only person with *the Czar* that obstructs *the peace*. I wrote about this to *Sir H. Stirling* and desired him to get *Dr. Erskine* to apply to that person in that manner that, on *the treaty's* being settled in the way desired, he may assure him of a little of money's effects, for these commodities, it seems, go a great way at present both with *the King of Sweden's* and *the Czar's* people, and *England* applies that way.

"I had a letter from *Sir H. Stirling* by last post dated from *Petersburg* 21 February, O.S., in which he says that *the Czar* was expected there in a fortnight after the date of his and that he has delayed all this while writing to *Mar* in hopes of his and *Dr. Erskine's* return, that he might have a more certain account of affairs to give him and in the meantime desires I may assure *Mar* that nothing is wanting to be done that is in his power for *the King's* behoof, and promises to write fully to *Mar* how soon *Dr. Erskine* arrives. He says

they believe there that *the peace* affair is done, but this he does not depend on till he meets with *Dr. Erskine*. *The Czar's* affairs at home have been in very great disorder, which has no doubt been the occasion of his being so long with *Moscow*. He has got the better of those who were like to give him disturbance, and *Sir H. Stirling* says he doubts not but the present situation of his own family will very much contribute to make him compound his lawsuit. He writes likewise that there have been complaints made to *the Czar* on the part of *the Elector of Hanover* of *Ormonde's* being allowed to be in these parts, and on that account he wishes that *the peace* affair was dispatched, which was *the Czar* sure of, I hope he would regard these complaints the less. The last I had from *Ormonde* was dated 27 February, and I sent one from him to *Dillon* which I had at the same time. In that I mention to have wrote to *Inese* I sent one to *Mar* which I had sent me in one from *H. Straiton*, who says it is from *Mar's* servant *R[ai]te*. I send you a copy enclosed of what is material in *H. Straiton's* letter to *Sir H. Paterson*.

"I am sure I have by this time wearied you with this long account of our private affairs, and yet, since you desire it, I shall still further trouble you with letting you know a little of what is passing in these parts at present, though you know I very seldom write news. The Parl[iamen]t of England is now up and prorogued to 20 May, which is much longer than was expected. A message was sent the Com[mon]s from the King a few days before they were up and when most of the members were absent, by which he desired a further number of seamen which he thought necessary for the security of the nation and the peace of Europe and further to enable him to conclude the alliances he had on foot, which after some small opposition they agreed to and voted an unlimited bill of credit, and some more ships have been joined to the squadron that is to go to the Mediterranean, on which they are hard at work, though it is not thought they can be ready to sail this month. The Spanish Ambassador at London had given in a memorial some time ago to know the reasons of this armament, wherein he told that he had orders from his master to tell them that, if any ships were sent into those parts to meddle in the affairs between his master and the Emperor, he would look upon it as a rupture with him and take measures accordingly, but this has not at all frightened our English courage, though our stocks have fallen upon it, and particularly the South Sea Company considerably. There have been some bills passed at the close of the Sessions which has occasioned a good deal of warm and hot speeches in both Houses, particularly the Mutiny Bill and that about the forfeit estates, both which the Court carried only by a very small majority in both Houses, and the opposite party have entered their protests against them. I send you here the reasons against the bill concerning the forfeited estates, which they say is of

a very extraordinary nature, and many hundred families will be ruined by it, who had no hand in the late troubles, for all personal creditors on those estates are cut off. The reasons are drawn by one Sir D. Dal[rym]ple, one of the greatest lawyers in that country, who very much opposed the bill, as most of the other members of that country did, and there were only six of the Peers of that country for it, and it was carried but by six votes; those were Roxburghe, Rothes, Haddington, Sutherland, Ross and one other. The D[uke]s of Mon[trose] and Arg[yle] opposed it very much. It makes a horrid outcry among these poor creditors, and the Lords of Session may now shut up their doors. It is said orders are sent to S[cotland] to try all those who were concerned in the late rebellion and who were gone abroad, and now returned, in order to prevent the Act about prescription taking place, and this, we hear, will oblige those people to return again abroad. They still talk of equipping a squadron here for the Baltic, to which they are much pressed by E[ngland], though they make no great haste to it, and their ships are yet in no readiness.

“ I cannot conceive how *H. Maule's* brother (Lord Panmure) proposes to get his affairs compounded with his creditors, for that cannot now be done till *the Parliament* meet to consent to it, and it will be long to that. *H. Maule* is not pleased with the conveyance he is informed he has made in his affairs in favour of his friend, and I am afraid by this that the difference will grow more and more there, which I am sorry for, and this, with the accounts of his own affairs that his friend at home is often plaguing him with, puts him often in an odd temper. He has had offers made him to compound with his creditors upon the same terms and pretty reasonably, but you know his case is different, and it can be done without *the Parliament*, though I find he resolves at present not to do anything that way, and, though he got his debts compounded at never so easy a rate, I am very well persuaded he will do nothing that is wrong on that account, for he continues entirely devoted to *the King's* interest. I told him you had written that his friend that was with you was coming this way, and that I fancied it was to meet with his friend from the other side, but I said no more. It will not be amiss you write to him when you have an opportunity. *Mar's* cousin, Lord Pitsligo, is still here and writes to him by this post on a subject that I heartily wish *the King* could some way interpose in, for it is a very foolish and untimely debate, if I may say so, and what does a great deal of hurt. *The King's* letter, that you sent me a copy of, was got published here some while ago, and many people are fond of it and none more than your namesake, Will's uncle (Col. Erskine), who is still here and very ill-pleased with *the Government's* present management, and, I have reason to believe, he will not meddle so much again that way as he did on a late occasion, and as many

more of that country will not. If *King George and his son* agree, it is believed *Argyle* will be the sacrifice, which will make a great change with many, but, whatever is in this, it is generally believed that these two are in as ill terms as ever. *Cadogan* is expected back here soon, though there are two of that kind here already, but it seems he comes to forward their measures."

I am sorry to be obliged to mention Mr. Dundas again, for it is with great reluctance I do anything to trouble *the King*, but nobody in these parts is so useful to him, and it's very necessary some honest man in Dundas' way should be at *Rotterdam*, which is the chief port to *England*, and where he may be in many ways useful, particularly in forwarding letters, and he is at a good deal of trouble that way and some charge, most of *Ormonde's* letters coming by him. Many things often fall out there, that one in his station can be of use in, and a fitter person cannot be thought of for it. He pays all *the King's* seamen there, and is a sure hand to address anything or person to that goes that way. If I did not think this was for *the King's* interest and that what he gives him will be well bestowed, I should not have mentioned it. He really wants it, having lost all on the late occasion.

Mr. Hamilton you mention has been this long while with *Scotland*, and I hear from him sometimes. All your friends there are well.

I heartily wish to have the confirmation of *the King's* marriage, which is both wished and longed for much by all his friends. It's now very publicly talked of and with one who is not disagreeable.

I have a letter to-day from *Inese*, telling me he has got his quietus, with which he seems very well satisfied, and says it is what he has been desiring long ago.

Postscript.—April 6.—I have just received one from *Menzies* of their 21st past, in which there is nothing material. He refers me to another sent another way, which I have not yet got. I have heard sometimes from *the Earl Marischal* since his being with *Paris*. I should be glad to know if *Mar* and he correspond. Harry *Campion*, from whom I hear often, desires me to assure *Mar* of his humble service. He much disapproves of his old friend *Bolingbroke's* late conduct, for nobody can be more attached to *the King's* interest than he.

Second postscript.—April 7.—You may expect some account of Mr. *Robertson* in my next. I have this moment yours of the 17th past. 10 pages. *Enclosed*,

CAPT. H. STRAITON to SIR H. PATERSON.

I heartily thank you for your good accounts of the King's perfect health and, next to his gaining his lawsuit, his thinking of marriage is the most acceptable news his friends could have. I hope you have had some agreeable

accounts of the Czar's and the King of Sweden's affairs, who, I wish, may be got to give in a substantial stock, and I fain would hope that the Regent may yet see it his interest to concur in that trade, which would make matters very easy and might oblige the King of Prussia and the States General to lie by or perhaps to concur and so leave the Elector of Hanover alone, for England's relations generally speaking both hate and despise him, and he has little or nothing to trust to but the army's favours, which, it's thought, he is not very secure of, and it's not doubted but on such events as above mentioned most of the army's partners would forsake the Elector of Hanover and the jumbles in the Parliament's family with the discord betwixt the Elector of Hanover and his son must contribute very much to advance the interest of your company.

I can say again with assurance that your friends here are no ways discouraged, but will be ready to concur as far as their small stock will go, and I have it from very good hands that the Clans' relations are very frank, particularly those, who did not so well as was expected on a late occasion, are now much longing for an opportunity to retrieve their mistakes, I'm unwilling to say, misbehaviour.

I hope it will give no offence, if I lay before you some of my weak thoughts about the management of the wholesale trade, and you may communicate them to those you think proper.

When the King therefore designs to employ a descent to visit (i.e. make a descent on) England or Scotland, some quantity of horse as well as men will be a necessary complement, and, though it may be objected it will be difficult to get any quantity of horses easily and safely transported to either of these two factors' houses, I wish it may be minded, what perhaps you do not remember, that on a like occasion the King of Denmark sent a considerable quantity of good horses to Scotland's north quarters, which came safe even in the winter season, whence they were sent through Scotland's bounds to Ireland.

Whatever be done as to the horses, abundance of arms and ammunition will be most necessary, for they are much wanted by both the factors above mentioned, and, if little or no horses can be obtained, it's to be wished the King may get some honest well-skilled tradesman of experience with all necessaries for that particular trade and who will manage well such men as can be got with the factors aforesaid. This, if it be adverted to, I think may be easily obtained.

I have not now time to write to your cousin Mar, so pray tell him I have now a very good way of corresponding with the clans' relations, particularly with Glengarry,

so, if he has any commands for them, I can get it safely delivered. The enclosed for him I had from his servant.
1718, Feb. 25[–March 8]. 2 pages. Copy.

ANNE OGLETHORPE to JAMES III.

1718, March 25[–April 5].—Expressing her thanks for his late goodness to her family.—Give me leave to return my humble thanks in a most particular manner for your particular marks of favour to my brother James, till God enables him to acknowledge them by his services.

I shall not trouble you with any business, except on one head, about which you alone can quiet me. You know I am in the same state of health as you, from my infancy afflicted with the same distemper.* In the lady, your sister's life, I never could be wrought on to send you from hence the physicians' advice, not thinking it fit for me. Of late I have been forced to send from Dr. Oston (*i.e.* Lord Orrery) letters that I think press too much on that article, which may make you uneasy. I have tried all I could to make him less pressing on that subject, but am too much concerned to be believed on that head, Mr. Knighton being his prompter. I beg your orders how to behave in it. I cannot pretend to refuse conveying the doctor's prescriptions for fear of hurting your lawsuit, nor dare I tell him I think it an ill-timed thing for fear of cooling him. Let me know what I shall say and how I shall behave in it.

I send *Mar* for you the character of Galga, your opposite in everything, just come out. 4 pages.

MR. SHIPPEN to JAMES III.

1718, March 25[–April 5].—I presume you have been acquainted with the accident which prevented my earlier acknowledging your great condescension in writing to me, and will not therefore trouble you with any apology, but give me leave to take this first opportunity of assuring you I am highly sensible of the goodness which inclines you to think there is the least merit in doing what is only my duty. It is improper here to explain myself more particularly, and I must leave my actions to speak for me. All your commands shall be obeyed with the utmost pleasure as well as fidelity.
Noted, as received 20 Aug.

SIR H. STIRLING to the DUKE OF ORMONDE.

1718, March 25[–April 5].—I received yours of 12 and 21 March, since I wrote to you, which I deferred doing, expecting *Dr. Erskine's arrival in hopes* I should be able to acquaint you with something certain about the treaty, but I was surprised to hear on his arrival this morning that there hath been no

* This probably means that she and James were both of the same religion.

ministers as [yet] in Finland, though the Czar's have been there since the middle of January, but he says that Görtz and Gyllenborg are there by this time or are to be there speedily. I hope that choice presages well for the King, since the former was, it's said, a friend to peace and the latter to the King's friends in England. By this delay I'm afraid it will be yet some time before any resolution can be taken such as we could wish, unless Jerningham have got assurances where he was, which the Czar will by no means hinder or prevent, that something shall be done speedily.

By the last accounts from England it appears to me that Argyle will very speedily make application to the King, since the Prince hath abandoned Argyle as well as his other friends, in whom their only hopes been all along, and for whose sake they made such a breach as cannot well admit of a reconciliation. There is an alliance concluded between the Emperor and England which will dissolve the triple alliance of course, since it is not doubted that France has made or will make leagues with Spain in opposition to the other. This may be of use to the King, and may possibly shorten Ormonde's journey, in case he should be obliged soon to change his quarters. Copy. Marked as enclosed in Ormonde's to Dillon of 19 April.

LORD PITSLIGO to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April [5?].—I wrote you a pretty long letter about two weeks ago about some little affairs of our own. The occasion of this is of more consequence.

“A dispute fell in lately among the Non-jurors as to some things that wanted to be mended, as one party thought, in the English Liturgy, and they proposed to introduce some observances in the Liturgy of Edward VI, such as mixing water with the wine in the Communion, praying for the dead &c. These alterations being much opposed by others of the same Non-jurors, there was a meeting proposed by their bishops to settle the matter. But three, who were against the alterations, found it would be determined by the other four bishops, and so they sent a declinator of the authority of Scotch bishops in an English Synod; for you must know two of the four are Mr. Campbell and Mr. Gadderer. These four and some inferior clergy for the alterations made proposals of an accommodation. but the other party would not advance a step. This produced a resolve of the former to enjoin the alterations, which has made a separation, and there are now two communions of the Non-jurors.

“Several pamphlets are written on both sides, and ecclesiastical disputes, you know, are not always managed with temper. Mr. Collier and Dr. Bret are the other two bishops for the alterations, the three against them are Mr. Spinks, Hawes and Gandy. The majority of the clergy in town are with the former, most of the officiating clergy and the majority of the people with the latter.

"I have a letter from another gentleman with these words : The division among the poor foolish Non-jurors is as great as can be imagined, so that the two parties do not communicate now with each other, a certain sign of weakness, not to call it worse.

"Now I should not be so concerned about the disputes of the Non-jurors, who, everybody knows, are not friends to King George, but it does harm to Christianity in general, a thing many are said to hate even of those who love him, that is, who adhere to his interests, for I reckon such persons love all Kings alike. Another thing that makes me heartily vexed at this division is that *the King* is like to be at some disadvantage by it. I have been led much in my life by particular friendship, and he, I am informed, may suffer in the contempt which will be thrown upon that party, though I am persuaded he does not approve of their measures, but you know the Non-jurors will be all blamed in a heap and most people conclude him to be one of them. Perhaps it were not amiss that *the King* wrote them his mind. I doubt not but you know him, and I should think his advice would persuade them to unite again, since the things about which they have separated are not essential to salvation. One cannot imagine how well-pleased the Presbyterians are with the breach. They hope to see the church again as it was in the days of Oliver, though they had little to say at last when all the army turned preachers.

"I had not insisted so long on this subject if it were not the regret of all honest people, and perhaps, if men of experience shall interpose in it, the difference may be taken away. I am not sure if the names of those bishops are generally known, but they run no hazard in being mentioned to you."

I told you where I proposed to pass this summer or a part of it. (*See Sir Hugh Paterson's letter of that date.*) *Noted*, as received at Urbino 26 April, the same day as Sir Hugh's.

THE DUKE OF MAR TO JAMES III.

1718, Wednesday, April 6. Rome.—Having nothing to trouble you with, I wrote a confused line to John Hay on my arrival here. I had two days ago yours of the 30th, and am not a little proud of my godfather. What John [Hay], Paterson and Forster write me of what passed at Urbino on your leaving and returning to it is very entertaining. What the President wrote here first upon it surprised everybody and put them to their speculations, but on your return he sent an express to correct the too hasty account he had before given, which set them all at quiet again and occasioned some laughing at his worship, which he deserved, and several of their wisest people approve much of your using them to such things, particularly the gentleman from whom John's dog has his by-name.

I opened the packets to-day. Most of my letters are trash, though some fit to be read; therefore I have sent them to Paterson to lay before you. Finding none for me from *Dillon*, I sent for Nairne's packet, in which his to me used sometimes to be enclosed, but I was little the wiser, for there is none from *Dillon*, and only one from *John O'Brien* to Nairne with a packet for me, both of which I enclose.

I'll be impatient till I know what *Ormonde's* and *Sir H. Stirling's* letters contain, not having their cipher with me, and the more that by what I can grope of them, things are not as we could wish and had reason to believe. I apprehend that it is for *Ormonde* to remove from where he was, and, if that be all, I shall be the less concerned, provided they tell him whither he can go and remain safely for some time at no great distance. If that be the case, it is certainly on instances made to the *Czar* for that end, which he thinks it were not prudent for him to deny, till he see what becomes of the depending affair betwixt him and the *King of Sweden*, in which he but acts as the *King of Sweden* does, but, were that affair once determined, as I hope it is long before this, both those gentlemen will, I doubt not, act in another manner. I see *Ormonde* is angry with *Dr. Erskine*, and perhaps he may have reason, but their tempers are so much the reverse of one another that I always doubted of their agreeing long together. If the thing be as I apprehend, I should think there is no occasion for doubting more of the affair of marriage with the *Czar* than formerly, since his making up with the *King of Sweden* must determine him in that as well as other matters. I will long extremely to know from you, if I guess right in all this. I fear there will be no occasion for my being called from hence sooner than the time you allowed me.

I see Freebairn was arrived when those letters came away, though nobody mentions anything of the letters he carried or those from Fano, but only acknowledges them. *Queen Mary*, as we suspected, had, I see, sent often for *Dillon*, but, it seems, his illness hindered his going, for which, I imagine, he would not be sorry, and it is likely that *Queen Mary* may not say much to you on the affair of *Inese* till next post.

I sent to *Cardinal Gualterio* the morning after I arrived, and by his appointment went privately to him in the evening. I like him mightily and never more lamented the want of language. He could not have an opportunity of seeing the *Pope* till to-day, when he was to speak to him of *Mar*, and to-morrow, I believe, I shall know what passed. All the world here knows who *Mar* is, but by the way he takes he will have no trouble from their doing so, and have full time in going undisturbed and quietly about seeing everything. *Cardinal Gualterio* sent to him last night to let him know there was to be a Consistory to-day, and desired he might go along with him. *Mar* apprehended his doing so would make him too remarkable, so excused himself, and indeed he had a mind once not to go

at all, but he was at last prevailed on to go, which he did with *Lord Southesk*, who knows all the ways of this place pretty well, but he almost repents of his going, for it happened just as he imagined it would; he had not been there about ten minutes, when the eyes of most of the company were turned on him, so that he made his stay very short. He tells me the Pope is a very well-looking old man, and as likely, he thinks, to live as any Cardinal he saw there.

I shall take my measures about seeing all who are fit for me to wait on from *Cardinal Gualterio*, but I fancy all that will be put off till about the time I am to leave this. *Cardinal Gualterio* asked me to dine with him to-day, but on account of this post it is put off till Saturday.

I am mightily pleased and entertained with the things I have already seen, and especially with the remains of the old Roman greatness, which all in these ages come far short of, St. Peter's excepted. I have now got an antiquary to conduct me regularly through all that is to be seen, with whom I propose to be very busy, but all the pictures in churches will be covered during Lent, so that will be a new pleasure after Easter. Bianchini came to *Mar* to-day at the Consistory and they are to be better acquainted. He (Bianchini) has got in, I hear, with the Duke of Queensberry, who is very fond of him and who is mightily well thought of here.

When I went first to St. Peter's, as I was coming towards the great outward stairs, I saw *the Duke of Queensberry* coming down and going to his coach. I turned about t'other way, as if I had been looking at the Colonnade, but he saw and knew me and afterwards returned and came up to me, as I was walking in the porch. I told him that on his account I was unwilling to take notice of him, and for that reason I would not come to see him nor expect that he should me. He thanked me and said that needed not hinder our meeting sometimes elsewhere, so I hope to see him now and then at such places and will not fail to make the right use of it. I wish I could have a few bottles of champagne to be a little merry with him one night, which perhaps might have no bad effect, but there's none tolerable to be had here.

Both the *Oglethorpes* are here, but say they are to set out for Naples one of these days. The eldest is grown yet an odder fellow than I formerly knew him, which was altogether needless. I cannot imagine how he gets the money to live as he does.

The Spanish fleet have brought one cargo of their troops to Sardinia and gone back for another.

I believe, had you seen this place in the quietness and easy way I am likely to do, you would have liked it better and been more entertained with it, which, if you have no better business, as I hope you will, may, I should think, not be hard still to bring about.

I hope you'll pardon me when I tell you I could not for my life read some things in your letter, particularly about *Cardinal Gualterio* and the money.

Mar lives in the same house with Southesk, and they and Stuart eat together in it, their victuals being dressed by a cook they have got, and, had Linlithgow been here, he might have done so too, but I hear nothing of his coming, which, I fancy, Cockburn's journey has put a stop to. Cameron is very busy taking a journal of all he sees, which 'tis likely he may publish. 6 pages. *Holograph.*

THE DUKE OF MAR to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, April 6. Rome.—Acknowledging his letter and giving him directions about the delivery of the enclosed packet and letters.

GEORGE LOCKHART to JAMES III.

1718, March 26[–April 6]. (Printed in the *Lockhart Papers*, Vol. II, p. 9.)

JAMES III to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 7. Urbino.—I am glad to find you were well after your journey and your ailment on the road. I reckon by this time you are in the middle of your seeing fine things and curiosities, while we are in the middle of wind and rain, reduced to billiards and that alone, for Tempesti is gone, though to return before Easter. We had last night an oratorio, very pretty both in words and music, but otherwise we go on in the same dull strain, though I am neither sick nor in the spleen. I send you *Queen Mary's* letter to me and the copy of my answer, both which pray return. King's man at *the Emperor's*, i.e. Vienna, has writ you a short note of about 13 sheets, which Paterson says is not worth sending, for I did not read it. For two or three idle days now I am like to pay next week, though I fancy my return on *Inese's* subject will be short though not sweet. Freebairn was at Lyons on Thursday, the 17th. I find by the prints that *the Czar's* return from his progress was not to be soon as we once reckoned. I cannot help politicianising a little on *Ormonde's* laconic letters, and their tenor, but I must have patience till a return from P[etersbur]g, and then alone can one judge what's fit to be done. *Holograph.*

JOHN PATERSON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 7. Urbino.—Mentioning that he had written to him 31 March and 3 April, and that he had received enclosed for him in one of M. de Busi's one from the Resident of March 16 and 19 (calendared *ante*, p. 152), of which he gives a summary, but does not send it on as being too bulky.—Sir W. Ellis wrote some time ago to M. Belloni at Rome to advance to Mr. Gerard (i.e. Mar) what sums he should call for, and got an answer that he would observe his orders, but would be at a loss to know this Gerard so he desired me to transmit the enclosed

letter of credit to you. Sir William does not write himself, to save you the trouble of a letter.

I wrote to Lord Tullibardine telling him you had delivered his letter to the King, and that you, parting hence a day or two after his came, had no time to write to him. I had so many letters from Glendarule without answering any of them that I began to be ashamed, and so have written to him likewise, but have taken no notice of what he wrote to you about me. When you told me what *Menzies* had written from t'other side about me, I did not think much further of it, but now that there is something of this kind, though I cannot divine what it is, coming from other hands, it has something the air of a design against a man, which makes me think of it with more concern. I would not give you the trouble to write to Glendarule on this account only, but would beg, if you are writing to him of anything else before I see you, you would desire him to explain to you what he knows of that matter. This I would hope you would vouchsafe me even on my own account, but there may be other and more weighty reasons for inquiring into it, and something may be intended by it against a better man than me. If there is anything under this, I am almost sure it will be found to proceed originally from somebody on this side the water, and not impossibly from some one or other at Urbino. 'Tis the first attack of the kind I ever met with, though not the first time such folks have attacked others with as little reason. It is easy for anybody to come at me on the subject of a thousand personal infirmities and weaknesses, but as regards my loyalty to the King, my duty to you and the confidence reposed in me by either, I think I can stand the trial of it.

I spoke to the King about the two petitions you left in my hands. Morgan is gone for Paris and the other for Sardinia with a recommendation to Mr. Wauchop, whom you saw at Avignon. I had a letter from James Paterson, who is at Palermo, but he only writes in general that they are making great preparations there, as if they expected something extraordinary to happen.

There were no newspapers by last post, but the common ones, which you have at Rome. The King was last night for two hours at the oratorio, and the whole ladies of the town were likewise there. Our virtuosi here approved of the music, and give it the preference to that which you heard before you left us. *Over six pages. Enclosed,*

SIR W. ELLIS to GIOVANNI ANGELO BELLONI.

Requesting him to pay to Mr. Gerard or to his order whatever sums he may demand during his stay at Rome and to place them to the writer's account. 1718, April 8, Urbino. French.

COUNT J. H. DE GAZOLA to DAVID NAIRNE.

1718, April 7. Piacenza.—Expressing the surprise mingled with joy he had felt at the news of the King's unexpected departure and flattering himself that he will yet see him leave Urbino, not for an excursion of two posts, as was the present case, but to mount the throne that is rightfully his. *French.*

The EARL OF OXFORD to JAMES III.

1718, March 27[–April 7].—This being the beginning of the year in this country, I heartily wish *the King* a long train of many, very many, years of happiness and that all his misfortunes may be determined with the year now gone out.

A few days since I troubled *the King* with a very long letter, and yesterday I was honoured with one of the 8th instant; I cannot sufficiently express my sense of *the King's* goodness to inform *Lord Oxford* of his private affairs. One expression so much rejoices my heart that I cannot but begin with it, viz., that *the King* has learnt by experience to be sole master in his own business. This is a resolution worthy of his excellent understanding and greatness of soul and will deliver him from innumerable inconveniences.

As to what has befallen *Inese*, I say once for all, that I have not nor will have any inclinations or aversions to persons so as to interfere with *the King's* trade, for the promoting his service shall be all the recommendation I need. *Lord Oxford* neither directly nor indirectly had ever any communication with *Inese*, and he was no farther known to him than by name, and I doubt not sufficient care is taken that *Inese's* revenge may not carry him to prejudice the trade. As to Mr. *Dillon*, I am equally a stranger to him, only I have heard of the great character he has in his own metier. *James Murray* is very well known to me, and very well-respected by many here, and I doubt not his youth will receive great improvement under the instructions of so able masters as *the King* and *Mar*.

The King has the goodness to let *Lord Oxford* carry on his part of the trade in his own way, for which he is exceedingly thankful, and, as he takes all opportunities of getting in partners, so he observes that rule to them in letting them act in their own way and in assuring them they may do so with safety and acceptance.

Lord Oxford wrote a few days since to *Queen Mary*, but then he knew nothing of this affair about *Inese*, and therefore could not mention it then, and does not think it proper to trouble your aunt (*i.e.* *Queen Mary*) now upon that subject for reasons which are apparent.

You conclude your letter with recommending the necessity of getting goods ready and the money. I have wrote to *Mar* in my last upon that, and will omit nothing to make that particular succeed, and will from time to time let *the King*

know the success, but, let me repeat, nothing will quicken that trade like the hopes or certainty of a market like to begin. I say no more, expecting to hear the news of that from your side, and, when trade once begins in earnest, it will find your partners other things to employ their thoughts than to create uneasinesses to *the King*, for I sensibly feel what he suffers from his partners' uneasinesses and am grieved at it, but time and other business will cure that. The hearing of *the King's* confirmed health is a sufficient cordial; I hope my next will be on a more agreeable subject, I mean, congratulations.

The EARL OF OXFORD to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 27[–April 7].—Sending the dates of the letters he has lately received. (About the dismissal of Inese as in the last letter.) There are expressions in *the King's* letter of 8 March on this affair, which perfectly charm me and I hope I shall not offend against decency, if, without his leave, I make use of those very expressions on proper occasions to particular persons for *the King's* service.

It will be a vast trial of your patience to pass by so much importunity as you must every day meet with. What I now feel here makes me more sensible of what *the King* and *Mar* must suffer. I hope the end and success of your trade will recompense all and that these impertinent though troublesome proceedings will not be able to do any hurt. In the meantime I know you will take care of preserving *Ormonde* in good humour, which is of great consequence, and nothing on that head shall be wanting here. I will not repeat what I wrote to *the King* about *Inese* and *Dillon*, but permit me to say a few words about *Menzies*. He is entirely unknown to *Lord Oxford*, not only his person, but also there has not been the least intercourse between them and that industriously on *Lord Oxford's* part, but his character is that of being very honest, careful and zealous for the trade, though peevish, but, since he has not acted to your liking, it is to be hoped that this deserved mortification will make him know himself better for the future, and perhaps, when *James Murray* is on your side, there will be fewer complaints of *Menzies*, and he will serve better. As to *James Murray*, he is certainly in good esteem, and, if he cannot profit under such masters as *the King* and *Mar*, he must be unteachable. Excuse me, if I suggest that *the King* should not let him be too soon a master and set up for himself; if he will be content to do journey work for some time, he may come to understand his trade.

I have reason to believe that several people have thought fit publickly to use *Lord Oxford's* name as a partner, but such things are better neglected than taken notice of. I think too much care cannot be taken to prevent any coldness or breach at this juncture between *the King's* partners.

These accidents have given you too much trouble ; I hope business of more consequence will very speedily take up your thoughts, and I believe the names must be altered, but that may be done from hence. I cannot say anything about *Mar's* motions, till we see what channel trade is like to take.

As to a chaplain to the factory, *Lord Oxford* is not idle ; as soon as one can be found proper, *Mar* shall have notice.

JAMES MURRAY to JAMES III.

1718, March 27[–April 7]. London.—Last Tuesday night I received your commands in yours of 16 Feb. and the other letters you referred me to. You may have many in your thoughts more capable of serving you and better able to struggle with difficulties too certainly to be expected from the little malicious arts of some people, but no man living will exert such abilities as he has with more sincerity and less regard to himself in your service, and I hope I may say I shall always prove worthy of the confidence you place in me. As to the manner in which I may be of use to you and the Company, I have no choice but your pleasure, and shall therefore, if something don't intervene, begin to obey what you ordered some time next week. But I should think it absolutely necessary to wait on you, before I have any dealing with *Paris*, for, in a situation which, I am afraid, is so liable to the envy of many and where one is so much exposed to their censure and detraction, it is surely a matter of prudence to desire to be particularly instructed both as to persons and things ; otherwise it will be impossible to carry on the Company's service as it ought to be, or for the person to be employed to see his way through the business committed to his care. On this occasion give me leave to express the concern and amazement your partners were in, when they perused your account to *the Bishop of Rochester* of an affair, which till that moment they were utter strangers to. It must be the effect of something more than chance or misfortune, when a person so much beloved, so much admired and so entirely confided in by all the friends of the Company has been represented in such a light as to deserve an expostulation from you in his favour. But still, how came such a thing to be thought necessary here, where he is so much the darling of the society ? Is it possible that anybody has been capable of a thing so prejudicial to the Company and so false in itself as to use the names of any concerned in the trade here against a man they are all so fond of, I say all, because I am sure it is without exception ? This I have presumed to lay before you as an honest man and your faithful servant without a view to recommend my self to any, and have therefore sealed it up from their view. Whoever has endeavoured to create a misunderstanding between *the King*, *Ormonde* and *Mar*, or any two of them, where a union is so necessary for the

Company's service, so much desired by traders here, and hitherto so much believed, deserve to be looked on as our greatest enemies. I mention this as my poor opinion with regard to things, for I don't at all know what persons are concerned. If those, who have given such demonstration of their integrity and abilities, are not proof of such false insinuations, how unfortunate must be others, whose inexperience and want of capacity must lay them much more open to such attacks? If those, who are able to conduct themselves so as not to give the least handle for such treatment, have not escaped, what can another expect, who from mistakes and other natural infirmities may be liable to have his sincerest actions and intentions misrepresented and with an air of probability?

I must now be so free as to tell you that I am heartily glad you have been troubled with this affair, because it has afforded you an opportunity of showing your firmness for one who has served you faithfully. Your expressions are so full of good understanding, your sentiments such as give the traders so certain a prospect of success while you have the direction of their affairs, that I may say, it is well for us you have been put to trouble. $3\frac{1}{2}$ pages.

CARDINAL GUALTERIO to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 8.—Asking him to permit him to come to him that evening after nightfall, which will be less noticed than if he comes to him, as he wishes to speak to him quite alone.
French.

FANNY OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 8.—I am charged now to tell you from M[ezzières] that I sent you some time ago the copy of a little note that was sent him. Since then he has seen a person whose probity and good sense he can answer for. He is his intimate friend and has always been a well-wisher to *the King*, but, what is more essential, is that he is in a straight and secret correspondence with a person in *Spain* who has an absolute credit with *the King of Spain's wife* and hand in glove with *Alberoni*. As he is actually in commerce with that person on affairs of consequence, which touch *Alberoni*, he assured M[ezzières] he could send any proposal to his friend in *Spain* for the service of *the King*, and to write to him in such a way as to engage him in *the King's* interest and manage the affair with *Alberoni* and the lady, who, you know, has great power. His friend, he says, is the most capable person in *Spain* to make such an affair succeed and to remove all difficulties that often ruin a business for want of knowing where they lie. He says he is really of opinion that if [a] *treaty* was offered them that was advantageous to *Spain*, his friend could make them give ear to it, or at worst he is sure that he will send a positive answer, if you may ever hope anything from thence and the

reasons, if not, the person he will employ being in the intrinsic of their affairs and who will act sincerely with him. M[ezières] thought it an offer not to be rejected. He will keep him up in his good intentions. He promised to write to you about it and bids me tell you, if you have any engagements with them people already, it would not be proper to move this wheel, but, in case you have not or have only people there that gives you hopes, as their assistance may be of great use to you, if you think fit to make any use of this notion, he tells you how it is. Send him word if you approve and a memorandum what you would wish *Spain* to do for you and what you could offer them in return, when you're satisfied and at home.

By all this person has told him, which is not fit to trust to the post, he believes you cannot make use of a surer nor perhaps a more successful way to put *Spain* in your interest. He fancies their friendship might prove of great use to you, considering what an *army* and how many *ships* they have at present. If you're sure of them already, so much the better, it's but an idea lost ; if you are not, and *the King* thinks fit to accept this offer, lose no time but send M[ezières] an ample instruction of what you would have said and done. The person in question, who does not care to be named till he knows if he can be of use to you, will immediately on your letter write to his friend in what manner you think proper. He is sure of his integrity and that he is a man that will set all irons to work.

If you make use of this proposal, nothing can make it succeed but its being kept secret ; besides, it may be of the last consequence to the person that meddles in it from hence ; therefore, as M[ezières] can answer for the secret from this side, he asks from you that it may be as inviolable as that of *Lord Ilay*, that in short nobody living must know, but *the King* and you, not even the *Pope*, for fear he should speak of it to somebody that will betray you all. Though he is very good and honest himself, some about him are not, so it's but on your promise of the secret being kept that the person who offers his service will engage in it, but he requires nobody living should know it, but *the King* and you, not even any of the red *clergymen*.

M[ezières] bids me also tell you that, though he does not doubt that now *the King* and you know the character of all the people you're with, he is desired to give you notice that that *clergyman*, that *the King* was so good as to write to for the litt[le] che[valier], is entirely devoted to *France* and perfect *Alexander* to who fees most, and *Albani* to the *Emperor*.

We go to the great town to-morrow. There's no news worth your knowing. The neighbour (Sparre) con[tinues] in his silence. M[ezières] will be satisfied, if he did but w[rite] to you. He cannot comprehend the meaning ont.

They are going to break all the Councils as superfluous except that of the regency. They begin it is said by that of conscience. *Nearly 3 pages.*

THOMAS SANDERSON to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, March 28[–April 8]. Edinburgh.—Yours of 10 Dec. last giving an account of your worthy friend's welfare and your own was not only very acceptable but very surprising, considering the malicious and diabolical stories spread on you from 1 May last, viz., that you had proved to be a treacherous villain, for which you were justly hanged and quartered. I was so confounded that I was deprived of many nights' rest and thought it shame to be seen by any of our old comrades, and, if you had suffered as such, the cause would have troubled me more than the just consequence of it. Some here believed it, and others not. When I let our club see yours, you cannot imagine how joyful we were. All minded you kindly, but none more than the man *in statu quo*.

ALEXANDER P[ATERSON] to JOHN PATERSON.

[1718, March 28–April 8].—I received yours with the enclosed to your good and near friend with more pleasure than it is necessary to express, which sufficiently convinced me of the many groundless slanders, which I could not from the beginning entertain the least jealousy of. With postscript by J. P[aterson] assuring him he is still his. *On the same sheet as the last.*

GEORGE LOCKHART to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 28[–April 8].—Before I received yours of 4 Jan. two or three days ago, I had a letter from my friend, acquainting me that he was at liberty to take my young cousin under his care and am therefore first to return my acknowledgements for so great a favour. Though my cousin has been from his childhood pretty well-founded in arithmetic and other studies fit for his station and is, I think, very bent to follow out the employment he was bred to, yet I inclined to have him live with a merchant that would take care of him and keep him in the practice of these useful accomplishments, it falling too often out, that young men by idle company and diversions neglect and forget what has cost abundance of pains in attaining. I am persuaded the method I have taken will prove to his benefit, and am hopeful no inconveniency will arise to *the King*, since his friend will be at any time ready on a call, and, I doubt not, bring his apprentice alongst with him, when there's anything to be done he can take a part in, and, as he's now become a swinging young fellow, he may even take his hazard of a long voyage when a fair occasion offers, and the sooner it be, I shall be the more pleased.

However it is fit as few as possible know of my cousin's being bound to your friend.

I am extremely glad *the King* has taken the resolution you mention. 'Tis high time for him to think of settling himself, and I make no question it will alter some people's judgment of him and his affairs, who have fed themselves with the hopes that he'd ramble away his time for ever, whereas this step must convince them there will be no end of his just claim.

Next day after I got yours, I met with *the Bishop of Edinburgh* and *Mr. Straiton*, who, I doubt not, will give you a more perfect account of the company's affairs than I can. We all agreed the state of trade, at least the projects and views of our merchants of all kinds are much the same as you left them, for, though it is very evident that *Scotland's* circumstances and schemes are very deplorable and despicable, and that they never can be better while he relies on and concerts measures with *Uberten* (? the Union), who, as all the other customhouse officers, promise fair in order to silence and then betray, yet I cannot see either *the Presbyterian Lords and Commons* or *the Whigs* are a bit convinced that the smuggling trade they follow is pernicious. If *the Presbyterian Lords and Commons* can preserve *the kirk* and *the Whigs* gain a penny to *themselves*, they seem to have no regard at all to the general balance of trade. Though this may seem a paradox to strangers, yet you know them too well to be surprised that men who have been so long and so much accustomed to do evil, should not learn to do well. 'Tis true there are diversions and animosities amongst the smuggling traders themselves greater by far than ever you or I knew, yet I am of opinion they proceed only from their particular views interfering with one another, as the subject of trade is not extensive enough to satisfy them all, and that they have no notion that trade can never be on a right footing, till regulated by a joint company, established and supported by a legal authority. What may be the effect of their losses and crosses, time must determine, and the best is to be hoped for, but at present I cannot see any tendency to what I wish. How the merchants stand affected elsewhere I know not, and *Mr. Edgar* (*i.e.* the English) is so fanatic and infatuated, that I have little regard to his rantings and ravings, unless he is taken when he is in the humour, but, if he get time to cool and settle, you know the wind and weather are not more variable. Though the trade of this place is now carried on in a very irregular manner, I am persuaded the fair traders need be in no great apprehension of the smugglers, for, if right and feasible projects be laid down, they will easily get the better of the smugglers, who have no great stocks, and have no courage and as little ability to push a fair open trade. But on the other hand the fair traders have been so often disappointed and sustained such great losses, which has much reduced their number, as many

have become bankrupt and been rendered incapable, though still willing, to follow after trade, that they will expect to see the Company's measures well adjusted, before they pay up the remaining quota of their subscriptions. I thought it not amiss to be somewhat plain, because in some hints in yours to me and for other reasons I suspect there are, who entertain themselves and others with notions that are more the effects of their wishes than founded on solid grounds, and, though merchants are certainly to be encouraged and trade represented in as fair a light as possible, I could never see any reason why the chief managers of the Company should not know the true state of affairs. If other accounts are given, I wish they may be well-founded but, till I am persuaded thereof, I think it my duty to represent them, as I have done, which I dare say will hold good, for these eight or nine months past, as I could ride about through the country, I have been at some pains to find the merchants' pulses and from thence gathered the observations I have represented. 'Tis true indeed here and there one of these smugglers is not well-pleased at the management of trade and seems much disappointed in his expectations, and very many also are extremely out of humour, but, as the first are few, there is little to be expected from the others, till we see what effects some late regulations of trade, which will inevitably fall heavy on them without distinction, may produce, and which, in my opinion, can be quickened by no argument so proper as unfolding the folly of trusting to Mr. Uberten, of which I design care shall be taken, if I continue here, but I find such difficulties to maintain my family and live at any tolerable ease that I am almost positively determined to push my fortune next summer somewhere else, in which case it's more than probable I may see you, wherever you are.

(About the importance of secrecy as in the abstract.)

Your observations of the conduct and prospect of my two friends *Argyle* and *Lord Ilay* are certainly true, and what, I dare say, all the world but themselves perceive, and I wish a way could be fallen on to induce them to be sensible thereof likewise, as the result thereof would be a great benefit to the company as well as to themselves, for whom I cannot but have a great personal friendship, as it commenced from our infancies, and that I lie under the greatest personal obligations to them, particularly at the end of the late storm, when, but for them, I had well nigh perished, though I ever did and will know how to distinguish betwixt what I owe to them and others of a more immediate concern. Some years ago I was very bent to discover what was to be expected from them, and I think I was not mistaken when I firmly believed on more than probable grounds that it was then far from impracticable to bring them into right measures, of which I then acquainted one of the Company's factors at *London*, and proposed some things which others of *the King's* friends

believed would have had good effects, and I know that this factor communicated the same to a certain person, who had then the inspection of affairs with and under *Queen Mary*, but he, I dare say without concerting with his mistress, who had more sense than to return such an answer as was sent, disapproved of the measure, and so it came to nothing. However, I still entertained some hopes, and thereupon took some steps, while I was in *Parliament*, which, I remember, were ill-taken and appeared odd to some, to whom I did not think it convenient to communicate my reasons. But 'tis to no purpose to insist on these matters, and what I did then and do still believe was part of the reasons which prevailed with them to tack about and act a quite different part. We're now to look forwards, and I'm afraid there's less reason than ever to expect anything from them. What has occurred since may in their opinions render an agreement impracticable, and 'tis too probable they'll give little credit to the assurances of a good disposition towards it on the other side. Besides, I reckon they are so far dipped with another person, that they'll think themselves bound in honour to adhere to him, and no doubt have formed mighty matters to themselves, if ever that person came to be in better circumstances, and you know such views make great impression on my two friends. But, if it shall come to pass, as it is loudly talked, that that person has offered to leave them in the lurch in order to obtain what he now endeavours after, in that case a door is opened to expect something from resentment, and the more that a new scheme must be laid down or they can have no hopes or prospect of attaining what their ambition may lead them to, and which 'tis well known they aim at, and in such circumstances I can see but one course they have to steer. In short, if I can find any the least probable or tolerable prospect of our opportunity, you may be assured I will venture to lay matters further before them. 'Tis reported they will both be soon here, which by the by affords matter of speculation, and I have some private affairs to settle with a meanspirited kinsman of mine in *London*, which, 'tis probable, will oblige me to go thither in two or three months, in either of which cases I will see my two friends and treat with them as I find the coasts clear, of which I shall let you know.

What you say about Patrick (*i.e.* the Parliament) is quite out of doors, for there is no reason to think his life in any hazard, and, I dare say, unless some accident intervenes, he'll be the oldest man of any in his family for these many years past. Having mentioned *Parliament* and my two friends, I will relate a passage, which, though of no great importance, may yet be worth your knowing. Some seven or eight months ago a namesake of *Lord Middleton* returning from *London* desired me to spend a day with him in town. He told me that *Argyle* and *Lord Ilay* were persuaded the old *Parliament* would die

next winter of the distemper he at that time was afflicted with, and it was their earnest request I would consent to serve in the young *Parliament* in the same station I had done formerly, to which they'd give me ample recommendations. I answered I was weary of the service before I left it, had betaken myself to a quite different kind of life and would not engage myself any more after that manner. On his insisting very pressingly, I told him he knew that the only reason which induced me formerly was on a view and with an intention to serve the interest of *the King and Scotland*, but, as matters now went and were like to go, I did not see how I could do them any service. Besides, if I was admitted into that family, my two friends would expect an immediate dependence on them, as they had been instrumental in bringing me into it, and that I should thereby be reduced to the dilemma of exposing myself to be taxed with ingratitude to them and at the same time forfeit their friendship, or obliged to regulate my conduct in a manner I had not been accustomed to and contrary to my former professions, and that he might remember he often some years ago regretted to me that he and certain other gentlemen were under that necessity and obliged to act the part which I could not approve and would never perform. Three or four weeks after, I had a letter from this gentleman intimating that he had sent my two friends a faithful account of our conversation, and he was again directed by them to insist on what he had proposed and to assure me that no such thing was or should be expected from me as I imagined, and that I should be at full liberty to think and act as I pleased without making any breach in the friendship amongst us, and he added of himself that perhaps we were not at so great distance from being of one mind as I believed, and that my compliance might perhaps be a means for bringing that about which he knew I did and he assured me he himself did heartily wish for. I returned that I would probably see my friends before there was need to determine, and, if I found any reason to expect what he suggested would come to pass, nothing on my part should be wanting. Not long after the old *Parliament's* health took a turn and I heard no more of the matter. I leave it to you to judge whether this passage affords any grounds of hope on a fair occasion. On the one hand I cannot see what benefit could accress to my friends by my compliance on these terms, and sure I am they could not propose any allurements to myself, unless it had been with some such view as the gentleman insinuated, and on the other hand, though he mentioned that particular as from himself, I persuade myself he would not have ventured on it without their allowance.

I have sent yours to *Lord Eglinton*. If his answer come in time, it shall be sent with this, if not, with my young cousin, who'll set out in three weeks to meet your friend at *France*. No man has the interest of trade more at heart than he, the

bad state whereof and the circumstances of his friends thereby has really made an impression on his health, so that he is become melancholy and chagrined. However your factor *Straiton* gave you lately an instance of his frankness, which he believes was not come to you when you last wrote to him. I cannot say so much of his brother-in-law, my cousin, whom you mentioned to me about eight or nine months ago. I doubt not he's sound at bottom, but I fear he has too much of his chief's blood in his veins and little is to be expected from him. Lately, when he was in town, I did all I could to get an opportunity to talk with him, but, as I fancy he suspected I was to propose a *money contribution*, he carefully and effectually prevented it.

(As Capt. *Straiton's* health was so infirm, suggesting that the question of a successor to him should be considered).

I was t'other day with some merchants, who, talking of a fit person to succeed him, agreed that no man was more capable or would be more acceptable than the gentleman whose sister *Lord Sinclair* married. I mention this, because, when we here in the place found so little choice, 'tis probable it will be more difficult for you at such a distance and not perfectly apprised of the circumstances of some, whom perhaps you might think fit to employ. If you are not personally acquainted with him, no doubt you have heard of his character, and I firmly believe he is the very quintessence of honour and honesty. I beg to suggest two things. The first is how far it may be convenient to appoint some person to be privy to *Mr. Straiton's* negotiations, that, in case he should die, his successor may know how and with whom to proceed, and this perhaps may be the more convenient as hitherto he has been very close. The next is, lest he should die when you are not expecting it, that all the company's bills for the future be directed to some other person besides him, who in such an emergency may take care of the company's affairs, till one is particularly appointed.

Postscript.—I wrote this three or four days ago, since which I had a visit from *Lord Carnwath*, who came from *London* lately to *Edinburgh*. Amongst other things he tells me it was generally believed *Argyle* would be left in the lurch. I was likewise to see *Edinburgh*, where I met some of *Argyle's* friends, who assured me he is soon to be here. But, what surprised me much and is fitting you know, they told me that *Lord Breadalbane* designed to sell his estate in *Scotland* in order to purchase another in *England*, and *Lord Ilay's* brother had two meetings with him in order to be his purchaser. What effects this transaction may have with the *Highlands* I can't tell. 'Tis given out by *Argyle's* friends that this and some other private affairs bring him here, and some, who were a little freer with me, said that he was a stranger to all his friends and designed to pass a little of his time in making a friendship with the *Highlanders*. But I imagine he has

traded so high that his credit is failing and he thinks it fit to retire before his bills are protested.

Just as I was sealing this, the express I sent returned with the enclosed from *Lord Eglinton*. (An abstract of the part about secrecy and a very brief one of the passage about Argyle and Ilay is printed in the *Lockhart Papers*, Vol. II., pp. 10, 11.) 6 pages.

The DUKE OF MAR to JAMES III.

1718, April 9. Rome.—I am quite weary with running about seeing things all this day since early in the morning till seven, but I like them so well that, though wearied, “I am not yet fully satisfied, nor will not, till I have once seen all, and then take a second view of what I like best. I have been these two days in the Vatican, taking St. Peter’s in my way each time, as I do as often as I come near it and like it better the oftener I see it. I saw yesterday too the fine palace of Barbarin and there the statue which, I am told, was given your Majesty, and of a modern one it is very good. This evening I was in the Villa Burghese, with both which I was mightily entertained, and, after seeing the fine things in them, it makes me think very meanly of all of that kind I have seen before either in France or England. I am not yet determined what to see to-morrow, the Cardinal proposed to me seeing the function in the Pope’s Chapel, but of that kind I shall see enough in Holy Week, and besides I should, I know, be stared at as happened at the Conclave, so, I believe, I shall let it alone and either go in the morning to the Forum to see the antiquities or to the Villa Pamphilia, but I will not now trouble your Majesty with any more of this.

“*Cardinal Gualterio* would needs come and see me last night notwithstanding all I could do to prevent it, but he came when it was dark and very privately, so that I believe it would not be known. Mr. Erskine was our interpreter, but he whispered to myself that the affair of the money both with *the Pope* and *the King of Spain* was, he thought, in a good way, which I made shift to understand, and it gave me no small pleasure. He writes, I suppose, himself so that I need not give you the trouble of anything more that passed, which was mostly news. I believe my waiting on the Pope &c. will be put off till about the time of my leaving this, at least for all next week, which I am very glad of. I am to dine with *Cardinal Gualterio* to-morrow, the servant being mistaken when he said it was to be this day.

“I had the honour of yours of the 3rd on Thursday evening. Had I not had Father Græme’s last letter sooner than the one which Paterson then sent me, I should have been in pain for the packets he sent over to *Capt. Ogilvie*, but in that former one, which I sent your Majesty, I think he says that he had heard from *Capt. Ogilvie* of his getting them safe, but I fear *Dillon* had delayed sending *the Bishop of Rochester* his letters,

and, when *Lord Oxford* gets his sooner, it may occasion some more and new jealousies and *tracasseries*, which, 'tis very likely, may be laid to the account of those who are as innocent of them as of the former. I really believe *Dillon's* having so much more business &c. than usual has occasioned his illness in a good measure, but, be that as it will, it is plain by *James Murray's* letters that he does not write so much to them as they think he should. *James Murray's* meaning of the picture must certainly be the affair of the marriage with the Duchess of C[ourlan]d, which, it seems, they take for true, and, by what Lord Sunderland said of it in the House, I am now apt to believe that that story has been raised and set about by the Court there. As soon as *the Bishop of Rochester* and *James Murray* get the letters your Majesty and I wrote them, there will be an end of any jealousies on that head. *Inese* should know *Menzies* better than I, he having been intimate with him above these twenty years and I not above three months save by letters these two years past, so, since he thinks that he could not bear plain truths being told him, I am very well satisfied that he did not forward my letter I sent him for him, but it is a little hard that I am to bear all he does and says about me, of which he has not been sparing of late to *Inese*, *Anne Oglethorpe* and others I suppose too, and that he must not be told of what he does amiss. As to the note of the money *Inese* sends from Mr. Dicconson's books, I can say nothing till I be back again to compare it with that which I got from Mr. Dicconson myself, but, as I said in my letter to *Menzies*, had all been sent which this new note of *Inese's* and Dicconson's says, how came it to pass that *Menzies* did not clear himself on my first writing to him of it, which two lines would have done to a trifle, but he did not so much as allege that he had near cleared himself in that note he wrote to Hamilton upon my writing first to him of it. *Inese* in this last letter of his fails not to give me a wiper by the by, as he has done in most I have got from him of late, and, since he does so to myself, it is not likely that he would be more sparing in doing so to *Queen Mary*. It is no small happiness to serve one, as I do, who sees with his own eyes, but I doubt not of his having given such impressions of me to *Queen Mary* that they will not rub off in haste, which is more my misfortune than fault, so that I cannot help it. What he says of this though is of a piece with some of his former actions. He amongst others wrote to me about *the Duke of Shrewsbury* and *Lord Portmore's* being applied to about that affair, and he knew that we had no other way of doing of it but by *Menzies*, and that they would trust nobody else, so that I do not find yet wherein I was to blame for writing to *Menzies* of it.

"I think your Majesty was much in the right to write as you did to Lord Marischal, and I shall forward the letter by the Tuesday's post."

If you please to cause Bonum or anybody else to make and send me a catalogue of the books of prints &c. you got from the Pope, it may save me buying some things of that kind which otherwise my curiosity may lead me to do. [Lin-] lithgow arrived here Wednesday night and lives with us. Nearly 4 pages. *Holograph.*

ANTONIO DAVI[D] to "VOSSIGNORIA ILLUSTRISSIMA"
[? DAVID NAIRNE].

1718, April 9. Rome.—Expressing his thanks for the patent he has received from Cardinal Gualterio appointing him "servitore onorevole" of his Majesty which has been solicited by "Vossignoria Illustrissima," and hoping he may one day use his pencil to depict his King, no longer far away from his palace but in London itself, having triumphed over his enemies. *Italian.*

CAPT. GEORGE CAMOCKE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 9. Rouen.—I applied to her Majesty on behalf of Capt. John Lloyd, late surveyor general of Ireland, captain of a troop of dragoons and King's waiter at London, which employments brought him in yearly upwards of 2,000*l.* sterling. She told me she would write to his Majesty in his favour. This gentleman was always of the same sentiments as to his allegiance; besides, if the King should be restored, no one is so qualified to serve him as a commissioner of the revenue in Ireland, because he knows the duty of the principal officers to that of a tide waiter. Besides, while he served as surveyor general, he advanced the revenue near 30,000*l.* a year without any oppression to the public, but purely by his industry and finding out the neglects of former surveyors general. I ask your pardon for recommending him to your favour to augment his pension and to put him on the establishment of 60 *livres per mensem.* I am persuaded, if I could get a letter to go to my Lord of Ormonde, he would write to you in his favour, because his Grace was not formerly willing he should take anything from the King, and for that reason ordered him to write to him when in necessity, but he never attempted writing to him till he was forced to the last extremity, and neither he nor I having any answer makes me conjecture our letters never came to his Grace, so that for seven months I have lent him 25 *livres* each month to subsist him. His services have been so very great that I am at a loss for words to express his merit, and I should have been wanting in my duty to the King, had I neglected to acquaint you of his being forgot, whilst so many are living by the King's bounty. 3½ pages. *Enclosed,*

JOHN LLOYD to CAPT. GEORGE CAMOCKE.

I think it would be an action of the highest impudence for me to write to his or her Majesty and of upbraiding too

to set forth how my grandfather and six of my uncles died for his grandfather, forfeiting a good estate and lending his then Majesty 50,000*l.*, for which on the restoration no recompense was made, or to set forth my own actions giving 2,000*l.* to Sir Robert Hamilton towards supporting the first rising in Scotland and paying Col. Knevett Hastings 2,280*l.* to subsist a number of men I secured in London for King James II's service by promise to Sir William Perkins and Sir John Friend and several sums given to be disposed to the Non-juring clergy by Bishops Sancroft, Ken and Lloyd, and the since losing my places of a troop of dragoons, surveyor general of the revenue of Ireland, comptroller of the customs and collector general of that revenue with my King's waiter's place in London, by all which I had near 6*l.* per diem. Besides Mr. Brodrick, now Lord Chancellor of Ireland, said at the Council Board I had done more mischief in that kingdom than any person that ever came into it, by bringing great numbers to a sense of their duties to his and her Majesty, which I always endeavoured to effect, besides my proclaiming his Majesty at Chester and thence repairing to Oxford &c.

When all this is considered, it's nothing meritorious, for had I a hundred thousand lives I would sacrifice them all for his Majesty's service, and then should scarcely believe I had acted more than my duty. The Duke of Ormonde acquainted his Majesty of my losses, though he could not of my deplorable circumstances, I being ashamed to acquaint him thereof, and his Grace assuring me I should want for nothing gave me hopes I should never be reduced to those very great necessities. I have hardly linens and woollens to cover my nakedness or sufficient to pay my bare lodging and diet besides firing, washing &c.

Could I be serviceable to his or her Majesty in any post, I should think myself highly honoured, to earn a support by serving for it, than to eat the bread of idleness. As to 100*livres* a month proposed to me for pension, it was proposed by Sir Peter Sherlock at Avignon whether I would accept it, for he was sure, if I would, his Majesty would give it, but then I had a little money of my own, and was in hopes of a speedy restoration.

I hope you'll believe it is nothing but pure necessity that obliges me to be troublesome, for my son's losing his election at Oxford wholly incapacitates me from drawing any moneys from my wife and son's poor income, which is but 100*l.* per annum. 3½ pages. 1718, April 4. Rouen. Enclosed,

Abstract of what it has cost him in performing his duty to his Majesty and his father amounting to 7,000*l.* besides the loss of his posts at 6*l.* per diem

*at 7 years' purchase, amounting to 15,330*l.*, besides several other expenses and being in custody three times, besides his grandfather's losing 7,000*l.* per annum, lending King Charles I 50,000*l.*, the Marquess of Antrim 12,000*l.* and losing his life and those of six of his uncles.*

MONSR. STIERNHOCK to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 9. Vienna.—With regard to the great scene concerning the affairs of Spain and Italy some here say that the Emperor will accept the last proposals made by the Regent and the Elector of Hanover, viz., that he renounces Spain and guarantees as well the succession of the Regent as that of Tuscany and Parma in favour of the King of Spain's son by his second marriage, that the Regent and the Elector guarantee the territories of the Emperor in Italy and oblige the Duke of Savoy to cede Sicily to him without either keeping the title of king or receiving any equivalent in territory for the loss of Sicily, and that the Emperor and the Regent unite in guaranteeing the House of Hanover on the throne. Others imagine, but with less probability, that the plan of an alliance between the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy may succeed, of which the conditions proposed by the Duke are the marriage of the Prince of Piedmont to the Archduchess, the eldest daughter of the Emperor Joseph, and in default of the eldest to the youngest, the cession of Sicily on the terms of retaining the title of king and receiving a small equivalent in the Milanese and, in case of the death of the young King of France, the succession of King Philip to that crown and of the House of Savoy to the crown of Spain and of the Emperor to the territories of that House, the succession of King Philip's son to Tuscany and Parma and assistance to be given by the Duke of Savoy to the Emperor for the extension of his power in Italy. It is also said that, if the Duke sees his opposition to the Regent and the Elector is in vain, he will not hesitate to detach himself from the interest of the King of Spain as regards the succession to the crown of France and to enter into that of the Regent and to accede to the concert between him and the Elector, trying to make the best bargain he can. I imagine that the question whether to make peace with the King of Spain is decided in the Emperor's mind in the affirmative, but I doubt whether he has made up his mind as to how it is to be done. I consider it most probable he will take the side of those of his ministers who advise him to accept the proposals of the Regent and the Elector.

As to the Emperor's old notion of the affection of the Spanish nation for him, which was partly the ground of his repugnance to renounce his claims on Spain, he has had the vexation of seeing an example to the contrary by the recently discovered intelligence between the Court of Madrid and some 40 Spaniards who live at Naples and enjoy benefits

from him, among them persons employed in the troops and the chancery of war. The Viceroy of Naples has sent these Spaniards here, and has announced to all their countrymen, to the number of 400, that they must leave that kingdom to serve in the army in Hungary or in other parts of the Emperor's dominions or to live privately, or else to lose their pensions. It is said that the Governor of Milan will be ordered to make the same declaration to those of that nation in that Duchy. The credit of the Spanish party here would seem weakened by this discovery.

I enclose a copy of a letter of 31 March from Belgrade. I have learnt from other sources that the Ottoman Court has given the ambassadors of England and Holland to understand that they will treat at the Congress on the basis of *Uti possidetis* proposed by the Emperor. I do not know, however, if this news is authentic. The Ambassadors Virmond, Sutton and Ruzini will certainly set out in a few weeks.

After writing the above, I have just received certain news that, after a great conference held some days ago in the Emperor's presence at which Prince Eugene and the principal ministers, both Austrian, Spanish and Italian were present, the Emperor sent to Count Konigseck and M. Pentenrieder couriers, who left yesterday, with orders to make declarations to the Regent and the English-Hanoverian Court, by which the Emperor appears inclined to enter into the concert between those two princes. It must be seen whether that scene does not yet change further, but I repeat that most probably it will end for the present according to that concert, but it is a great question whether all those who have formed it and those who to all appearance will enter into it intend to hold to what has been and shall be concerted between them.

Postscript.—I informed your Excellency of the departure of General Ducker from Hamburg, furnished with an English passport, without its being known what way he had taken. It has been just written to me, that he has gone from Hamburg to England and thence to Sweden, after having spoken to the Elector and to Baron Bernstorff to receive their proposals. At present Count Velling is at Cassel to hear what Mr. Haldane, the English minister, and a Prussian minister, who is to be there, have to say to him, that he may report it to the King, and that his Majesty may combine it with the proposals M. Fabrice is come to make to him, as also to ascertain the Landgrave's sentiments regarding the Northern peace and to inform his Majesty of them. I wish not only for my master's interests, but also for those of his Britannic Majesty, that the Czar, by hastening to give the facilities necessary for his peace, may break off this negotiation begun for the Hanoverian peace. I am informing you sincerely of what I have learnt about this negotiation, that his Britannic Majesty may by his influence with his friends, whether at the Russian or the Swedish Court, as also at that of France,

which has much influence at my Court and may perhaps have some at that of Russia, notwithstanding their apparent friendship with the Hanoverian Court, take his precautions in time to hinder the Swedish-Hanoverian peace. 15 pages. *French. Enclosed,*

COPY OF A LETTER FROM BELGRADE.

The mediating ministers of England and Holland who are with the Turkish plenipotentiaries at Sofia informed Councillor Dalman by a letter sent him some days ago that the Turkish plenipotentiaries had informed them that the Porte had agreed on the neighbourhood of Fetislan on the Danube, near what is called Trajan's Bridge, for the place of the congress, where they would present themselves in a few days. So this plenipotentiary of the the Emperor is preparing to go thither as soon as possible. We shall be obliged to encamp there, because the inhabitants have entirely abandoned their houses from their alarm last year, after the battle and the taking of Belgrade. While treating, there will be no cessation of arms, and the progress we shall be able to make in this campaign will render the peace advantageous for our master's interests. March 31, 1718. French.

JAMES HAMILTON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 29[–April 9].—Thanking him for his kind remembrance expressed in his to Mr. *Menzies*.—I should look on it as the greatest honour to be under your eye in any situation, but my want of the language and other qualifications would make me only an unuseful burden. Had I liberty of going about, where I am is the only place where I could be of use, and especially if you should think it necessary to have a meeting with Mr. *Menzies*, for the conveying of goods to *Holland* is done all by me, nor can I fall on a method of putting it into any other hands, it being gained by a long acquaintance. If my liberty can be procured and you order my staying here, I pray you will grant me some subsistence, for my hardships are great by my long absconding, and the above way of sending goods to *Sir H. Paterson* is expensive. I know it by experience to be very secure and am daily getting into acquaintance that will make it more frequent and easy.

If you think proper the Squire (Hamilton himself) shall wait on *Lady Mar* to the country, he is most willing to obey. He would be glad to know, in case *Menzies* is to leave this, [whether] you would have the Squire return. I beg your commands before *Lady Mar* goes to the country, and, if you think proper to enjoin her to use her interest with my creditors before her departure, 'twould make my staying here more easy for the future.

I beg you to give the *St. James's Post* to *W. Erskine*. I wish I had power to give your compliments to my chief's mother (the Duchess of Hamilton). She is not the least zealous of your friends. $2\frac{1}{2}$ pages.

J. MENZIES to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 29[–April 9].—The enclosed is from the Squire (Hamilton) who is still as an owl in the dark, for the bailiffs have been often hunting him, which is hard on him who has a family and nothing to subsist them when together and far less when separate. I have him all these two days with a gentleman, who is come up to me from many places of the country, where the impatience is great for light and for advice.

LORD EGLINTON to JAMES III.

1718, March 29[–April 9].—Acknowledging the honour of his letter and assuring him of his readiness and willingness to serve him.—I have not seen Mr. *Straiton*, so can say nothing of the affairs of the Company, but I think of seeing him soon, and shall then give the best advice I can.

LORD EGLINTON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 29[–April 9].—I had yours last post, and you do me right to believe that no accidents make me alter from what I think I am bound to in duty and friendship, and I will omit no opportunity of doing all in my power to re-establish our trade, though the difficulties seem to me so great at present that I think trading hardly practicable, for there is such a number of ships for searching that there is no possibility of profiting except such a force were brought, as would beat off the customhouse officers, until the country convene and carry off the goods. But you will be able to make a better judgment than I can, and, when you have come to resolutions fit and necessary to be communicated to your co-partners, you may write to our common factor here that he may inform the rest of the company, and I shall be ready to meet and to give what assistance I can.

(Agreeing with Lord Mar about the necessity for secrecy.)

I have not seen young *Lord Aberdeen* (i.e. Lord Haddo) for some time, therefore I cannot say what are his present sentiments, but I am persuaded it was not want of good will hindered him from joining in the last trading voyage but the hazard he saw the adventurers run from the pirates that lay on the coast, and no force come to beat them off. My relation who came from your country has been lately here. He is a very well-accomplished gentleman and an entire well-wisher to the *King*. As to your old friend and relation in these parts, I wish trade were in such a fair way that you could make him the least offer of taking a share in it, but you know the heifer he ploweth with and a word to a wise man is sufficient.

ANNE OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 29[–April 9].—Defending her conduct at great length and justifying himself in her quarrel with James Murray, who perhaps takes it ill that elderly men would not be entirely governed by a young man's judgments and discretion, about Inese's dismissal and about Menzies' conduct and about Capt. Ogilvie's visit to England.—*Lord Oxford* has ordered me to let you know, for fear of a surprise to find his letters written by the same hand as *Lord Orrery's*, that, as I get them both copied from their originals and have now in town a person I can trust, he thinks it safest they should come in the same hand to you than venture several. The person is the gentleman I recommended to you when you wanted one to write for you. When they are copied and the persons themselves have confronted them to their originals, they seal them.

One thing mentioned in *Lord Orrery's* letter against *J. Murray* may seem an insinuation of mine, but, whatever I take ill of him, I never said nor did anything that by lessening him might hurt the common cause and did not pretend to know him when *Lord Orrery* told me what *Argyle* and his brother said, and would have had him leave that and other things out of his letter, but find a suspicion of rivalry in *Argyle's* brother's (*Lord Ilay's*) imagination by some pretended words dropped by *James Murray* occasioned the complaints to *Lord Orrery*. I am so devoted to *the King's* welfare that a quarrel I had with *Sir R. Everard*, whence first sprang *James Murray's* misunderstanding and mine, I made up, and I have gone on as I did before with him. We had made an agreement that, whenever one of us sent, they paid for it, and then should give notice to the other that they might have the opportunity of sending. The same on the other side that the same man should receive for both and send to each their due, he knowing the skipper and having been the first recommender of him to me. The goods have been carried in this manner safe and quick, but *Capt. Ogilvie* tells me he has your orders to agree with a skipper by the year, and as in my humble opinion you will have wished it had in the manner *Sir R. Everard* and I had agreed it, he sending *the Bishop of Rochester's* and I *Lord Oxford's*, but I do not oppose what you think best, no further than my safety, which is that, if I receive them, as I fear I must, they must be left in hands I choose and can trust, for none is in danger of the forfeiture but myself. The name of the person *Sir R. Everard* and I chose is *Counsellor Lacy*. He is fit for it and has been tried. I could answer for him, but refer you for his character to *Macmahon*. Our agreement was 5 guineas each packet, 10 with a passenger.

Lord Oxford has now received your last three letters besides this last, and has answered to every article you complained he had omitted. His pains and indefatigable labour has gained mighty ground and devilishly puzzled *the Parliament*.

He has been wanting neither with his pains nor purse, not sparing money to the needy *peers*. He has the highest opinion of you imaginable. As for *the King*, he acts by him as if he was all that was dear to him in the world. As he read to me one of his letters, the tears came into his eyes. He has one fault; it is carrying a bear to the stake to get him to write. I leave him no rest. He tells me he will venture all; he will indefatigably pursue, till it bears, but that he cannot be his own orator of what he thinks. He certainly (though contrary to his opinion) will leave nothing unattempted for money, and, if he did want a solicitor, I should be a terrible troublesome one, but he does not.

His recommendation of *Capt. Ogilvie* I would not have you understand to be to occasion his removal from his station, if he keeps his word with me and deals our own way quietly.

I send *Lord Orrery's* answer to *the King* and yourself. It has lain in my hands for want of a conveyance. He is much for your coming nearer. I am not wanting in publishing *the King's* merits, not only to him but even to those that scarce dare hear me. I am well hearkened to on that subject by many not desiring to be mentioned. *Lord Orrery* will serve you to the purpose. He seems to me warm and zealous. His proposal of a power I would advise you to be very careful in wording. *Argyle* and his brother have been more sanguine, as he tells me, than he writes, but he wants something from you more to their palate. Pray tell him what they can do, for I find by him they will do everything but in person head *their clans*. He has given me this list of names to send you, one of whom he has a great power with, who is a monied man, if you would write him word that money is expected from those that desire to act cautiously. He is extremely pleased with the good sense and pretty turns of *the King's* letter. That part of yours relating to the two brothers he does not doubt of turning into a lasting friendship between you. Mr. Reed and Mr. Prince in his list you were sure of before, they being of *Lord Oxford's* gang, but I would not tell *Lord Orrery* so, when he gave it to me to be transcribed.

Mr. Cæsar is at present out of town. *The corn ships, Guelnburg* (Gyllenborg) *right for*, six are already there by this and more agoing. You see nothing is omitted or neglected, and it is done in such a manner that *the King* will receive thanks for it from *the King of Sweden*.

There is an absolute necessity for *the King* to write two or three words of thanks in his own hand to *Mr. Cæsar*, having honoured so many with it, that have not more deserts to it nor more zeal and interest to serve him.

A relation of *Mr. Wyndham* has to the last degree *the King's* evil, and has such a faith he can be cured that it is barbarous to oppose him. He is sure of it, if he could get a *piece of gold*. *Mr. Cæsar* has begged me to write to you to intercede with *the King* to give him a bit of his plaster. It may be sent in a letter.

Lord Oxford desires a new cipher and one no other has but *the King* and you. As for the business of the lady I wrote to you about, it was the fact she spoke to me several times, but, as I would not put in *the Regent's* factor's power the name of any person here, I asked time to consult. Both *Lord Oxford* and *Mr. Cæsar* were for it, and *Lord Oxford* told me he would write about it, thinking his writing would have more weight and not being fond of too much business, so it is done. His hurry in *Parliament* made him put [it] off. In the meanwhile *Sir R. Everard* and some of *the Bishop of Rochester's* friends, without his speaking to them, thought proper to write to *Dillon* to get a letter from *the King* to the same effect. That letter is arrived. This was done with design to get the merit of the thing, but they do not know me, for, though they intend to tell her it came directly unasked, I prepared her, in case it came by any other hands, to make no cavil, but do her best, not considering the person but the cause. She promised me she would, and has given me power to assure *the King* so, and to depend on her endeavours. From whence *Sir R. Everard* took the notion of writing about it is not to be wondered, for ever since the factor has been here she has been attempted. The others that have wrote about it may have done it as little empowered as *Sir R. Everard* but, as I wrote before, it does not matter by whom.

I did not go in the country as I designed, for finding *the Bishop of Rochester's* people on the project of this merit, I feared some tittle tattle, besides, I thought it better to be sure of him before any one ventured but herself. (Expressing her confidence in and affection for Mar.)

I intended last year to have gone in the North on the invitation of a friend of yours and relation of mine, *Lord Lexington*. He is as right as your heart could wish, as is his son-in-law, but *Lord Oxford* and *Mr. Cæsar* would not let me. I intend the same journey this year, if I can be spared and you thought so.

I enclose a letter I beg you to deliver to *the King*. I gave the declaration to *Lord Orrery* on his desire, being authorized by your letter to him. I must once more beg your protection for *Capt. Ogilvie*. I believe he deserves it, and will more for the future by a blind obedience to your commands.

Postscript.—The letter has been delivered to the lady, and, as I foresaw, she is half mad it came that way, and is in mighty apprehensions that *Dillon*, knowing of it, will speak of it to the factor when he sees him. You must take care to hinder that.

Lord Oxford has had knowledge of the answer you made to the memorial of the method of trying him, for which he is charmed with you, but I cannot close in with the notion that *Mr. Withely* had sacrificed his just resentments to him, since to my own knowledge *Withely* has the obligation only

to him of all that was done for him, having seen Miss Nanny's own letters to *Lord Oxford* on that subject. Had he acted as friendly in your affair and mine, who are his friends and do not reproach him with his past deliterness (? dilatoriness), he had, I believe, been easier in his mind, but keep this to yourself, for he knows not that part of the message relating to *Ormonde*.

I wish you may find *the Bishop of Rochester's* and *Ormonde's* [friends] as easy as we about *James Murray's* journey. 21½ pages.

JAMES III to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 10.—Though you tell me in yours of the 6th you could not quite read one of my letters, I may fall into the same fault to-night, for I have not patience to dictate and shall have, I fear, as little to write well, for I am in a strange peevish way, and my friend John's sermons have not put me in tune yet. I am though well and very impatient to have you back, for, were there many letters or any business of ever so little consequence, I could not do without you, but till the end of the month I shall have patience, so pray make haste to satisfy your curiosity.

Paterson writes to you by my order of smaller matters that require answer, and sends you fair copies of *Sir H. Stirling's* and *Ormonde's* letters. I shall write next post to the last and send you a copy, so I shall make no reflections on those great matters here. They look odd, but as things stand in relation to Swed[en], which they did not know, I think we should not be too much dejected with *Sir H. Stirling's* letter.

Dillon being not able to come to St. Germain's and the orders about *Inese* being directed to him, *Queen Mary* keeps them for him, so that *Inese* knows no more than your letter. I see no hurt in that little *contretemps*, and in the meantime I don't hear it was known then publicly at St. Germain's, for I don't find it has been writ here, I mean the removal. *Queen Mary* is not more peevish on that subject than I expected. I have writ already to her all I can on it, and, there being nothing in my letter or her answer that 'tis necessary you should know on that subject, I shall not send them, for I don't care to expose to post such matters, when I can help it, and even so much as this I write with reluctancy, but, when we meet, you shall know all.

You are so well known to be at Rome, that I think to make any rout about hiding who you are would but make a needless mystery, but you are in the right to keep yourself on the foot of an entire *incognito*.

Bianchini is a good body and a friend of mine, but I would not say to him what I should not care *the Pope* should know.

I am glad you are like to see sometimes your old friends. I wish I could contribute to your mirth with some champagne,

but for the little time you stay at Rome, it would not be in a drinkable way after the jolting.

The more I see into the affair of *the Pope's money*, the less hopes I have of it. Would it not be fit you should find some way of letting *the Bishop of Rochester* know that I writ to him on *Inese's* removal, for, if *Dillon* keeps those packets as long as others and *the Bishop of Rochester* finds I have writ to *Lord Oxford* on that occasion, he'll be uneasy and not without some reason, whereas, when he knows that packets are lying for him in *Dillon's* hands, he can complain of none of us.

This being a busy week with us, I shall contrive to have all my business over on Tuesday, so my next letter will, may be, bear that date, though it parts not till Friday. I wish you may read all this, which I much doubt.

We see snow, and 'tis not hot for the season. 3 pages.
Holograph.

JOHN PATERSON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 10.—Last night I had yours of the 6th, which the King read and the enclosures in it. He is to write to you about *Onslow's* and *Sir H. Stirling's* letters, whereof I enclose copies. I am sorry *Dr. Erskine* is so backward in writing to *Ormonde*, which I see he takes amiss and indeed with some reason, and am the more concerned, because it is not impossible that *Mar* may be found fault with on account of his indolence.

I have kept Forman's letter and have the King's orders to answer it next post. He allows Forman to go to Spain, if he finds it for his own interest and is to order his pension to be paid to his wife, but this is to be done as if she received it only for his use, and he is to say nothing of it, for fear of introducing a bad precedent for others. As to his desiring to be recommended to the Court of Spain, I need not tell you that the King cannot conveniently comply with it at this time.

I return by the King's orders the other letters you sent, because he did not think there was anything pressing in them. He is willing to allow W. Gordon the 800 *livres per annum*, and leaves it to him to dispose of it either to a servant or any other way, so as the business be done, but, in regard this is a greater allowance than others have, who may have a better pretension to it, I presume you will be of opinion that Gordon had best take that money into his own hands, and agree with his servant the best way he can, so that nobody may take any umbrage at it.

I'll observe your commands to write to you every post, if I can find what to say. This is the fourth I have written to you, since you left us.

I likewise enclose a letter from M. Stiernhock and another from de Busi. which came yesterday. You see by them that the Russian Resident appears again at Vienna, so I presume

that the letter you ordered to be sent by his canal, which you were in some concern about, will go safe to *Dr. Erskine*. Stiernhock is very solicitous to know if you have received all his packets, and, because I believe you cannot conveniently write to him from Rome, I shall advise de Busi of the receipt of these letters and desire him to let Stiernhock know that, since your leaving this place, I have delivered all his letters to the King, because, if I remember rightly in your last letter to him, you told him that the King was to open his letters during your absence and shall refer him for further answer to your coming here. 3 pages. *Enclosed were copies of Sir H. Stirling's letter of Feb. 10-21 and of the Duke of Ormonde's of 24 Feb., calendared in the last volume, pp. 499, 513.*

DAVID NAIRNE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 10. Urbino.—I am glad you are pleased with Rome, which is more than Mr. Booth will allow anything in it deserves, barring St. Peter's. I hope you are as well with our Cardinal too as he is with you. (About packets for him being opened by his Grace and sent on.)

J. MENZIES to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, March 30[–April 10].—Giving an account of what letters he had received from him.—The worthy lady (Anne Oglethorpe) who takes this into her care, having told me some passages in one of yours to her relating to myself, and having showed me others in one of a later date, I make her judge of what I say, whether it consists with truth and her own knowledge. (Defending himself at great length against the charge of writing rarely to Mar and often to others, and as to the channel by which they were sent, stating his feelings about Inese's dismissal, denying that he had complained of Mar or of James Murray, and complaining that the latter had been the amanuensis of the Bishop of Rochester's accusations against himself and had never given him a hint of them and had also complained to Mar against him about Sir W. Wyndham's letter.)

We were all in great peace and harmony, when the fatal reports came from your side of your differences and divisions and that you were engrossing all, carrying everything with a high hand and that there was a design to diminish the person and interest of *Ormonde*. They extremely alarmed the *Bishop of Rochester* and soon some others and so on. The *Bishop* complained to me plainly and violently that there was such a design, that *Lord Oxford* was at the bottom of it, that you were his friend and that I was yours and must be conscious to it. I told him over and over that I wondered to see a man of his parts so disturbed with groundless jealousies. Those who created them in his mind were pernicious to our interest. I had never heard of any sort of mistake between

Lord Oxford and *Ormonde*, but on the contrary a great mutual friendship and regard. As for yourself, I was sure by all your letters and all your conduct you were incapable of any such design. *Ormonde* and you went hand in hand together in everything. You promoted his honour and interest and satisfaction as your own and more than your own. Any such design was inconsistent with your honour, your good sense, your intimate friendship and gratitude, your concern for *the King's* interest, and lastly with your own interest, since *Ormonde* and you together might do considerable things, but to separate and divide must be attended with fatal consequences.

Sometimes he answered "I have too good grounds for what I say," but never would tell his authors. Sometimes "You are *Mar's* friend and *Lord Oxford's*, you are partial." When I assured him I was not personally acquainted with *Lord Oxford* nor ever in my life spoke to him of business, he replied, "You can do business without being acquainted."

When I often repeated my most solemn asseverations that I knew nothing of any such design, this proved perhaps a little opium for two or three days, but then on the least whisper or old wife's tale, the burning fit returned, his temper and reason departed, and all I could say served only to confirm him in his suspicion of my partiality, so at last, finding me immovable in a just impartiality and not to be altered from my unbiassed fidelity to my friends and not to be gained to go implicitly into all his notions and views, which were as variable as the wind, he gave over all hopes of making me a tool, and from that fountain proceeded all the strange usage I have met with, sometimes caressing me and trusting me, then again fears and jealousies of partiality. But still the burthen of the song was Partiality. That men of my country, which he mortally hates, are always addicted to their own countrymen. So bizarre and unaccountable is the poor man's unhappy temper that his most intimate friends, who cannot get loose, either laugh at him or lament him. Many others of our own friends mortally abhor him and tell it where they can prudently be free at present. With very quick parts and a great deal of learning and knowledge he has a restlessness of temper peculiar to himself, which in all societies and situations, in which he has been, has proved so troublesome that not a man in England has more inveterate enemies even of the side of which he is thought to be. Several of his own particular tribe and distinction would have been in with us long ago, but that they cannot bear the thoughts of being yoked with him in anything.

I say this only to *the King* and you, where it is only necessary ; not to have any influence on your continuing to employ him. On the contrary, it is the utmost prudence to go on with him and caress him. Our own friends have given him a name, when he was the one only swallow, and it is not fit to take it

from him. He does good and he does hurt, and his ungovernable passions would do more hurt, if he were slighted. Let me be the sacrifice to him, and I will prophesy that ere long *James Murray* must be another, for he only took him and caressed him as a tool to shuffle out *Menzies* and I know from his most bosom intimates that he begins to repent it.

But, as I was far from partiality, yet, if there had been occasion, the choice was very easy, for, not to make any compliment to yourself, I think there is no comparison between *the Bishop of Rochester* and *Lord Oxford*, either as to merit or usefulness, and the one can think more good sense in a quarter of an hour, when he sets himself to it, than others can in a quarter of a year or perhaps in all their life. Yet I am so far from any particular bias towards *Lord Oxford* that I am not personally acquainted with him nor ever spoke to himself immediately on any business, yet we know one another very well. You may easily judge of the channels, who are worthy friends (*i.e.* *Anne Oglethorpe*).

As to *the Bishop's* complaint about the money, when you first told me of it, I was so conscious of my own fidelity, I thought I was in a dream. When your repeated severe letters came, *the Bishop* was in the country and so was *Cæsar*, who was so necessary for my justification, being the only person of all our friends, who dealt immediately with *Gyllenborg*.

The first opportunity, when *the Bishop* was in town, I very roundly expostulated with him, how without the least insinuation to myself he could keep such a clutter and accusation on the other side, not only by letters but by messengers whom I had never heard of, far less trusted with my name and my all, as *the Bishop* had done for me without my consent, and so exposed me to their mercy, giving them at the same time a very ill idea of me, as one that would cheat people. I wondered how he that was so apprehensive of mankind would trust his own secret out of his own breast after enjoining on me the utmost secrecy. By the clutter he had made it was a wonder *Lord Stair* did not already know it, *the Bishop's* Irish envoys being sometimes pretty indiscreet. As to his own secret, he was master, but why mine, to persons utterly unknown to me?

He answered by the most sacred asseverations he had never accused or complained or doubted of my fidelity. I was loth to tell him bluntly I knew the contrary.

When I explained the truth of the matter as to *Gyllenborg* he had nothing to say, but he found out an objection on the point of punctilio that he thought I ought to have told him, before that piece of money was given to *Gyllenborg*. I told him :
1. That he was in the country at the nick of that most necessary and honourable opportunity. 2. Because he himself had been of the opinion, before there were any orders from *Queen Mary* about the matter, that all he knew of should be put into *Gyllenborg's* hands, and accordingly *Mr. Cæsar* was desired

to offer it and did so, but he had no powers then. 3. In the interim came *Queen Mary's* orders to send all thither to be given to *Görtz*, and *the Bishop*, being alarmed with blabbing stories at that same time sent for me in a fright and by the consent of *Sir C. Phipps* and a doctor, who is *the Bishop's* friend. I was begged to take care to transmit all, those two other gentlemen having most of the *money* in their hands and having been chiefly trusted by the owners. In short I had a discretionary unlimited power, and I assured them I should take the best methods I could to obey *Queen Mary's* orders. I took care to smuggle [it] in parcels, it being a very ticklish time. I sent what you know came thither, and I wish you had told *the Bishop* of it when he began his clutter. He would then have seen I had not sunk it all, which, had I designed any injustice, I would have done and there would have been sense at least in that. 4. At that period of transmitting and *Görtz* parting from where he was, new orders came from *Queen Mary* to stop and give what remained or could further be had to *Gyllenborg*, to whom now *Görtz* had sent powers. I offered what remained to Mr. *Cæsar* to give to *Gyllenborg*, and he designed to speak to him. But that very night the storm came, in the terror and violence of which my goods were shipwrecked. My chief owner, *the King*, would never have expected I should make up the loss. Yet I never rested till I did, knowing the circumstances and the people I had to deal with, I mean, *the Bishop*. All this I told him and of the misfortune, which I needed not have done. He was just on that point, that, since I had got the loss made up, it was all one to them, if I had thrown the other into the Thames, and he could not deny that what was given to *Gyllenborg* was well-placed, who was in trouble in a strange country cut off from all correspondence with his friends, was a man of note, had done a great deal of good, might yet do more, and had done hurt to nobody, so it seemed very just and generous and wise and seasonable to show him that *the King's* friends had honour in them and an entire trust in him, and indeed *money* was never better bestowed, of which Mr. *Cæsar* has several proofs of late. I ended that I had faithfully followed their own meaning, the plain orders of *Queen Mary*, and the essential nature and substance of the thing.

Besides all these reasons I had one which I was loth to tell him, which was, after I had got *Queen Mary's* orders and the occasion called as to *Gyllenborg*, if I had gone there to ask *the Bishop's* approbation, I did not know but one of his whims or panic fits might have taken him, and then whether shall I obey him or *Queen Mary*, in which I think there was no choice, and so indeed I thought it best never to ask the question.

I told him though that as to the punctilio it was no great wonder to see a man born so near the North Pole fail in the

science of refined punctilios, but that, if he thought I had failed in that, I humbly begged his pardon.

I got so much *money*, I sent so much of it to your side. Just so much remained. A misfortune happened. I got it repaired, which by the by not every body could have done. Then I gave it according to *Queen Mary's* orders in the best season and to the best use in the world. This is the plain substance in very few words.

As to Downes, I shall only beg you to remember that, when you opposed his being sent, which will never be forgiven you, you did not then know if ever he and I had seen one another's faces. I declare there was no mistake between him and me on my side. We never had any business together, far less any *demêlée*. I was consulted once in a very friendly manner about a paper of his for *the King's* use as to religion. My answer was fair and friendly, that it was learnedly and skilfully composed, but I thought it was better to have patience and let *the King* alone to his own examination, of which he was very capable, and therefore it was unfit and needless to tease him, and especially at that time when he was in the camp, a place not very fit for scholastic disputes. Mr. *C. Kinnaird* and other friends told me that D[ownes] and some of his hot friends took this unkindly and thought me popishly affected. 7½ pages. With note by *Anne Oglethorpe* that she told Mar in hers that Menzies would write and hopes it will be satisfactory.

CHARLES PYE to JAMES III.

1718, April 11. Paris.—I would not have troubled your Majesty with a letter, but that I am under a necessity in several respects, first in what regards your interest and next my own honour and reputation.

In whatever affairs I have transacted for your Majesty the powers I had have been so by halves and so clipped that I have been entirely prevented of showing, as well as I could wish, my desires to serve you effectually.

In the first place as to the power given, it was so long before it came to Mr. Jerningham, that he assured me, when he was last here, that it prodigiously hindered many from doing what they had promised, but the greatest hindrance of all was Mr. Southcott's impertinent meddling, who was not content to let things go on in the just channel they were in, but, to make his court to the Queen through our sides, pretended as if your orders had been wanting and that a considerable sum would be immediately remitted, if her Majesty would give her orders for the same, though not one farthing of this money was got by his interest, in which he basely imposed on the Queen and flew in the face of your orders in a most clandestine, barbarous manner by giving positive directions to Mr. Jerningham, with an air of authority on the Queen's orders he had thus fraudulently got, not to have anything

to say to me in this affair nor to give me any answers, for I had no power to give any directions therein, which Mr. Jerningham with reason thought himself obliged to observe, but after some time, when he found Mr. Jerningham was undeceived and that, notwithstanding his writing for other great sums, they could not be obtained, he was not content to do all I have here urged, but, by the imprudence of Mr. Moore, then in England, through his directions as most believe, he so indiscreetly managed this affair as to have Mr. Jerningham taken up by the Government, after he had procured betwixt 20 and 30,000*l.* for your service, but on this trouble of his it was all drawn out again in 10 days. It may be easily made appear that by their management he was taken up, but more particularly by Mr. Jerningham's examination before the Council, where Mr. Moore by name is particularly mentioned, and, that I may more easily convince you of my conduct herein, all my letters relating to this affair were read and examined before the Council, from which they could gather not the least discovery of any kind nor anything to Mr. Jerningham's prejudice.

After all this, seeing this gentleman, whom I knew to be no ways discreet or secret, to have such a large share in the management of your affairs at present and myself so neglected, it must give me a sensible concern more on your account than my own, and cannot but give me reasons to believe I must be misrepresented to you on this base affair of Mr. Southcott's not fairly stated to you, and therefore I could not pass over the matter in silence. Therefore I humbly hope that, if what I say will have any credit with your Majesty, it must in this case and some others make a just impression on you to my advantage.

I think it my duty to acquaint you with what appears to me will prove of great consequence and advantage to your interest, the particulars of which have been as well digested by Mr. Camocke and me, as we could, and will come to you before this, and therefore I shall omit troubling you with anything particularly relating thereto otherwise than what may forward it, and consequently I must be excused if I ask for such powers and commissions as are requisite. Since my countrymen and friends desire it, I would have it in as perfect a manner as I could, and as ample as might be, and then I would endeavour to give you a good account of this affair. 'Tis our good fortune to have an acquaintance and interest with those, who, you will see in a little time, can be most serviceable to you in this affair, and that we likewise have a power of procuring a sufficient sum, to carry on this design, as also to advance some others, if your commission for the same be full enough. We hope to make the interest we have appear to your Majesty, if we can have any independent authority to the ministers both as well to empower and make choice of others as to transact ourselves, which will be necessary in this case, as you will see by the proposals.

We should be very loth to attempt such a thing if there was a reasonable possibility of failing either as to the secrecy of those we employ as also our own, or in procuring what's necessary to carry on the attempt, if our powers are full enough, and it be made known to as few of your ministers as possible, otherwise we would both desire to be excused from transacting therein.

I am going now for England, where I shall have an opportunity of transacting in a great part this affair myself, and therefore would be glad to have my powers with me, if you think me worthy or capable to serve you. I shall stay some time in Flanders, where Mr. Camocke will send me anything that's for this or any other purpose to serve you.

I must now beg you will hear me as to what in a most particular manner concerns my honour and reputation. At the same time that I complain of the person, I must plead an excuse in his behalf in regard to the natural affection he has to his family and his misfortune in being so subject to his passions and too easy in giving credit to those that are his entire enemies, who have been the cause in spite of all my endeavours to precipitate him to such rash and indiscreet proceedings. I am under a necessity for my own vindication to let you know yet further that what he has so solemnly accused me of saying is false. What could bewitch him to so absurd an invention as this I cannot imagine, unless he was that man himself which he accuses me to be, which was not a little prejudice to me in my reputation, till I was able after a second operation on my lame leg to go abroad, for he took a proper opportunity enough to make an impression in the minds of all the world, when I was so ill that I saw no company. What impressions this may have had with your Majesty to my prejudice I can't tell, but certainly it has had such weight with Lord Mar that I have not had an answer since he parted hence to a letter, that both Mr. Camocke and I thought might reasonably require one. Seeing therefore that by such influences I stand so precarious in the esteem of your ministers, I beg I may have access to you by letter in anything that more immediately concerns your interest.
Over 7 pages.

CHARLES FORMAN MACMAHON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 11. Versailles.—Thanking him for his letter of 12 March.—His Majesty lately signified to me by Mr. Nairne his good opinion of me, and I have the additional pleasure of finding it now confirmed by you. When I threw myself by way of letter at the King's feet, I wrote to Mr. M[enzies] in London to send over some account of me, fearing that perhaps my friends had hitherto failed in that, in which I was not mistaken. His letter, I find, you have read, but one thing in it I am of opinion he was not aware of, where he says the

Duke of Ormonde bade him think of the most proper methods to have made me some suitable acknowledgement. Had I been better known to his Grace at that time, or had he been better apprised of the profits of my employments he would have waived that direction. As it was, Mr. M[enzies] never offered anything of that nature to me; he knew me to be incapable of acting on the footing of a mercenary.

It is a very great satisfaction to me that his Majesty and you approve of my giving an account of what passed betwixt Mr. Pulteney and me. I wrote nothing but the truth, and not so much as I might have done, merely to avoid prolixity. Whether he was in earnest in what he said I cannot tell, but I hope he was not. I cannot give any further account of him, because I have neither seen or writ to him since, and never intend to do so, unless I have either his Majesty's or your commands for it. As to your direction to write to you as often as anything occurs relating to his Majesty's service, as my circumstances do not allow me to live in so expensive a place as Paris, I can expect to hear but little of that nature. I acquainted Mr. Dillon as acting for his Majesty here with a few things that occurred to me last harvest. His not directing somebody about him to acknowledge three letters I wrote to him, and my not being admitted to see him several times I went expressly from Versailles to wait on him, discouraged me from meddling any more with news, and only confirmed what I was told before, that the Duke of Ormonde inquired for me when he was here, but was answered I was not to be found, though Sir John O'Brien and Capt. O'Brien, the brigadier's son, knew I was then in town. The latter made me a visit and the knight received a letter from me to let him know I was here, which he showed the captain. I wrote to you 20 March on my design of going to Spain, and also to Mr. Dicconson for her Majesty's approbation, but, as I find by his answer the war there is likely to be soon at an end, I must lay aside that project. 3 pages.

CHARLES FORMAN MACMAHON to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, April 11. Versailles.—Acknowledging his with one enclosed from the Duke of Mar and regretting he is under any concern for not answering his letters to him from Sens, as they were of no importance and required no immediate answer, and joining with him in regretting their good old friend, Corbett.

L[AURENCE] C[HARTERIS] to FATHER GRÆME.

1718, April 11. Rotterdam.—Requesting him to forward the enclosed to the Duke of Mar and General Sheldon.

LAURENCE CHARTERIS to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 11. Rotterdam.—If you take no care of me I must infallibly starve or die in a gaol. I have a wife in

Brabant, but her mother and her friends are so narrow and such enemies to our religion that they'll do nothing for me. We lose half our small pension by the difference of the money and the exchange and are forced to beg as if it were charity given by the agent, which is owing to his narrow circumstances, albeit he is otherwise a very honest man. I am informed a great many substantial men here are so well-inclined to the King, that they would be vain to be employed and would not let his distressed subjects want two or three months' advance, and we are always two or three in arrear. My clothes are not like the garments of the Israelites in the wilderness that never waxed old, and I am in such a condition I am ashamed to go abroad. I dare not go home for I have not only rendered myself very obnoxious to the Government, but the merchants would throw me in gaol for the cargo.

J. MENZIES to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Monday, March 31[–April 11].—By their staying long and yet parting at last on a sudden, I am like to lose the opportunity of writing you another long letter, for one is packed up already. I shall write the other at leisure, either by an occasion that is like to go very soon directly, or by *Sir H. Paterson*.

Your application to *Cadogan* was applauded by every friend I spoke of it to, who were very few and very close. *The Duke of Shrewsbury* advised it from the beginning. *Cadogan* showed it, which I know by the canal of Ro. Pr[in]gle, who saw it, and spoke well of it, and said it was a wise design in *Mar*. *The Bishop of Rochester* himself has been long for applying to that club, which you may wonder at, considering his friend *Ormonde*, but he knows nothing of the application.

The affair of new money will be very hard, if not entirely impracticable at present. Everybody shrugs up their shoulders at the risk of such smuggling, considering the last adventure. All the merchants are now gone to the country in ill humour and exhausted. I see no appearance of any quantity. What says *the Bishop of Rochester*, who undertook so fairly? *Lord Oxford* writes to you about it and says what is to be said. As to *Menzies'* meddling, you know burnt bairns dread the fire. Besides he has been much disabled by the reports of his being superseded, and he is easily rebutted, as to pretending to trust. In short that and all our matters are entirely off the hinges, without a total rectification.

The vast multitude of couriers, messengers, plenipotentiaries &c. of late have confounded everything and ruined all secrecy. Every Irish courier has been an absolute minister, however unfit and poisoned with the prejudices of the little party he likes best, and makes that his chief business. It is not in words or any colours to paint our disorders.

The loss of *the Duke of Shrewsbury* is inexpressible. He was a constant source of good sense and wisdom. He did more good than it is to be imagined. Besides one essential point, he died as many wise men do, very unwisely.

As to the poor squire *Hamilton*, I have not expressed myself clearly, if I seemed to complain of his getting trust and credit in that trade. I think him honest and inviolable in a good principle, but I wished he had not come amongst creditors and baillies again so soon. I do not remember I ever gave him my own opinion positively for it, and no man of judgment can be positive here as to the people he has to deal with, all freaks, fits and variations &c., only this is certain that it is a thousand to one, but they do what is wicked and cruel.

I forgot to say on the head of *money*, that, if that matter be thought fit to be pushed, though I lie under the foresaid and other such disadvantages, I shall heartily do everything in my power, and, if they do not do it in my method and with my particular acquaintances, there can be very little success.

J. MENZIES to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, Monday night, March 31[–April 11].—I send you some of our newspapers that are most read and speak plainest. These give you the chief manner of the public talk and what is the mode to believe. The *Flying Post*, whom the Tories think furious, yet gives you always the sense of the Whigs and Dissenters and courtiers. The enclosed *Courant* and *St. James' Post* have broached some new matters of fact from Vienna and the North. One thing is certain, that we are anew alarmed from the North. Whereas we were hovering in uncertainty between sending to the Baltic and the Mediterranean, now all of a sudden the orders are given for the Baltic. Sir John Norris is to go immediately with the squadron that is ready. Eleven ships are ready and manned and most of the provisions on board, and the press begins for more seamen, who will not be easy to be had. So for the Mediterranean, God knows when. We hope and talk of an agreement between the Emperor and King Philip by our means and the Regent, unless Alberoni should be proof of our threats, by which we carry everything, and we know that the present princes of Europe are easily terrified.

The Scotch Earl of Sutherland is ordered for Inverness. Let the King of Sweden look to that and the Czar also.

But seriously, as long as your Regent is our friend, we shall fear nothing, for he must know of any design that is formed against us, and so will at least inform us, and you know, he that is warned is half armed.

It is positively said to-day that we have four new blue ribbons, the Dukes of Montague, Newcastle and St. Albans and the Earl of Berkeley, so you may see where our favour goes.

SIR H. STIRLING to the DUKE OF ORMONDE.

1718, March 31[–April 11]. Petersburg.—I received yours of 30 March and 3 April, which I communicated to Dr. Erskine, but, as he has not yet had an opportunity of discoursing with the Czar, I cannot let you know the result, but I am afraid, notwithstanding the King of Sweden's good intentions to make peace with the Czar, it will not come to pass so speedily, since the Czar stands on very hard terms, being resolved to keep all he has got, though on the other hand, since he always declared so to Görtz, before his going to Sweden, I can hardly think that gentleman and Count Gyllenborg would have taken the trouble they have, which I mentioned in my last, if the King of Sweden had not a mind to swallow the pill, and, though never so bitter, it is in my opinion better than to agree with the Duke of Hanover, since in order to that he must quit more, without the least prospect of being abler by that means to recover anything from the Czar.

They have no accounts here of any meeting to be at Danzig, nor can it well be, since the forementioned persons are elsewhere, without whom it could not well happen, or at least to little purpose. Passports will be granted as in Ezekiel Hamilton's letter, and shall be transmitted as soon as they are ready. You mentioned there was a letter for me by the person who brought you accounts lately from the King, but, if it was sent, I have not received it.

I hope the stop put to the Princess' affair will be no disappointment, as in my opinion interest was the principal motive. Now that there seems to be less hopes that way, the t'other would rather have been an inconvenience, seeing on account of her age she is altogether improper for what was chiefly designed. I shall not fail to let you hear from me, as soon as the Czar gives his answer. *Two copies, one in cipher and one deciphered, also a copy of the first paragraph in cipher.*

JAMES III to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 12. Urbino.—That you may once read a letter from me, Johnnie is my scribe. I send you the copy of my letter to Ormonde which you may keep, but pray return the piece of *Queen Mary's* I send with the copy of my answer. Sir Peter's letter will make you laugh. Pray make him my compliments. I am glad Sheldon is so far well on his journey, but have heard nothing from him. Yours of the 9th just received requires little or no answer. What *Cardinal Gualterio* writes to me about *money* would be very agreeable, were any other merchant concerned but *the Pope*, but he is of such a character, that I think it against reason to conceive too great hopes of what we are not in actual possession.

I don't wonder you are a little peevish of *Inese*, but I need say no more of him or the letter of yours he stopped, but that

Sir William's accounts, which he has here, confirm *Menzies'* justification as to the money, for, as to anything else, you know my opinion of *St. Germain's* and its adherents. You will have seen I had the same apprehension as you of the *Bishop of Rochester* being jealous, when he misses receiving letters about the same time as *Lord Oxford*, and I heartily wish you may find some expedient to prevent his uneasiness.

I am not surprised but very glad you are so well diverted at Rome. Bonum shall send the list as you desire. We see snow and feel frost. At your return you may find my family either under very good discipline or diminished, for I gave some orders to-day with calm words but grating circumstances, which I will have obeyed, for with people that have no right sense of their duty, that are incapable of friendship, or personal attachment, and not very susceptible of shame, one must take a very particular way to work.

Postscript.—I have a little project of a journey against your return from Rome. It is to meet you in a mysterious manner at Loretto on Saturday the 30th and to come back with you. I see no objection against it, but that it might be called a journey of devotion, which might be wrong taken in England. Pray tell me your mind freely on the matter. 3 pages. In Col. Hay's hand signed by James.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to JAMES III.

1718, Tuesday, April 12.—I enclose a letter from Mr. Camocke. If the *English fleet* be sent against the *King of Spain* in my humble opinion no expedient should be left untried to gain part of his family which would prove of great and good consequence to the *King's* interest. The *King* may lessen the recompense as shall seem to him most proper, as also give ample directions about the manner of proceeding, but in all cases I think the proposal deserves to be maturely considered. If the *King* approves of it, I hope no time will be lost in giving the necessary instructions. Mr. Camocke assures that he has influence on *Sir G. Byng*, and many of the chief people with him. He is well known to the inferior officers and seamen. His zeal for the *King* is certainly very great. If it be thought fit to confide the management of this affair to him, he is most willing to undertake it, and, though it were to be wished his moderation in temper were equal to his fidelity, he may succeed better than many others.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 12.—This is in answer to yours of 19 March. *Mar* was right that I mistook Aylmer (*i.e.* Argyle) for Elmore (*i.e.* the Emperor), yet that does not hinder what I said of the *Emperor* and the *Elector of Hanover*, to be very true.

I am now told by a good hand that the *Elector of Hanover* gave the *Regent* hopes that the *Emperor* would be soon brought

to acquiesce to the proposal made in relation to *the King of Spain*, which is all, I believe, as yet known of it here. A little time will let us see clearer into this, and no settled judgments can be made on it, till we are fully informed of *the King of Spain's* and *the Emperor's* determination.

I had nothing last post material from *England*, friends there referring to an ample information we are soon to receive, I presume it will be in answer to the last cargo by *James Murray*, whom I expect daily here.

The Duke of Lorraine parted hence last Friday. He spoke to me often and in a very kind manner about *the King's* concerns and promised to send me a letter to be forwarded to *the King* but, not having kept his word, I suppose he had not time to write. *The Prince de Vaudemont* asked me many questions about *the King* and particularly concerning marriage, which he had much at heart. I told him *the King* had taken all the measures that depended on him to settle that and that I hoped his true friends would soon have the satisfaction they so much desired on that score. This pleased him extremely and I don't question he makes mention of it in the enclosed packet under *Nairne's* cover. You'll find here one from *Menzies* which *Inese* sent me just as it is, and a letter from Mr. Camocke to *Mar*. I had none from *Ormonde* since my last, but enclose one of 11 March from *Richard Butler*. I am glad that *Ormonde* had no further warning about his removal, which in my opinion is a good omen. I hope what *Butler* writes will be very soon confirmed. I had a late letter from the good father at *Calais* telling me that *Capt. Ogilvie* was then with *England*, and that he expected him back in five or six days. I presume this voyage was by orders.

The following is by *Lord Tullibardine's* key. I had a letter of 31 March from *Tullibardine* and one of the 26th from *Brigadier Campbell*. The latter gave me a full account of *Barry's* villainous treachery and tells me he has informed *Mar* in the same manner. I thought it proper to desire both *Brigadier Campbell* and *Clanranald* to repair immediately to *Tullibardine's* neighbourhood and there to remain till they receive new orders from *Mar*. This was the only expedient I could think of to avoid further trouble, in case young *Stanhope* made a complaint on this score, as 'tis likely he did or will. *Swords' and targes'* affair being suspended, the thing may drop of itself, and, if time should change, we may find a more favourable opportunity for purchasing the goods we want. By what *Brigadier Campbell* says, 'tis not practicable to get them in that country without a certain allowance, and I think it would not be prudent to embark in the matter till that is had. A credit of 5,000 *livres* was already sent to *Tullibardine* for this but I wrote to him last post not to proceed till he had new directions from *Mar*. I have advertised friends at *England* to be on their guard against *Barry* supposing him to be gone thither. I believe that *Charles Wogan* will reach you before

this, therefore will say nothing of the last accounts he sent.
3½ pages.

WILLIAM GORDON to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, April 12. Paris.—Acknowledging his letter of the 12th, the enclosures in which he had taken care of.—The war and rumours of it in all parts is so uncertain that I have only resolved in general that Sandie must go somewhere that he may not be altogether idle. I hope a little time will discover. As things now appear there's nothing but Hungary or Spain. I wish I could guess which was most our King's friend; that would determine him and me to make the choice.

I am told that Robert Freebairn is gone safe to the other side.

GEORGE HOME OF WHITFIELD to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, April 12. Rouen.—That letter to Dr. Leslie has contributed extremely to the King's interest. When he received it, I thought to have carried it to England, but it was judged inconvenient I should go over. An opportunity will be taken to signify to my chief his Grace's friendship and good inclinations towards him, of which he had former proofs. Three of his sons and a daughter are dead since he and I parted and the confinement in the Castle has much impaired his health, which has hindered him from travelling into these parts as I advised. However, I hope he will be restored to his former vigour. Your honest master, the Commissary, is dead 7 or 8 months past. After the woeful miscarriage of our last affair in Scotland he broke his heart and died of a consumption. It proves lucky for his family he came not out with some of his friends. Could I have but waited him for one day, he had surely been with us and partaken of the same fate. His eldest son is at home, and his second, Alexander, bound to an attorney in London. (Soliciting Mar's influence on behalf of Mr. Trotter for the vacant clerkship of the kitchen.) I shall transmit your respects to my chief in the manner you gave it me. All friends here are in health and longing to have an opportunity of another trial of skill on the other side. 2 pages.

JAMES MURRAY to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 1[-12]. London.—I had yesterday yours of 6 March and most heartily thank you for some hints, which I will inviolably observe, if I visit *Paris*, as to which my case stands thus.

As soon as I received *the King's* commands and your letter of 16 Feb., finding *the Bishop of Rochester* at that time had no objection to my giving them that obedience my inclination led me to, I immediately resolved to wait on *the King* as *the Bishop of Rochester* seemed to desire, and accordingly waited

on him (the Bishop) yesterday and took leave of him at his country house in order to pursue this journey. On my return to town I thought it of absolute necessity to communicate my design to *Mar's* brother-in-law (Lord Hay), *Sir W. Wyndham*, *Mr. Banks* (? *Lord Bathurst*) and *Mr. Shippen*, who all separately and jointly declared their opinion that it would be of the utmost ill-consequence to *the King*, if in the present situation of his affairs I should make the proposed visit. Their reasons chiefly are that they apprehend the business of the company to be at present in a pretty calm state and that the partners are at liberty to carry on their correspondence to promote their interest without great opposition from the industry of *the Elector of Hanover*. It was very plain to them that on *James Murray's* going from home, *the Elector of Hanover* would apprehend something of extraordinary importance was not only to be negotiated but soon to be executed, being assured from the opinion both *the King's* and *the Elector of Hanover's* friends have of him that people would look on him as the most likely to be chosen on such an occasion. Though *the Elector of Hanover* did not perhaps really apprehend any sudden danger at present, yet it was impossible he should lose so fair an opportunity of pretending he did, by which means jealousies and pretences for doing strong things, which for some time have been silenced, would instantly be revived to his great satisfaction. By this, *James Murray*, who has been in great confidence and familiarity with all those who are able to serve *the King* with the two *Houses of Parliament*, would render them so obnoxious to *the Elector of Hanover*, that they would have their friend's behaviour thrown in their teeth in answer to everything they could propose to *the Parliament* for *the King's* service. All this is on a presumption that it was not possible to conceal *James Murray's* visit or commission from *the Elector of Hanover* for any time, had that been managed with the utmost discretion, and this particular seems changed to the worse by *Paris* talking publicly of it, and a great many others here, who knew it and told it before yours came to me, and so before I had received any certain information in the matter. Lastly they are of opinion that what's required of *James Murray* may be equally well performed by another, but that they cannot think of any proper person for managing *James Murray's* private affairs with *England*, in whom either they or their friends would place an equal confidence. Such a one nobody has yet been able to name, though, when I took the resolution of going, I thought nothing could be easier. *The Bishop of Rochester* cannot nor will not undertake more drudgery, and, supposing he were willing, other people would not be pleased to see things entirely confined to that canal for reasons that may be guessed at, but are not fit to be named. These are the grounds of these partners being positively of opinion that, if I should make the intended visit, it would be of the utmost ill-consequence to the Company's affairs, and therefore

at their earnest desire I have delayed executing it, till they shall go to *the Bishop of Rochester* and reason this matter with him, whose directions in this I think myself more especially bound to follow. I expect to receive them fully in a few days, and shall then either begin immediately to obey *the King's* commands, or acquaint you that your partners have unanimously come to a different resolution, which, I suppose, you'll think a sufficient authority for me to stay for *the King's* further orders, notwithstanding your pressing letters on that subject. I never hesitated in determining myself to comply with your desire, which, as I mentioned before, was originally *the Bishop of Rochester's*. I had many reasons besides my duty and my vast desire to wait on *the King* and you, to prompt me to do it. I am sure I could explain some persons and things so that both of you would better understand what is passed and be in a way of being a good deal easier for the future, but by writing that is impossible.

The measures *the King* has taken with regard to *Inese* are matters of universal joy to his friends, and the good understanding he expresses on that occasion is no less charming to them. This affair must certainly produce many good consequences, and I have not heard of any ill one that can happen on it, unless he should follow *Bolingbroke's* example and endeavour to misrepresent *the King*, which would do *the King* service here, whatever it might do elsewhere. I will not attempt to answer the letters lately receive from you, till I be sure whether *James Murray* may not have an opportunity of doing it by word of mouth.

We have no very remarkable news. The stocks are fallen on a report that the Emperor has refused to acknowledge Philip's title to the Crown of Spain, and that he has demanded from the King the succours so positively stipulated by the treaty lately concluded between them. It is also reported that a treaty is carrying on between his Majesty and the King of Sweden by means of General Ducker, who is said to have been here, but I cannot answer for the truth of either of these particulars. 5 pages.

THE DUKE OF MAR TO JAMES III.

1718, April 13. Rome.—I am sorry for the bad weather which yours of the 7th tells me you have had. With us it has been pretty good, though still coldish and rain for two days, but little wind. Next to a certain country, if not before it, I believe Urbino excels for that. I am very glad *Tempesti* is to return so soon, for, after being accustomed to music, you would miss it much I believe, and I think it one of the best remedies against the spleen, which I am very glad you were not troubled with in spite of the bad weather, and I heartily wish this post may bring you nothing to occasion it, but, when you act nothing but with reason, people's humours are the less to be minded.

Just as I am writing, the post is arrived and I opened Nairne's packet, where I found *Dillon's* and *Inese's* to me and that from *Dillon* for your Majesty, all which I enclose. "*Inese* acts the part, by what he says in his letter, of a prudent man, when he finds his designs fail and his ways found out. I do not think what *Dillon* says on it lessens what we formerly believed of his being governed by him, but, by the strain he writes in, I fear that you will find *Queen Mary* digests it but ill, which I shall be sorry for. I found there were a great many letters by this post from Paris to the British here and, since the affair of *Inese* was known there long before they were wrote, I doubted not but it would be wrote to some of them, therefore I thought it would look too much affected for me to say nothing of it, so, when some of them asked me news from thence, I told them of it over[t]ly as a thing long done and some of them seemed a good deal surprised. It will be great news to all of them when they meet in the coffee-house to-night and I shall hear what they say on it.

"What *Dillon* says of Law alters the case, if his friendship with *Stair* be so, but it was quite otherwise when I saw him and I still much doubt of it and that it was only to obtain the pardon that made him seem great with him. What was proposed about him is not to be thought of without being first sure as to that friendship and you are like to have time enough to think of it before there be any occasion for him that way.

"I have a letter from *Lady Mar* of 2 March acknowledging mine of 12 February which I sent under *Capt. Ogilvie's* cover at the same time that I wrote to *Anne Ogilethorpe*, *Lord Oxford* and *Lord Orrery*, . . . which was the last packet which F[ather] Græme wrote of having got for *Capt. Ogilvie* and which he had sent with other two over to him by the *Com-mis*, so to be sure all of them have gone safe, which gives me a good deal of ease about them. *Lady Mar* says she is settling her affairs to come over and that nothing will stop her.

"I have sent the other letters I had to Paterson to be laid before you, when you are at leisure. There was one in *Lord Oxford's* from the little Squire as I used to call him, but of an old date and nothing in it, so I thought it needless to send it, his news being so old. I cannot imagine what made Mr. *Jerningham* go to Holland and not to *Ormonde* and I have a good deal of apprehension that he may be taken up there, which would be unlucky, and I am sure *Ormonde* will be angry at his not coming to him, as I think he has some reason. It is likely that his fellow traveller may be come to Holland too, in which case I submit it to your consideration if it be not fit to order him to come straight to wait on you, where there may be use for him, if he be such a man as he has been represented, and he seems to have done his business very well where he was with *Jerningham* and not inclined to be saucy.

If you be for his coming, Paterson may write your commands about it to Sir Hugh [Paterson] to be signified to him or *Jerningham*. I fancy *Jerningham* would set out again to meet with *Ormonde* as soon as he got *Queen Mary's* letter, which would, it is likely, meet him in Holland.

"Your Majesty will see by *Mr. Leslie's* to me in answer to that I wrote him from Fano, how much good your letter to him has done and how little reason there was to apprehend its being taken in another sense than you really meant it. I wish your Majesty may be at the trouble to read Lord Pitsligo's letter to me and Paterson may write your commands to Gordon on what he writes. I am sure he will never ask you for more than he has absolute occasion for and, if he ask any more than what he does now, that it will not be till the time his former allowance would have made up this 7 or 800 *livres* he now proposes and I presume that your Majesty will approve of the way he intends to take for his improvement, which is certainly better than living idle in Holland, since he cannot go home.

"Miss Fanny's story about *Lord Ilay's* lady is comical and must vex him extremely but what she will have wrote to him of what is done by *the King* and in their hands will comfort him.

"I am very glad of what *James Murray* writes of those two gentlemen and of the last's going to the north, which I am persuaded is with a view to *the King's* affairs, but I am sorry their looking that way is so much talked of, which, I hope, is more by the malice of their enemies than by the imprudence of *the King's* friends and indeed what other judgment can be made by any that knows them after their having so openly left the two gentlemen they were engaged with?

"I am glad to see the part *Dalmahoy* takes in his friend's affair, which I know will be acceptable news to poor *Clephan*.

"I have but one of *Dillon's* ciphers with me, so there are some words of his letter I could not read.

"I return your Majesty the two letters you were pleased to send me.

"I wonder *Dillon* says nothing of *George Kelly's* being then gone nor of anything he had written to *England*. I still fear the long delay in *the Bishop of Rochester's* getting your letters, when *Lord Oxford* has got his so long before them, will occasion new jealousies, but it would, if *Dillon* has not written to him of their being in his hands since he thought it not safe to send them, and fully as much so if he has and has not told you what he wrote to *the Bishop of Rochester*.

"I long to know what *Sir H. Stirling* said in his to *Ormonde* and I still hope it is as I imagined it; but I wish we heard from *Ormonde* again.

"I dined with *Cardinal Gualterio* on Sunday and after dinner he was at the trouble of going himself through all his rooms of curiosities with me and a curious and vast collection it is,

which I wonder how one man could make. The things though generally are not such as I have most pleasure in, but it is such a collection as I am sure nobody else has, so the more valuable. I find he has no great esteem of Sig. Bi[anchi]ni's knowledge and thinks he pretends to more than he really knows. I was at the last's house yesterday where I saw the collection he has made and daily a-making for *the Pope's* friend. Most of it is busts and some tolerable statues, but the most curious things in it and what will be of great use in history, are old inscriptions which he is arranging in order, and [he] has a great number of them. It is that which he takes most pleasure in and I believe he has not much in statues, architecture or paintings, which give me most. I am to be with him again to see some of his experiments and glasses, but this is a busy week with him. He is exceeding civil and obliging and carried me in the evening to see the cavalcade of the Pope's going from Monte Cavallo to the Vatican, which did not at all answer my expectation. He was to have assisted us in getting a good place to-night to hear the Miserere, but, this being the day that the French post comes in and that to you goes out, I put it off till to-morrow night and in the forenoon I am to go to hear or rather, I believe, see myself and most of the world excommunicated. These sights do not give me much entertainment and I cannot help regretting their taking up the time when I might be seeing what gives me a great deal.

"To give you an account of all I have seen is almost impossible and I have not as yet seen the half, though my limbs are weary every day with going about. It will be next week before I can see any of the pictures in the churches, they being now mostly covered, and I have not yet had time to think of Frescati." 5½ pages. *Holograph*.

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, April 13. Vienna.—I received this morning yours of the 24th and delivered the enclosed from the Duke of Mar to the Swedish Resident to him, with which he is very well satisfied, and he will reply by the next post.

I enclose a letter Monsr. Stiernhoek gave me yesterday for the Duke. He also returned me a letter his Excellency had enclosed to him to be sent to Monsr. Erskine at St. Petersburg, not venturing to do so, because his master is not yet at peace with *the Czar*. I am sending this letter safely this evening, and, whenever his Excellency wishes to write to the said Court, he is only to send me his letters and I shall take care to have them forwarded safely. Monsr. Stiernhoek told me he will not be able to continue sending news to the King or to me, before he knows if his Majesty is in effective correspondence with the King, his master.

The congress between Sweden and Muscovy continues at Aland, but we are afraid that the English Court is carrying on an

intrigue there by means of money, offers &c. for which Monsr. Fabricius is moving heaven and earth and this Court is assisting therein in order to bring the Elector of Hanover into their interest, and the more so as the Emperor 12 days ago dispatched couriers to France and England, in order to arrange matters with the Court of Spain, which is believed to be infallible with the mediation of the said two Courts, but the Elector claims that the Emperor and France should engage to maintain him on the throne of England, on which this Court is expecting soon a decisive answer. The arrangement between the Emperor and Savoy is going on very well. Prince Eugene gives it a helping hand.

Mr. Sutton, the English ambassador plenipotentiary, is just leaving for the peace congress with the Turks. He will be followed to-morrow by the Emperor's plenipotentiaries. Also the Venetian ambassador plenipotentiary arrived here yesterday, and will start after the holidays for the said congress. The Turks appear very anxious for peace. Meanwhile the troops are marching to the general rendezvous, which will be very near Belgrade. 5 pages. French. Partly in cipher, deciphered.

JAMES III to the DUKE OF ORMONDE.

1718, April 14.—Yours of 27 Feb. to *Dillon* with the enclosed from *Sir H. Stirling* was not a little surprising to me, and would have troubled me more, had I not had an account of *Jerningham*, which you were then ignorant of, for, since by that it appears that *the King of Sweden* and *the Czar's* union can alone render them effectually useful to *the King*, all that precedes that union ought not to affect us too much, and the less that I am still in hopes that agreement will be soon effected and then will be the time to judge of matters. In the meantime I must own *Dr. Erskine's* conduct is unaccountable, but that with many other things must be dissembled and borne with, and I believe a good deal is owing to natural temper. I think *Sir H. Stirling* has acted a very prudent part, and heartily wish it may be contrived that *Ormonde* may not be at too great distance just in the critical time. I pray God direct *Ormonde* for the best in all these affairs, and that, while he will, I know, omit nothing for the good of the trade, he may neglect nothing that tends to his own security, of which I am in pain, though I cannot so much as suspect it will be in danger in *the Czar's* dependence, but the point will be, if he be forced to leave it, but, till I know further, all I can say is in the dark and the air, and I shall wait with the last impatience to hear from you.

Postscript.—I expect *Mar* back within this month. I have heard no more from the *King of Spain*, nor do I expect any money from the *Pope* by what I see of the progress of that negotiation. All Rome was in alarm t'other day on the

accounts from Urbino of the Chevalier St. George being gone from thence, nobody could tell where, though all concluded it was on some important expedition, but people were as much disappointed, when they found he had only been to see a Roman antiquity and came back at night to his residence. The deep politicians there will have it now that he had a mind to use people to such journeys, that his motions might be less noticed hereafter, and, if that were his design, it has had and is like to have the desired effect. I hear the Spaniards have debarked some troops in Sardinia and are returned with their ships to Spain, which with the fright of a war in Italy is all the news this country affords.

I was a little startled at what you writ in a former letter about the Princess. You will be sure to neglect no enquiry on so nice a point, but I cannot but hope you are misinformed, because I never heard *the Czar's son's* birth called in question. If he be lawful, she must be, and, had he been otherwise, there had been no need of what has been lately done by him in so solemn a manner. *Holograph with words to be ciphared underlined and copy by John Paterson.*

BRIGADIER JOHN HAY to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 14.—I have copied the note of the books given the King by the Pope at Rome, which I enclose. Let your Italian interpreter revise it, for I don't doubt there are several mistakes. I have added three books given the King, I think by the Jesuits.

I suppose you will have heard some good music. Yesterday and to-day Tempesti has sung in the church here. Only one mass is said to-morrow in the world and that is at Rome. There arrived here to-day from Bologna a dog very beautiful for its ugliness, that would please Sheldon mightily. Its name is Zamberluccho.

JOHN PATERSON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Thursday night, April 14. Urbino.—Desiring him to seal and forward the enclosed, which his Majesty ordered him to send by his Grace's canal.—Several of us here have known for some days what has happened to *Inese*, but what they think of it is more than I can tell, for I have not heard a whisper about it, which I wonder at, because holding our peace when we ought and minding our own affairs only has not been always our fault, but perhaps time and experience and a few more such dispensations as that of *Inese's* may make us all grow wiser and better. A day or two ago some enquiry was made into the management of our domestic affairs and, I am afraid, but little to our friend *Lord Clermont's* satisfaction and what makes me the more sorry for him is that I expect the thing will be no secret.

J. MENZIES to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, Thursday, April 3[-14].—I wrote last post under cover to W. G[ordon]. Now I send more of our chief prints. The reasons of the Lords were printed before but were not correct nor authentic.

The *Critic*, railing at the French for railing at the English, is the general sense of Whig and Tory here, but especially the first, who do and will eternally at the bottom hate the French. But at present they can very well distinguish between France and the Regent and do not consider him personally as French,—interests entirely different.

The *Post Boy* gives a great deal of Jacobite news, but wise people do not mind him except as to the changes in the Prince's family and the pensions taken away by the Court from Pembroke, Grantham &c. by all which it appears that, notwithstanding what was said and believed lately, no truce is yet made and far less a thorough peace or coalition.

You need not wonder at these contradictory reports and opinions, for people in this country know not their own minds for two days together.

Three of the chief speeches in the House against the Mutiny Bill have been lately printed, and are now publicly sold about, nor anybody yet taken up for it. The nice judges do not admire Shippen's. Though there are some bright touches, they think the whole is but splutter and loose, incoherent and hotchpotch. But Jeffrey's is admired indeed, and so is Sir T. Hanmer's except for a few very needless compliments.

News we have none, but what I told you in my last. A very strict press for seamen continues. They have taken up a great number of shoe-cleaner boys, as if our fleet were going only to clean the King of Sweden's boots.

We had a strange scene the other day at the Kingston assizes, a parson tried for *Scandalum magnatum* against Lord Sunderland. A young lad, one Moore, had made a great noise for some time in resentment of my Lord's coldness and inconstancy. He was acquainted with this parson, who, though a violent Whig, pretended a detestation of the thing and pushed the boy to accuse publicly. Many letters and particular passages happened. The boy was put in prison and died. The parson bawled and made a noise and my Lord has prosecuted him. He in his own defence has brought a great many authentic letters and witnesses and proofs &c. All this made the business of the lawyers easy, for all they pretended to do was to prove that the parson had promoted a scandal. Everything the parson brought was a proof of that, so he was condemned to a fine not yet named. This could not well be avoided, since he is a private man and not a proper person in law to accuse Lord Sunderland.

A vast number of ladies went to the trial and heard it all, and this affair is a chief subject of universal talk. I wrote fully to *Mar* the other day by *Mrs. Ogilvie*. 3 pages.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF ORMONDE.

1718, Friday, April 15.—Recapitulating the letters received from him.—I am much troubled about the uneasiness *the Czar* seems to be in on *Ormonde's* residence in his country and quite surprised at the unexpected answer concerning *the marriage* and so much the more, that the first proposal has been made by *the Czar* or his orders, but what I find inconceivable is that *Dr. Erskine* did not write and explain all those facts himself to *Ormonde* without communicating them to his secretary. Whatever reasons *the Czar* may have, in my humble opinion this whole matter requires a more ample explication in order to clear present mistakes and to know positively what may be depended on for the future. You know by experience how difficult and even dangerous it is to make a second journey to the parts *Ormonde* is now in, therefore I think it is of the last consequence to get a final answer before his departure.

I hope mine of 5 March has reached you, giving an account in general of *Jerningham's* negotiation. I don't question but literal *Sheridan* has joined *Ormonde* about the beginning of this month with a more particular detail of it, by which 'tis pretty plain that *Görtz* said affirmatively that, if *the King of Sweden* could adjust matters with *the Czar*, which he had more at heart than anything else, *the King of Sweden* would then be in a condition to serve *the King* effectually. *Görtz* also pressed *Jerningham* to go straight to *Petersburg* in order to employ *the King's* good offices near *the Czar* to engage him to an accommodation, which if compassed and *the Czar* had befriended *the King*, the latter would be soon in a condition to assert his own right and consequently able to acknowledge the succour received from his true friends. If *Jerningham* had followed this advice and gone straight from *Lübeck* to *Ormonde*, the latter might then without loss of time have made *the King of Sweden's* good intentions valuable, as also offer the sum proposed by *Jerningham*, in case he thought it necessary to settle a perfect agreement 'twixt *the Czar* and *the King of Sweden*, but I hope what was deferred by *Ormonde's* not having timely notice from *Jerningham* will be resumed and represented in a strong and engaging manner to *the Czar*, if that be not already done. Though all this be but my own private opinion, if *Ormonde* be of the same sentiment, I venture to affirm that *the King* and *Queen Mary* will approve whatever he does on this score. I am also morally persuaded that *Mar* and friends with *England* will do the same. This taken for granted, I should think *Ormonde* cannot avoid making the proposal in due form and in a pressing manner. It may produce a good effect, and I see no harm it can do to *the King's* interest, nor can I imagine, if *the Czar* has a real intention to agree with *the King of Sweden*, that he will lay so hard a stress on *Ormonde* as to oblige him to depart from his territories without having an assured refuge elsewhere. If *the Czar* should persist in

Ormonde's going to *Sweden*, surely he'll charge him with some favourable proposals to that *Court* and signify his willingness to serve *the King* in case of an agreement. *Görtz* gave *Jerningham* the same hopes, so that *the Czar* may act in conformity, if his intentions be sincere. *Ormonde* is best judge of all this, but, whatever party he takes, I think *Sir H. Stirling* should remain near *the Czar* and *Dr. Erskine* to promote *the King's* interest and to give an account of what service may be reckoned on from that side. Though the answer about marriage be not favourable at present, occurrences may change *the Czar's* mind for the better, therefore it will be good to know the age and figure of the person in question. *Dr. Erskine* can clear this point, and I don't doubt his being still of the same principle in regard to *the King*. 2½ pages. Copy.

ROBERT FREEBAIRN to BRIGADIER JOHN HAY.

1718, April 15. Calais.—I have just received a letter from Mr. J. Murray, telling me that yours to your lady came safe to her, and that she cannot come off for a week or ten days, but it is probable he will be here sooner himself. I shall wait with patience.

People arriving here every day from England confirm the ferment that nation is in and the outcry against the government amongst all ranks, which we read in the newspapers, and indeed, if one was to make conjectures from the free way of writing of the one and the representations of the other, he would almost conclude there was not an enemy to the King out of the army and the parliament. Every day produces a new pamphlet or lampoon against George or his ministry and every day a new grievance against the government with the fears of new approaching calamities. The difference between him and his son is as great as ever. Two of the princesses are indisposed and the prince is not allowed to visit them. The fleet for the Mediterranean will not be in readiness before the end of this month or the beginning of next. They meet with difficulty in manning that fleet, though the Admiralty has again and again repeated orders for pressing seamen. The stocks have fallen 6 per cent. and would have fallen much lower, if a courier, which the Court says is lately arrived from Vienna with full power to mediate betwixt the Emperor and the King of Spain, had not put a stand to them.

I saw a gentleman that came two days ago from Lord Seaforth. He is extremely proud of the King's having lately written to him, and he says it is the continual subject of his conversation, wishing for an opportunity for himself and his followers to distinguish themselves in his Majesty's service.

There is a great outcry amongst our people at St. Omer and Dunkirk against Mr. Dicconson. In the first place they have not received a farthing these three months, and, when they do, it is always told them that it will in all probability be the

last they are to expect. Then they have no regular establishment, sometimes more, sometimes less. Again, it is industriously insinuated to most that, if they expect to be encouraged, they ought to change their religion, and this with the indefatigable pains the Jesuits in those places are at has prevailed with most to comply, whilst others have chosen rather to go home, amongst whom are two half-pay officers and one of them, Mr. Leonards, has since been taken up, and will, they say, run a great risk. This information I have from such hands that I cannot doubt the truth of it, and I think myself obliged to transmit it, that proper methods may be fallen on to prevent his Majesty's subjects from running home with hazard of their lives and complaints in their mouths. I must do justice to Father Græme, who has shown me copies of several letters he wrote to Mr. Ord, who goes by the name of Blackwell at St. Omer, on that subject. He is agent there for Mr. Dicconson, and, I am afraid, follows his directions too closely, if he does not exceed them. It is true the people under his care are not men of great note, nor am I acquainted with any of them except Mr. Dallas, of St. Martin's, but sometimes a little fellow can do more hurt than a greater can do good and the less they are the more liable they are to indiscretions. Eight or nine of them are at St. Omer and every one is turned Roman Catholic. I would have written the same things to the Duke of Mar, had I not thought myself obliged to write to you. However, you will make what use you think best of it. *Over 3 pages.*

SIR H. PATERSON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 15. *Leyden*.—I received to-day yours of 24 March and wrote you a very long letter the 5th and 6th instant, in which I gave you all the light I could of the situation in these parts and very little remarkable has happened since. I am just returned from *the Hague*, where I went to learn what I could of the bargains going on betwixt *the King of Sweden* and *the Czar*, and, by what I could learn from *the Swedish minister*, whom I saw last night, he believes that that affair will soon be adjusted, and he assured me and bade me inform my friends that there was no foundation in what was given out of *the King of Sweden* being to settle a peace with *the Elector of Hanover*, which, he said, was industriously put about on purpose to prevent the other, and he himself did not stick to say so openly and to let people know it was a false and malicious report. He bade me likewise assure *the King* particularly that neither he nor his relations need be in any apprehension on account of *General Ducker's* being with *England*, for that person made that visit without any order from *the King of Sweden*, who, he believed, would not thank him for it. He further said that *Poniatowski*, who is now at *the Hague*, goes immediately to *Sweden*, and that

he was well-disposed as to our trade, and consequently as to the affair succeeding with *the Czar*. Since he told me that person was going so soon, I thought it would not be amiss to give him what information I could of the present situation of *England's* family, that *the King of Sweden* might know it, since it appeared now evident to every body that a very small assistance from *the King of Sweden* would enable *the King* effectually to carry on his trade. This *the Swedish minister* agreed to, and said he saw nothing to hinder *the King of Sweden* to make a *descent* secure even in the condition he now was, had he but *men* to manage *ships*, which is the only want he has, for he said that, as the circumstances of *England's* family were at present, he did not doubt there were as many *ships* and *transports* at present with *Gottenburg* as would do the business, had they but *men* for them. He reckoned there were *eight* good *men-of-war* with *Gottenburg* and abundance of *transports*. I told him that, when the lawsuit with *the Czar* was adjusted, I hoped *the King of Sweden* might be assisted with some *ships' men* from those parts, and, if the trade go on in this method, some assistance must be applied for that way and friends with *Petersburg* and that neighbourhood wrote to about it, though no doubt if *Görtz* makes up that bargain and *the descent* is to be done, he will see to get this want supplied. It is only common *men* that are wanted, for they have abundance of skilled marchands in that trade to manage the *men*. All this I thought it necessary to inform *Mar* of, as what passed with *the Swedish minister* and it is all I can say as to that trade since my last.

It is now 12 days since *Jerningham* left this, and I am sure he would lose no time in being with *Ormonde*, from whom the last I had was dated 21 March, and he was then hourly expecting *Jerningham's* fellow traveller with the accounts he expected with him from *Jerningham*. I have not heard from *Sir H. Stirling* since my last, but daily expect I shall and *the Czar* is certainly come to *Petersburg* before this.

I enclose a letter from *H. Straiton*, by which you'll see he received the packets *Mar* sent for him. I have not yet had these accounts from *Menzies* I told you I expected and some mistake must have happened about it. The latest accounts from thence say that *the King's friends in England* daily increase, and *the inferior clergy* have been very plain in several places, for which *the English ministry* threatens to take them to task. I have sent some clearances to *Scotland* for *ships* to assist *Sweden* with *provisions*. I wrote fully of this to *H. Straiton*, and, when I have a return, you shall know it. I still think a good part of *provisions* most wanted by *Sweden* may be had from *the King's friends with Scotland*, and what would be easier got there than *money* and be as useful to *Sweden*, but I shall say no more till I hear from *H. Straiton*.

I find by yours I have been in a mistake in mentioning *Crammond* for some other name. It is a name for *the King*

in the paper I write to *Ormonde* by, and I have either meant it for him or *Ormonde*.

I shall go to *Rotterdam* this week and will then see *Mr. Robertson*, from whom I have been for several weeks daily expecting to hear and to see his friends, and it's not my fault I have not done it before this.

It's said we are fitting out ships, but they are yet in no readiness, nor can they be for this long time. The Parliament being now up, we can expect little news from thence. Several of the clergy there are taken into custody and ordered to be prosecuted for having the boldness to preach against the government and some have had very odd expressions in their sermons and called the King in plain terms an usurper, which has very much inflamed the minds of the people against the government, which is like to come to a very great height, but no doubt they will be made examples of, which, it's feared, will yet have worse consequences among the people. A great noise is made by the Jacobites about the execution of *Shippard*, who, it's said, had a design to assassinate the King, and the Jacobites give out they are to publish *Douglas* and *Macdonald's* affair with some others that were employed on such a design against the Chevalier, which accounts, they say, they expect from *Urbino*, by some there that know the particulars of them. No doubt publishing these things at present would do these people and their cause service, for the people are now in a very strange humour. It's said the squadron for the Mediterranean is fitting out with great diligence, but they own themselves they cannot sail till the middle of May. Five regiments are to be sent to *Gibraltar* and some regiments of marines on board the fleet. I shall acquaint *Jerningham* of *Mar's* having wrote to him as he desires. 4½ pages. Enclosed,

H. STRAITON to *SIR H. PATERSON*.

Yours of the 6th with the enclosures and the other little parcel of goods, I received on Thursday night from our trusty friend. I desire you will let Mar know that all he sent is come safe and that I shall carefully observe his directions, particularly that of paying the money as ordered, though I have not so much of the King's effects in my hands, nor am I willing to draw as Mar desires, till I try what may be done here, for, though it be 6 or 7 months since he gave some short general directions concerning the money trade, it was thought fit by those it was then recommended to not to mention anything of it but to some few particular merchants, and so to this minute not one penny was raised on that account. If any blank passes are to be obtained and sent to me, I wish they may contain fishes as well as grain, which will be a great encouragement for merchants to hazard. Saturday, March 22[-April 2], 1718.

The DUKE OF MAR to JAMES III.

1718, April 16. Rome.—Your being in a peevish way, as you said, did not appear by yours of the 10th, so I hope it was not much. I am making all the haste I can to dispatch here, but seeing the functions the two days past lost me a good deal of time. Of them I shall say little, since your Majesty has seen much the same. Since I was here and they are now over, I am glad I have seen them, but, were I to be here 20 years, I should never care to see them again, and, where there is such a crowd, I can have little pleasure of seeing anything, especially when one must be in it. The Pope's civilities made me very remarkable, for he spoke to me twice, which I could have spared him at that time, it having turned the eyes of most of the company on me and set them enquiring who I was, so that I am now pretty well known in Rome. I answered his Holiness, as I did Don Carlo, who came up to me afterwards, in the best ill French I could muster up, and most of what he had time to say being about your Majesty and Urbino, I had the less difficulty. The *Miserere* in his chapel last night was very fine, as it was in another church where I went afterwards. To-day I have seen two fine things, in the morning the Baths of Caracalla, which give a noble idea of the greatness of the old Romans and indeed what I had no notion of before, the other is Don Olivio's collection, which in pictures I think is the finest I have yet seen, and some charming statues and columns are in it too.

You are very good to allow me to the end of the month and against that time I hope to have seen most of all, though I'll be more desirous of being in this place again than I was before I saw it, and one who would love to live retired and has a taste of the things to be seen here, I believe, could not pass his time more agreeably anywhere. You, I fear, will not be of my opinion, but, had I seen it in the way you did and could not avoid, I should have liked it as little as you do and probably less. I wish though I may not have time to see it again till your Majesty be on your throne.

George Kelly is certainly gone to the *Bishop of Rochester* ere now, so I think my writing to him about *Inese* is needless, and for anything else I know not what to say till we have returns to what has been already wrote to him. I shall write of those things *Paterson* tells me you would have your pleasure signified in to some who had written to me, but I have not much time for writing here. I had sent the newspapers last post to the *Duke of Queensberry*, who neglected to return them before it parted, so I enclose them now. 2 pages.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 16.—I wrote to you the 12th and sent you *Butler's* to me of 11 March, and enclose here a letter from him of 13 March with a copy of *Sir H. Stirling's* to *Ormonde* of

25 Feb.[—8 March]. Both these are to disprove the news in his former, so you have a contradiction instead of the confirmation I expected, which I am very sorry for.

MONSIGNOR LUDOVICO ANGUSSOLA to DAVID NAIRNE.

1718, April 16. Orvieto.—Requesting him to convey his thanks to the King for recommending him for the government of Ascoli. *Italian*.

JAMES III to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 17.—I received yesterday yours of the 13th with all the letters with it, all which I have read and those I don't return now I shall next post. Lord Pitsligo's is so reasonable that I cannot but make up what he asks to 600 *livres*, so you have but to write to Gordon accordingly and I shall make Sir Will. [Ellis] write to Mr. Dicconson to order the sum to be paid to Gordon but without naming the lord. Dalmahoy's should please Clephan, to whom it shall be showed.

You did well not to make a mystery where you are about *Inese*, whose letter to you is such as all prudent men in his case must have writ, not to give any too reasonable new handle of carping. *Queen Mary's* letter, which I had yesterday, makes me much easier as to her, for she does not drive things so far as I apprehended, but more of that when we meet. She sent me the two from Law which I send you. I shall keep *Dillon's* letters to you till next post and then return them with his to me and my answer, and after that I hope I shall write to you no more this journey. When we meet, I shall speak to you about your proposal in relation to literal Sheridan and in the meantime do nothing about him for reasons I shall tell you. On looking over your letter again I shall make Paterson write to Gordon about Lord Pitsligo. I have not yet heard from *Ormonde* the straight way. I suppose I need not tell you that *the Pope's money* is in a very precarious way again. My stomach has been again a little out of order, but is quite right now. We have had terrible weather, but to-day is again fine. Holy week put a stop to our little music, but in recompense we have had enough to-day at church, where Tempesti did wonders. Our archbishop, not allowing the President any rank in the church upon earth, his worship went in ceremony to-day to the vault under the church and regaled me after with a potent whiff of garlic or at least of that family. I reckon by this time you have seen pictures enough, and hope you will make haste in satisfying your curiosity.

Postscript.—I conclude everybody here knows *Inese's* removal from business, but I don't find 'tis spoke of and I believe most of our people here will not (?) but live and learn to be discreet. *Body in Col. Hay's hand, postscript in James's*. Nearly 3 pages.

JOHN PATERSON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 17. Urbino.—Acknowledging a large packet from his Grace and relating how he had disposed of the contents of it and about Lord Pitsligo, as in the last letter. 2 pages.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to [the DUKE OF MAR].

1718, Sunday, April 17.—*Mr. Sheldon*, who arrived here the 12th at night, gave me yours of 21 March. Sir Peter Redmond is actually at *St. Germain's*. You'll see by the last accounts I sent you his departure does not press very much. I shall follow your directions with regard to him. Yours of the 26th came yesterday with the duplicates for *Ormonde*, *Dr. Erskine* and *Jerningham*, which I'll forward without delay. I enclose the only letter I had from *Menzies*, wherein you'll find prints that give a pertinent account of what passes in the present conjuncture. I had two lines from *James Murray* of 31 March, O.S. He says he'll lose no time in coming here.

COL. J. PARKER to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 17. Montargis.—You will see by the enclosed that there is as little charity at Rome as here. I can't struggle here no longer without succour. Half the 50 *livres* the Queen allowed me *per* month has been stopped to pay for the bed I lie on and that seized lately for the rents of my farm. To die at Tyburn is easier than here in a jail. It's not a great matter I seek. If his Majesty will order me 50 *pistoles*, 500 *livres*, I shall for this year stop the rage of 4 years being at my shifts. *Enclosed*,

CARDINAL GUALTERIO to COL. PARKER.

Acknowledging his letter of 26 February. Has executed his Majesty's orders in representing his miserable situation to the Pope, who appeared touched by it, and wished it was in his power to make it better, but at the same time assured the Cardinal that it was absolutely impossible for him to do so. 1718, March 29. Rome. French.

The DUKE OF ORMONDE to JAMES III.

1718, April 17.—*Ormonde* told me he had just received two letters from the King of the same date, 16 Feb., and also one from Mar of 19 Feb. and with them a copy of the King's to the Bishop of Rochester. I am sorry that *Dillon* is likely to leave *Paris*, for he certainly was of great use to the King, being so well with the Regent, but the King could not desire him to put off his journey, if the Regent should think he had business for him. I believe the King has made a very good choice in designing that *J. Murray* should reside at *Paris*, should *Dillon* be obliged to leave.

I am sorry I could not send you more satisfactory accounts concerning our trade and *the marriage*. I sent a copy of *Sir H. Stirling's* last to me. I expect a letter from him by to-morrow's post, but the mail comes in just as the post leaves, so I have not time to take a copy or to write anything mentioned in it by this post.

The DUKE OF ORMONDE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 17.—Acknowledging his letter of 19 Feb. and expressing his regret at Dillon's departure from Paris and his approval of J. Murray's appointment as in the last letter. —I do not believe what *Menzies* has been told concerning *Ormonde* and *Danzig*, but extremely obliged to *Mar* for what he says on that subject. I am sorry *money* is so hard to be had and, unless our friends in *England* be good natured, the rest of our friends will not give us the least help, should we want it to carry on our troublesome lawsuit. I cannot imagine what *Francia* means by his behaviour. *Dillon* tells me he is not to be depended on. I wish *Argyle* could be a sharer in our joint stocks. He ought to be tried, though I do not flatter myself he will be a purchaser. I wish *Lord Panmure* good luck and am sure he will always be a fair dealer. I am glad *the King* begins to like music and hope you have some good. I hear constantly from *England*. I am obliged to *Sir H. Paterson* for the trouble and care he takes of my letters. You have all the news from that family, so I need not inform you.

The DUKE OF ORMONDE to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, April 17.—Expressing his regret that he has been out of order and hoping his next will bring news of his perfect recovery.—I have received what you promised in yours of the 10th and hope and cannot but believe that *the Emperor* will reject the proposals that *the Elector of Hanover* makes him, which if he does, it will of consequence be for *the King's* interest. I suppose that, if *the Emperor* should agree, yet that *the King of Spain* would not be satisfied with it, considering the expense he has been at in this lawsuit. *Ormonde* will be impatient to hear of more of this from you. I wish I could confirm what you say is talked of concerning *the King of Sweden* and *the Czar*. I expect to hear from *Sir H. Stirling* by to-morrow's post. If it comes in time enough, you shall have an account of what he informs me of. *Ormonde* received the copy of *the King's* to the *Bishop of Rochester* in one from *the King*. *Ormonde* cannot wish that *Dillon* should be hindered from taking the air, if it be for his good, but sorry that *the King* should lose so faithful and useful a friend.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to JAMES III.

1718, Monday, April 18.—*Mr. Sheldon* arrived here last Tuesday, the 12th. He delivered me your note of 20 March

with the enclosed power. Your orders in regard to the latter shall be strictly observed. I hope with God's grace there will be no need of producing it for many years to come. My great acknowledgement for the daily proofs of your confidence cannot be expressed. I send *Mar* the accounts we have here, and am very sorry they are not as favourable as we expected. I hope *the King* will not disapprove my letter to *Ormonde* of the 15th. $1\frac{1}{2}$ page.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Monday, April 18.—I had a letter from *Ormonde* of 24 March with an enclosed from him to *the King*, wherein he says there is one for *Mar*. This packet is under *the King's* cover. You'll find here a copy of my answer to *Ormonde* dated the 15th. I hope what I wrote will meet with *the King's* and your approbation.

Last Friday arrived here a courier from *the Emperor* with an account of his having entirely consented to the proposals made in relation to *the King of Spain* and *the King of Sicily*. This is matter of fact, and gaining so essential a point rejoices extremely our Court favourites. The great question now is whether *the King of Spain* will submit to this new contract, and if *the King of Sicily* will accept the exchange proposed for him and, as presumed, without his participation. There are various opinions on this score, but many thinking people believe that *the King of Spain* and *the King of Sicily* after making some representations will be obliged to acquiesce, though the bargain is most offensive to the latter. A little time will show us how this scene will end. *Mar* will easily conceive how much this uncomfortable news occasions the spleen and ill humour. We must, however, still hope for a favourable conjuncture and pursue our trade with more earnestness and vigour than ever.

Though I don't doubt but *Ormonde* gives you ample information, for greater security I enclose copy of *Sir H. Stirling's* to *Ormonde* of 3 March, O.S. 3 pages.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DOMINICK SHELDON to [? JAMES III].

1718, April 18.—*Sheldon* arrived at Paris the 18th (mistake for 12th) in the evening and alighted at *Dillon's* lodgings and had a long conversation with him that evening and next morning. He assured *Dillon* of the entire confidence both *the King* and *Mar* had in him. His answer was that he would endeavour the continuation of it from both, and that he had of late writ so amply to *the King* on that subject that it could be no fault of his, if any distrust remained on either side for the future, but owned he could not charge himself with more business than he could go through with, that not only his health but sight were of late impaired by the constant application he was forced to have to it, and truly that is but

too visible. I could not perceive that any insinuations of *Inese* had made any impression on him as to *Mar*, but he owned their informations from *England* did not always agree, and that, when that happened, he thought the safest way would be to rely on those who were probably best informed, and best capable of judging. He seemed also to wish that matters not essential might not be too much insisted on, but I did not press him to explain himself on that head, for fear he should think I desired to pry too far. In short he was so far from expressing any distrust of *Mar* to me, that he owned no friend of *the King's* could advise his removal.

I waited on *Queen Mary* the same day immediately after *her* dinner, and, having told *her* the true reasons for my coming, which by all I have heard yet of my own concerns are more pressing than ever, *she* immediately and without opening the packet I brought asked me whether I knew of the removal of *Inese* and others from business. I owned I did and that I believed that *the King* had made his intentions further known to *her* by the letters I brought, because he told me he had writ to *Queen Mary* at large on all matters. On this *she* began to tell me how impossible it would be for *her* to undertake what *the King* required of *her* without some assistance. I begged *her* to consent to the method proposed, and told *her*, as well as I could, the inconveniencies that would arise from *her* quitting of business and the constructions the world would make of *the King's* being dissatisfied with *Queen Mary*, which alone, I was sure, was sufficient to endanger *her* health. After this I was dismissed, but to-day I was with *her* again, and, after repeating what I had said before concerning both *the King* and *Mar*, *she* told me that, since the first was resolved to have it so, *she* would acquiesce and do what *she* could, but that *she* thought it impossible for *Dillon*, who will be here to-night, to do all that was expected from him.

I could not avoid hearing *Inese* on his own subject, which to the best of my remembrance amounted to what follows :— That he is entirely satisfied with his being discharged from business, only he wishes the manner of it had not exposed him so much as it seems to have done ; that he is still in the dark as to what occasioned this change at this time, but that, without asking questions, it was sufficient he knew it was *the King's* pleasure ; that he is extremely troubled to find *the King* displeased with him and can never be easy till he has recovered his favour, which he hopes so good and just a master will not refuse, since he is ready to make any submission whatsoever rather than remain under his displeasure.

2½ pages.

MRS. OGILVIE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 18.—My private affairs having called me here. I am proud of an opportunity of assuring *Mar* that none can be more faithfully attached to his interest than I am,

and of returning my most grateful thanks for his advice to me in a letter to *Capt. Ogilvie*. I have followed it, and it's my own inclination to avoid being in any one party more than another. As for *James Murray* and *Menzies*, since both are well-wishers to *the King's* interest, I wish them both well. All the difference between them to me is my being very well acquainted with the latter, and I never was in company with the former but once, on my delivering him the parcel of goods Mr. *Dillon* desired might be given him out of my own hand. Not then dreaming of any emulation between *Menzies* and him, I applied to *Menzies* to know of the other where I should wait on him, and they determined it should be at *Anne Oglethorpe's* lodging, where I now understand he had not been for some time before, nor never has since. Being entirely a stranger to all their animosities I was in hopes of seeing *James Murray* again. I told Mrs. Crescit (? Lady Mar), whom I knew was not concerned in any of their little piques, that I should be very glad to see *James Murray* before I left *England*, though I had been teased with stories that he should have talked unkindly of me; to which I gave no credit, because I was conscious I had never deserved ill usage from him, and, as my authors were really more his enemies than my friends, I concluded it was more to do him a diskindness than to oblige me, but I balked their fancy, for I'll defy any of them to accuse me of speaking a disrespectful word of him, for I think it a justice due to all the world to be heard before they are condemned. It's true he is above wanting my friendship, but it's natural for everybody that has sense to wish rather for friends than enemies.

Now as to what I wrote to *Capt. Ogilvie* on Mr. *Dillon's* having, I was informed, been very far from practising the friendship he professed to *Mar*, I did not advance one syllable, but what I shall sustain and give my authors for, nor do I desire *Mar* to have any regard to them or me as to secrecy, if it's for *Mar's* interest to inquire further into it, for, if Mr. *Dillon* can clear himself of what they lay to his charge, God forbid I should wish the contrary, for I have no pique at him nor no interest in the matter, further than in general abhorring all underhand dealing. I thought myself in gratitude obliged to let *Mar* know the inconveniency he lay under in contracting a friendship with a man that was said to be giving him up to the censure of every little underling. Some busy people may have said more of Mr. *Dillon* than he deserves, but I thought a very circumstantial proof against him was this. It's most certain he sent over either *Mar's* original letter from *Liège* or a copy of it to *England*, with remarks on it for some there of his correspondents to have their wise commentaries on it. It was a peevish letter and indeed with too good reason, since all the message sent over to our side proved false. I shant load Mr. *Dillon* with sending such stuff, but he ought to have picked out a more faithful

messenger, who, he was sure, would not so egregiously exaggerate his commission. Among other favours to me, I was like to be brought in for that news, who was very luckily in *England* the time they came over. Yet some well-wisher of mine had the malice to make *Queen Mary* believe I was the author of them. I was surprised to see it under her hand in a letter to *Anne Oglethorpe*, after I had, as I thought, undeceived her, before I left *Paris*.

Mr. *Dillon* is said to have written to the *Bishop of Rochester* that he would take care the Scotch interest should not prevail, in which interest *Lord Oxford* is included, and that it was absolutely necessary at present to keep measures with *Mar*, he being useful in some things, and having ingratiated himself very much in the *King's* favours, even to the length of being called the favourite, yet, when it came to be determined who shall be the great man, it should be soon seen that he would decide in *Ormonde's* favours. Mr. *Dillon* is said to have let a thousand little mean stories escape him among his little council of Irish officers, not worth your hearing, but indeed his sending *Mar's* letter was not right. They tell the story in *England* with too aggravating circumstances to give any credit to, for they pretend that Mr. *Dillon* should have treated *Mar* very cavalierly on his believing what *Mrs. Ogilvie* told him at *Liége*. This they certainly wrong him in, because it's what he durst not have done and would not have ventured to brag of. They tax him with some other follies which I know he is not guilty of, but, as they don't directly concern you, I shall leave them till I write again. *Anne Oglethorpe* is my author for most of what I have heard concerning Mr. *Dillon*, and hers is one *Charlton*, a privy counsellor of the *Bishop of Rochester*, a very busy spark, and pretty much a tool of the *Bishop of Rochester's* party, but keeps in with all sides. Another thing of more importance I must mention. It's generally thought a word is enough to the wise, but that rule is not without an exception, for last time I saw *Mar* I told him that *Anne Oglethorpe* did and would certainly see whatever was writ to *Lord Oxford*. It straitens me much to meddle in this, I having not only a sincere friendship for *Mar*, but a particular esteem and affection for *Lord Oxford*. But of two evils I think the least is advertising *Mar* once more, and begging him both for his own sake and *Lord Oxford's* to take care what is writ, for the very last packet was sent to her the moment after he read it. I regret with all my soul *Lord Oxford* drawing himself into this unhappy necessity of letting her know so much. On their first acquaintance, I believe what they had to tell one another was not of extraordinary consequence to any but themselves, and then he accustomed her out of love to let her into some things of small moment, and now he is forced out of fear to let her know more than he would wish, if it could be helped. This I know to be true, and, if ever I see you, I shall convince you of it

by undeniable proofs. *Lord Oxford* lies under the greatest misfortune imaginable, because none of his friends dare put him on his guard, he really believing her to be in his interest only. God grant for his sake she may deserve his good opinion, but some things I don't admire, particularly her being much more fond of magnifying her own merit than his, for she takes care to make the world believe that what he does is entirely owing to her. It's true I believe her to be perfectly loyal and she has done her endeavours to gain as many friends as possible to *the King's* interest, but I know well *Lord Oxford* wants no prompter, he being as sincere and assiduous as *the King* himself could wish, and would to my certain knowledge be so, if she were not on the earth. She undoubtedly has some very good properties, but that's not argument enough for *Lord Oxford* to put the lives and fortunes of himself and others so much in the power of a woman, that possibly may one time or other be disoblighd, and is but too apt to be so, for, on her reading to me what *Mar* wrote to *Lord Oxford*, she asked me with a very particular air: "Are not the Scots mighty friendly and sincere to one another? Here is a long and full account of poor *Menzies* to *Lord Oxford*, who till now scarce knew he had been impeached. This is an epistle from one of your great men, three sheets stuffed with fiddle faddle and an account of kicking out men who have for three years served faithfully. Are not those," she added, "sufficient warnings for young beginners to take care of embarking too deep? Don't you perceive me," said she, "a good deal shocked at all this, for those people's fate will soon be the case of us all? but for my part I won't put it in their power. Since my cousin, *Lord Lexington* has invited me to go to *Yorkshire*, I shall accept that offer, or at least have the pleasure of making the best of them give it me under their hand that I am too considerable to be laid aside." Now I know she is resolved to demand this, that she may have it to show and perhaps on occasion to upbraid you with it. Therefore I believe *Mar* will let no wheedle catch him, for, pretend what she will, some things stick in her stomach. I know she resents and seems to ridicule very much a paragraph in *Mar's* letter to *Lord Oxford*, viz.: As to *James Murray's* going to *Paris*, I have taken no notice either to *Menzies* or *Anne Oglethorpe*, and desire it may be a secret to all but yourself. You are very wise, *Mar*, said she, there are no secrets between us. I answered, that's more than *Mar* knows, for I dare say he thinks that both *the King's* and his own are always burnt when read, unless the keeping of them could do service. A plain demonstration of her being piqued at what you had writ was the very next morning *Menzies* told me the story, which at that time I am sure he could learn from none but her. However, in a few days it was very industriously given out that *James Murray's* vanity had prompted him to tell half the town that he was going to supersede *Dillon*. Now *James Murray* has too good sense

for such a folly. I saw *Anne Oglethorpe* again before she returned the letters to *Lord Oxford*, and, on her beginning to read me some more of them, I said : I beg you not entrust me with things which I find are already going round, and it is not unlikely I may be blamed for what I would not readily be guilty of, which is telling one body's secret to another, when there's no necessity for it. I know this both surprised and vexed her, for afterwards in all her discourses she had a more discreet reserve than formerly, but in a manner stood in fear of me more than I would wish to do of her or any other.

The way to prevent *Anne Oglethorpe* knowing all you write to *Lord Oxford* will be, when there is anything of moment, to let it be on a slip of paper enclosed by itself, and I am assured no mortal besides himself will see it, none having more honour nor less inclination to make discoveries, if it could be helped without worse consequences, for, as she knows of course every letter he receives from this side, I am persuaded the least reserve she could perceive in him would cost him too dear. It's but of late he was so entirely in her power, for, till he was a prisoner and *Capt. Ogilvie* not in town, and he under a necessity of trusting somebody, he was not very much in her reverence. It grieves to the heart for his sake. Heaven send him a good delivery. She made me a compliment on giving me the packets, assuring me she had wrote perfectly kind to *Mar* of *Capt. Ogilvie* and me. I told her, we were extremely obliged to her or anybody that would do us justice and that I would take care that *Mar* nor none else should ever find me guilty of either a dishonourable or dishonest action and that I was sure *Capt. Ogilvie* would do the same.

I ought to have begun by telling you I saw *Lady Mar* and both the children some days ago, who are all perfectly well. Those of the family that are come the length of writing have sent their letters by *Mrs. Ogilvie* to be forwarded to *Mar*. *Capt. Ogilvie* has sent *Queen Mary's* packet under cover to *Mr. Dillon*. I sent you a poem on the Earl of Oxford, which I think mighty pretty. 4 pages.

CAPT. JOHN OGILVIE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 18. Dunkirk.—I received yours of 12 Feb. and 3 and 10 March and took much care, before I parted, that none of your letters lay 48 hours for want of passage. I was not capable to have gone away without having taken care of every thing that might regard *the King's* affairs or yours. You will be convinced of what I tell you by the answers of your letters. I am necessitated to divide them in several packets, for in one they would be too big, nor dare I send them all this post, for the postmaster of Calais, where they must pass, is known to be a pensioner of Lord Stair ; but I send the most material this post, and the next you shall have

the rest. Had I money, I would have carried them to Paris myself, but I have none and am above 600 *livres* in debt.

I send you the speech of Shepherd, who was quartered at Tyburn, I may say while he was alive, for he did not hang one minute. *Mrs. Ogilvie* saw him. *Lord Oxford* knows his family. He was a neighbour's son of his. He had studied very well, in short he was one of the noblest spirits that ever England bred, and beautiful like an angel. He was but 19. Never man went through his sufferings with more fortitude and sedateness. I send some other ballads and I have given Mr. Fairbairn (*Freebairn*) a snuff-box for you. It's of small value, but there is a picture of George in it, showing him as the tester of a bed lately fell down on him, when he was on the top of her that he has created Duchess of Munster. It's matter of fact, for he had been almost smothered. He roared out most furiously, and the captain of the guard and the Turks all came. They found him lying betwixt her legs, and one of the Turks endeavouring to hold up the tester and the others a drawing him out by the feet and a young rogue, one of the Turk's sons, standing by, like to split himself with laughter. All this show is painted on horn boxes and sold about, so I have sent you one.

I am heartily sorry you should be angry with me or have the least reason to chide me, for God knows whether or not I would do willingly anything that I thought would give you reason to be disoblged at me ; but, if I think I can render the best service to my friend, I never mind the danger nor will I ask his consent. (Story of *Sextus Pompeius'* reply to the captain of his ship, when he asked him whether he should carry off *Octavianus* who had gone on board his ship.) If I had asked *Lord Oxford's* consent, when I seized Lord Godolphin's nephew and took away his papers, you may be sure he would never have given it me, but on the contrary would have been affrighted at the proposal, for I did but once ask his consent in a matter where there was no great danger, and then he opposed me with that violence I was forced to give it over. The thing was I proposed to beat soundly Mr Richard Steele. This is my nature and, if you think it a fault, I cannot, for I never met with mankind that has that true notion of friendship I have. This is all the apology I shall ever make you for my fault as you conceive it. It grieved me to find you had complained of me to *Anne Oglethorpe*, for I shall ever think that *Mar* has power to chastise me himself, whenever I transgress, and am so far from taking any reproof from him ill, that it's entirely welcome, because I am persuaded he is my true friend and I love him, for I had rather that God would annihilate me, than suffer me to have so mean a soul as to be afraid of any I do not love. I tell you this, because *Anne Oglethorpe's* vanity pushed her to show that *Mar* had complained to her of my conduct, but that she would write and make my peace. On this I wrote

and prayed her not to give herself the trouble to be a mediator for me to *Mar*, for I would have none of her intercession, for I submitted myself entirely to *Mar* and would thank nobody to meddle betwixt him and me. This did not agree with her vanity. Another thing put her mightily out of humour, which was, when I came over, I told her that *Mar* knew of my coming over. This I had a politic reason for, for I had a mind to learn all that was possible from her, and the lie was not much out of the way, for I had writ to you of it, and consequently it was with your knowledge, though not with your consent. This she made a mighty quarrel of, but told me she would not let you know of it for the world, but I did not mind much what she said, for I am no great favourite of hers. As she would have both *Lord Oxford* and you believe she is my particular friend, she was frightened out of her wits that I should speak with *Lord Oxford*, for fear some things might have passed that would not have been agreeable to her, but I was not very fond of meeting with him, since it could not be done with secrecy enough. However, I took my measures the best way that was possible for me, and easily found out all I had a mind to know.

When I first arrived, there was nothing but complaints of *Mar's* usage of those that had stood by him and that he did not know who were his friends, for his ways were unaccountable, for those that were his friends he neglected, and those he caressed betrayed him, and made it their business to make him look little in every action he did. You may judge this made me terribly uneasy to know the meaning of it ; so I was made to understand that *the Bishop of Rochester* was resolved to break the neck of the Scots interest, as he called it, *Lord Oxford* being included in that number, and that *Dillon* had declared himself freely on that head, but as to all that I refer you to *Mrs. Ogilvie's* letter I send you. So all this continued till yours of 3 Feb. came. I delivered your letter to *Menzies* after I had read my own. I observed his countenance when he read it, and, when he had done, asked how *Mar* did. I must tell you that *Anne Oglethorpe* and all were in a great huff, that they could not see what *Mar* wrote to me first, but for that I begged their pardon. I then asked : Did *Mar* tell you no news ? No, said he, I am now the best man in the world ; indeed I am ashamed he should write in such a strain to one he has used so ill. This nettled me, for well did I know the contrary, but *Anne Oglethorpe* sent for him and showed him *Mar's* letter to her, and there was nothing but roaring against *Mar*, for *Menzies* has found a way to insinuate himself entirely into *her* favours, but all her interest could never bring *Lord Oxford* to admit him to converse with with him. I cannot but blame *James Murray* for allowing *Menzies* to open your packet for *James Murray*. Being in the country, he wrote to *Menzies* to open the letters, which he did and read *Mar's* letters. This made him cry out that he was sacrificed

by *Mar*, and he would have fain persuaded *Capt. Ogilvie* that he was the same and *Anne Oglethorpe* would have persuaded *Mrs. Ogilvie* she was the same, but I very quickly undeceived them, which made them more shy, both of *Mrs. Ogilvie* and me. This continued for a little. *James Murray*, they said, had spoken a little indiscreetly of *Anne Oglethorpe*, and you know women are revengeful. Stories went and came, for there is a chaplain to *the Earl of Arran*, a very pragmatic, busy fellow, as all that sort are. He fetches and carries stories between *the Bishop of Rochester's* party and *Anne Oglethorpe*. She believes him her faithful friend, but he is the contrary, for he only comes with a lie or clash to set her in a passion, and then her vanity makes her tell all she knows, and, if she has any letters, they are showed, so *the Bishop of Rochester* knows every thing she knows immediately. I tell you this that *Mar* may remember what he writes to her. All this continued till *Mar's* letters of 10 March came. Then they found that both the *King* and *Mar* were awake and in earnest to correct those who deserved it. Then all were striving who should speak best of *Mar*. The cavalier letter that was writ before was burnt, and a more flattering one writ. *Menzies* was sent for and great consultations were held, and it was decreed that *Menzies* should write a long letter to *Mar*, which I send you. Then it was spread abroad that *James Murray* was to go abroad to be in *Dillon's* place, but was first to go to *Mar*. This was very industriously spread and the fault laid on *James Murray* himself, that his vanity had made him talk of it to everybody, so full was he of his going to be a minister, but I believe this came abroad another way, and *James Murray's* enemies took advantage of it to do him an injury, but it's a fact that *Lord Oxford* was persuaded to have nothing to do with *James Murray*, for *Lord Oxford* said, if ever he came to see him, his first question would be to inquire how his friend *Bolingbroke* did, and when he heard from him. Just now came over the same person that *Dillon* uses to send over. He goes by the name of Johnson. His true name is Kelly. He was a preacher in Dublin and was suspended for getting a woman with child. This fellow is one of the greatest liars that ever was sent. Every packet that *Dillon* sends, he comes by the packet-boat after it with his verbal messages. *The Earl of Arran* came to *Lord Oxford* and prayed him to admit Johnson to see him, but *Lord Oxford* absolutely would not, but said he had heard of that man's character and would not be acquainted with him, but, to be plain with you, he gave another reason, and even as to *Dillon*, he said their country might produce very stout men, but he, for his part, could never be persuaded to have any opinion of their brains, so in short he will have to do with nobody but *the King* and you. He is entirely yours, and is very sensible it is his interest to be so. He is overjoyed that *the King* takes upon him, as is proper for him to do.

You would wonder to hear how *the King's* friends extol him on this occasion, but they want it to go a greater length.

One favour I beg of you is, that you will mind *Mrs. Ogilvie's* letter, for it is writ with a sincere heart, and the next is, that, when you are angry with me, you will chastise me yourself.

Now as to the boat. *Anne Oglethorpe* has proposed this method. A man at *England* has a pretty little hoy. It's him that Sir R. Ev[er]ard and *the Bishop of Rochester* employ. He is the man I wrote you word of, when my friend thought he might be super-cargo himself. The man I like well, and he would have been very proper to have been entertained in *the King's* service, but it would have cost too dear. However, it will be proper to have one that may be depended on, for this man belongs to the Admiralty and must attend whenever they call for him, unless he should leave them for good and all, but then he must be entertained by the year. Now the bargain is, that, when they send him, if there were any packet for us, he will carry it at the same time for 5 guineas, and, if there be any answer, 5 guineas more, so there is 10 guineas, besides his being paid by them, and, if we should have occasion to send for him, he must have 10 guineas, and, if he carry a passenger, he must have 10 guineas, so that, should you have occasion but for four times a year, it will come to more than the 600 livres allowed, but, the worst of it is, all the summer he is employed otherwise and cannot be had.

As for the delivery of the letters *Anne Oglethorpe* has been long pressing that they may be delivered to one Lacy. He is an Irishman and lives in the Temple. He is a lawyer and was a great acquaintance of *Marlborough's*, and I have been often advertised to beware of him and by Macnamara. Capt. Maghie gave me the same advertisement, who is married to one of his sisters. *Lord Oxford* defended it as long as he could, but at length laid the burden of it on me, and told her I would not have anything to do with him. You must know her mother is an Irish lady and she is entirely interested in those people and would have them employed in everything. Besides this Lacy is a near relation of *Mr. Macmahon's*, whom she has a great veneration for. Therefore take care he learn nothing from you but what you would have her know immediately, for he advertises her of all he can know or learn. That about the boat is a wild fancy, for, as soon as *the Bishop of Rochester* came to know our goods came and went that way, he would storm and make no more use of it, so it would do harm. *Menzies* and some others made this proposal to me. Capt. Urquhart is always about *Lord Portmore*. I suppose you know him. He is an M.P. for Cromarty. I think he has a brother who was bred a seaman. He was a lieutenant in a man-of-war in the Queen's time, as they called her, and after that commanded a man-of-war in the East Indies and brought her home, but would not serve George, but went to Holland to meet Capt. Thomas Gordon to go to the Czar's

service, but they could not agree as to the conditions, so he is come home again. Him they propose. His brother will buy him a ship and he shall drive a trade back and fore and have a convenient place made, where he can put our goods, and he will demand but very little more than the salary allowed. He can be depended on, and is a brave man and a man of honour. Therefore let me have your orders, since we lay aside our own boat.

As to myself, I know *Lord Oxford* has writ to *the King* to beg something for me. I doubt not I shall have your assistance notwithstanding your being angry with me. *Lord Oxford* would not name the thing, but it is a query's place about him that I wish for. It's a thing I am capable of. It's hard, if 34 years' service to *the King's* father and himself cannot plead something for me with your assistance. I am sorry you have defended me to come up. I had a thousand things to say that I cannot write, but as to my own affair I am hopeful you will not suffer me to be at a loss since you will not allow me to come up.

Postscript.—I almost forgot to write to you anent poor Father Græme. If you saw the poor creature you would have compassion on him. His heart is almost broke to think you should be offended with him.

He has sworn he never showed a letter of yours to any person, but the account of the whole affair he has writ with his own hand, which I send you. You may remember I ridiculed him, till I found the poor creature loved you. Then I took an affection for him and I do not believe there is a more true sincere creature on the earth. The deil a priest or minister that ever I loved but himself, and I am persuaded that he is innocent, for I know he would not swear unjustly for the universe, but I know the malice of the Court of St. G[ermai]ns against him and *Dillon's* also. They have the same against me, if they could find a hair in my neck, as the saying is, but it's not only against us, but against all that's entirely attached to *Mar.* It's very odd that the word of a known rogue and villain should be taken before Father Græme's, but I shall say no more of his character. I shall only send you an original paper that Mr. Harvey of Combes gave me. This is what he sent to Lord Townshend. It's his son's hand, but Mr. Rous, the keeper, did not deliver this, but brought it to Mr. Harvey, and, could he have found another evidence, he had hanged poor Harvey. Mr. Harvey begged me to give you this deposition of his, and to let you know that you'll fright every body, if you trust him, for he is certainly employed by Lord Sunderland. For all his projects that he proposed, I can tell you they are all chimeras and villainies, I am afraid, at the bottom. *The Bishop of Rochester* told me he could hang him for a robbery he committed, when he was last at Paris. 14 pages.

LORD BALMERINO to CAPT. H. STRAITON.

1718, Monday [April 7-18 ?].—This being the second letter I have had from *the King*, I think I am bound to write to him. Tell *Mar* I have seen nobody but *H. Straiton* and *the Bishop of Edinburgh*, who could tell me nothing but such generals as could not afford me ground to write to him. I like his proposal very well that anything he has to say to me, he'll do it by *H. Straiton*. I wish things may be as well disposed in England as here and that I know he is so well acquainted with all the coast of England as well as of Scotland that he should never be from *the King's* elbow. *With note by Capt. Straiton* that the best account he can give of what *Lord Balmerino* desires him to write is to send his letter. *Endorsed*, as received, 18 June, 1718, the same day that *Straiton's* of 12-23 April was.

NEWS FROM THE HAGUE.

1718, April 19.—Giving an account of what was known or supposed there about the negotiations for bringing about an accommodation between the Emperor and the King of Spain and reports of the negotiations between England and Sweden. $6\frac{1}{2}$ pages. *French*.

The DUKE OF MAR to JAMES III.

1718, 9, Wednesday night, April 20.—I have been kept longer than I intended this afternoon at the Villa Pamphili, where we were walking and drinking syllabubs, so I have scarce time to say anything before the post goes.

I enclose what I had this post from *Dillon* and *Jerningham*, which last came by two different canals. The letter enclosed in *Sir Hugh's* to *Mr. Inese* was only a note from my servant in Scotland about my private affairs. By my having few of the ciphers I can make out very little of what *Ormonde*, *Jerningham* or *Sir Hugh* says. A paragraph in *Ormonde's* letter refers to something he had bid *Sir Hugh* write, that makes me wish you would be at the trouble of unciphering these two letters yourself, in case anything should be in them not fit to be seen by others. I can scarce though think *Sir Hugh* would have wrote any such thing but directly to myself. I have no letter from him this post and 'tis ten to one but he has written to me what *Ormonde* charged him with by way of Germany and not in this to *Mr. Inese*, which if he has, I wish nobody may uncipher it but yourself. I hope I may be mistaken in what I apprehend about it and you'll easily guess what makes me advise all this caution. I'll long much to know what's in those letters. I send you also one from *Lord Panmure* and that to me in which it was enclosed. He is in his old peevish way, and what is somewhat odd, he does not so much as mention *Inese's* affair to me, though I wrote of it to him pretty fully. It would be

comical, should he now fall in with those of *St. Germain's*, with whom he used to be so angry, and 'tis ten to one but it may so happen. Those people will see him out of humour and will be at pains to flatter him. *Queen Mary* was certainly in the right to speak him fair, but I wish *she* had not said quite so much as Pan says *she* did, and it will be far from having the good effects *Queen Mary*, I am persuaded, intended by it. It is impossible to please some folks. I have sent a heap of other letters to Paterson to be laid before you at your leisure, and I return the Queen's letter and your answer. I wrote last post a long letter to *Dillon*, but it's too late now to give you an account of it. I am sorry *Lord Clermont* does not do his business more to your liking, though perhaps he would scarce believe I am so.

I would be very glad to have the pleasure of meeting you anywhere on the road as I return, but, since you order me to write you freely my opinion of the jaunt you mention to Loretto, I cannot but say that I very much apprehend it would have the turn given to it at home that you mention, and, though it be foolish it should, yet it might be of prejudice to your interest there, and 'tis hard that should be put even in danger of suffering for nothing. The least motion you make makes a noise as you have lately seen, and, when it should come to be known you had been at Loretto, having seen it before, the people of this country themselves would be apt to believe you had come on the design you mention, and, even without any handle from them your enemies at home would not fail of giving it that turn, and, since your friends could give no other reason for your going but diversion, or what you really intend by it, the others would be more credited than they and even by some of the apprehensive people, who are inclinable to wish you well, but startled every now and then, when they are told any story about religion. When you think fully on this, I fancy you'll not make it. The time will now be soon when the opera is to be at Bologna, where you had some thoughts of going, and a much prettier jaunt it would be.

I thought not of going to Frescati till next week, not having yet seen all here by a good deal, but, since you bid me make haste, I intend to go to-morrow. We are to stay there a night and be back Friday evening or Saturday if we cannot see it all sooner. It will take me all next week to see the rest of the things here, and to make the necessary visits besides waiting on the Pope, for which I must take his time, and those will be as few as I can, so the beginning of the week after will be the soonest I can set out, and I hope to do it then. That is a few days later than you allowed me, which I beg you'll excuse. I have a great mind to see Caprarola and Perugia in my return, and perhaps it is not amiss you had an account of the last place, for, if you be obliged to be another winter in Italy, passing it at Urbino would, I really believe, kill

most of those who attend you, so I believe you would not incline to it, notwithstanding the goodness of the house there. By the account I have of Perugia it would be the properest place for you on this side of Italy, as I believe Bologna would be on the other, and this summer's scene will show you which side of Italy you had best be on. But I heartily wish you may be sooner than that quite out of it and never to return. It grows very hot within these three days past, so that there's scarce being abroad in the middle of the day, and I got vapours by it terribly two days ago.
4 pages.

THE DUKE OF MAR to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, April 20, 10 p.m. Rome.—Requesting him to lay the letters he sends before the King and hoping Mr. Hay takes the Doctor's advice, and does not neglect it as the writer has seen him.

THEOPHILUS OGLETHORPE to JAMES III.

1718, April 20. Rome.—Thanking him for giving him the title of earl, as the Duke of Mar has told him, who at the same time desired him not to divulge it and assuring his Majesty that he will not take the title till it is his pleasure.

THE COUNT OF CASTELBLANCO to [? DAVID NAIRNE].

1718, April 20. Montpellier.—I informed you by my last letter from Turin that I was to be at Paris by the 15th of this month. The day after I had the honour to see the King and the Queen of Sicily and Madame Royale, who, having questioned me about my journey to Bourbon, decided me to prefer the advice of the doctors of this town and the waters of Baleruc, which are only half a day from this. Having consulted the doctors they have assured me that by taking these with the proper preparations I shall get rid of the trouble which caused the illness I had at Rome and entirely guaranteed against it in future, which has decided me to remain here. I reckon it will take me May and part of June. I beg you always to send me news of the King's health and to assure him of my profound respects. I found here a report that the King had left Italy, and yesterday a letter from Avignon would have persuaded me to take it for a certainty. I wish with all my heart that God may bring him to that which is due to him. *French.*

BARON DE WALEF to JAMES III.

1718, April 20. Madrid.—Requesting him to send him a letter of recommendation for Cardinal Alberoni, from whom the only favour he asks is to contribute by his authority to his having justice done him. His grandfather was the last

male child of the illustrious house of Alagon, the property of which family is entailed so as to exclude daughters as long as there are sons. The writer has been assured by the ablest lawyers in Madrid that his right is indisputable. *French.*

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, April 20. Vienna.—On the 13th I acknowledged yours of the 24 March with the enclosed from the Duke of Mar to M. Stiernhock, which I delivered to him. The day before yesterday I had yours of the 27th and did not fail to make the compliments you charged me with from the Duke of Mar to M. Stiernhock, who assures him of his respects and also of his devotion to King James's interests. I do not believe that his answer will be ready for this post, for he wishes to write at length and with my cipher, but he has assured me it will without fail go by the next. He has sent, *mutatis mutandis*, an extract from the Duke's letter to the King, his master, to ascertain his Majesty's opinion about this correspondence and to receive his order about continuing it or how he is to behave, I may tell you in confidence to be certain whether King James or any of his ministers are in correspondence with his master's Court. I shall not fail to keep him firm on our side. (About sending on the letter to Dr. Erskine and about sending and receiving letters to and from him as in his last.)

The Czar still remains at Moscow and is making great executions among those who have been plundering the finances. There has been a report here for about eight days that the Czarovitch, who has been obliged lately to renounce the Crown, has escaped, but this false report is not to be believed, especially as I have received no news from the Court of Muscovy about it. The appearances of an accommodation between this Court and that of Madrid are vanishing, for it seems that England and Holland, jealous of King Philip's power, are inclined to assist the Emperor and to send a considerable fleet into the Mediterranean immediately, and it is said that the Marquis de Monteleone, the said King's minister, has withdrawn from London. The said succours, with the approaching accommodation between the Emperor and Savoy and the appearance of peace being at hand between the Emperor and the Porte, are making that monarch, far from renouncing his claims in the Spanish monarchy, think of maintaining them by force, and with that object 16 regiments are on the point of marching towards Italy, and, if peace be made with the Turks, it is intended to send a strong army into Italy, which will be commanded by Prince Eugene. The ministers of Savoy keep themselves always *incognito* here and have frequent conference with the Emperor's ministers. The Emperor's plenipotentiary for the treaty with the Turks, with the Venetian plenipotentiary, will set out the day after to-morrow for the place of congress. Prince Eugene towards

the end of next month at furthest will be at Semlin, near Belgrade, where is the general rendezvous of the imperial army, to facilitate, *manu armata*, the arrangement with the Turks. The differences between this Court and that of Rome are increasing more and more. The Nuncio does not venture to appear at Court, and perhaps will soon leave this for the reasons given in the enclosed printed papers. The negotiations in Finland between Muscovy and Sweden continue, but we are not yet informed that M. Fabricius, the Hanoverian envoy, has effected any thing with his offers.

According to your orders I return the two letters for Mr. Germain (*i.e.* Wogan) with an envelope of Mr. Connell (*i.e.* O'Brien). This Court remains entirely Hanoverian on account of the assistance hoped for against Spain. I return you a thousand thanks for the generous offers in your last letter, and recommend myself to your remembrance while waiting for the answer to mine of 9 March. *French. Partly in cipher. 7 pages.*

ANNE OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 9[–20].—The chief design of this is to remind you of a picture of *the King* as he is now, that you promised I should have for L ———*. As you mention nothing of it in your last, I fear you may have forgot it.

We are very full here of a piece of news sent by Lord Stair of the Emperor's acquiescing to all the plan of peace we and France sent him. We do not doubt being able to force Spain to accept it, in case they should be refractory, so we look on that affair as daily to be at an end and our stocks rise extremely on it. We also flatter ourselves of finishing that of the North by the management of General Ducker. I hope all this is not calculated for the meridian of Change Alley and the filling the million and a half subscription.

The home news is the King is not well; the Prince has an ague. The German governess is turned away from the children; the Countess Dowager of Portland is made governante. Richmond House, belonging formerly to the D[uke of] O[rmonde], the Prince had taken from Lord Grantham and was purchasing it from the Commissioners. The King has taken a fancy to it and lays down the money, so will have the house.

JAMES III.

1718, April 20.—Appointment of Giovanni Battista Rondoni to be his Majesty's preacher. *French.* There is also a copy in *Entry Book* 5, p. 78.

JAMES III to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 21. Urbino.—Yours of the 16th affords me little to answer and the enclosed copy will leave you little

* Illegible, but probably means Mrs. Cæsar. See *Vol. IV. p. 554, Vol. V. pp. 124, 556.*

to say to *Dillon*. I easily believed the Pope would be very gracious to you, and as easily imagine his compliments in such a crowd would be very remarkable. I reckon I shall write to you no more at Rome and wait for your answer to determine my little jaunt. I shall end this, that you may once read a letter from me cleverly, for I am quite tired of writing well.

Postscript.—If, although you object nothing against my little journey, I should chance not to make it, I shall write to *Mar* to Foligno, but, in case that should miss him and he should go on to Loretto, he may reckon I expect him here, and come on on Sunday, if I am not at Loretto Saturday night. *Holograph*.

JOHN PATERSON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Thursday night, April 21. Urbino.—I had last post a packet from you with some newspapers &c. enclosed, which I delivered to the King. He continues to keep his health perfectly well, and I really think has for some days looked better than ever I saw him. I enclose Lord Pitsligo's letter and mine to William Gordon upon it, which I think is agreeable to what Lord Pitsligo desires in his. In case his Lordship should be straitened in his time, I don't know whether you had not as good send my letter directly to him, because he will be able on seeing it to take his measures accordingly, and may, if necessary, draw for the money at the same time he transmits my letter to Gordon.

You also enclosed Gordon's last letter to me. It is not worth sending you on any other account but that it mentions some packets in which you were concerned. If this be the old story, I remember hearing of it, but, if it be anything that has happened since, I know nothing of the matter, though, be it how it will, I don't offer to excuse my brother's part in it.

For public news I must refer you to the enclosed from Monsr. Stiernhook and de Busi, which came last post. I don't much like their accounts of matters, particularly with regard to Spain, but, if any accommodation is like to take place, it must appear soon. I have written to de Busi in the manner mentioned in one of my former letters to you.

Macmahon showed me t'other day a letter from *Anne Oglethorpe* dated, I think, the 3rd past. Speaking of *Menzies* she says that time will show he is an honest man, and has acted the part of such, though she does not pretend to vindicate his not giving due satisfaction in the point you know of to his superiors. She says that even *Lord Arran* is satisfied of this, though *the Bishop of Rochester* and *Sir William Wyndham* are not so much pleased with his conduct, but their opinion, she says, will have weight with her, when she find they can hold any opinion for a week together. I wish she would spare her wit on such occasions, which, I am satisfied, must do hurt and can never

do any good, for these things no doubt go round and can have no other consequence but that of increasing the misunderstandings between the factors, which must always have bad effects ; besides, if some folks there consider her as a friend and correspondent of *Mar* and as having sometimes letters from him, and so knowing something of his mind, I think it but natural for them to suspect her proceeding in this way to be at least not disagreeable to, if not encouraged by him, and I really believe some people's jealousies and misunderstandings have no other real foundation but such idle stories as these, which I think unhappy enough. If *Mar* were on the place, I would not have had the courage to take this liberty with him, but, as we are now at some distance, I hope, if he should be angry with me, he will forget it, before we meet again.

Anne Oglethorpe says in the same letter that *Capt. Ogilvie* was still at *London*, but they concealed his being there from *Lord Oxford*, in regard that he would be certainly angry with him for leaving his station without orders. She adds that *Capt. Ogilvie* was ill of the gout, but would return to his station as soon as he was able to travel, and would, she hoped, bring some accounts with him that would put *Mar* in better humour than he seems to have been for some time. I have said nothing of all this to *the King*, because I promised *Macmahon* I would not, for he said he did not know whether *the King* knew of *Anne Oglethorpe* writing to him on these points, and neither do I, but, had I found anything in it that I could have judged to have any immediate relation to *the King's* service, he should have known it, and I had *Macmahon's* allowance to write it to you. $3\frac{1}{2}$ pages. *Enclosed is a copy of the next letter.*

JOHN PATERSON to WILLIAM GORDON.

1718, April 21. Urbino.—In the Duke of *Mar's* absence, I have the *King's* orders to let you know, if *Lord Pitsligo* should have occasion for a little money, which 'tis very probable he will, you are to furnish him with it, as far as 6, 7, or 800 *livres* French, and to charge it in your accounts to *Mr. Dicconson*, who has orders to allow it you. He does not know to whose use the money is to be applied, nor need you say anything of it to him, but only to state this article in your accounts as so much advanced by you for the *King's* service by his special orders, which he is directed to allow without further enquiry.

I am sorry you have so just reason to complain of my brother, but perhaps he is the more timorous and shy of corresponding with anybody on this side of the water on account of my situation and the concern he has in me, though I don't mean by this to excuse him. He has, as you say, got the start of his elder brother. I'm glad of his good fortune ; if ever I'm so lucky as to overtake him, 'tis well,

and, though I should not, I hope I shall be contented, but I'll never despair of it, so long as my master is in good health, which he is at present and very likely to continue so. 2 pages. Copy.

JOHN PATERSON to CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI.

1718, April 21. Urbino.—Informing him that he has received all his letters, which he communicated to the Duke of Mar, and since his departure to the King.—I hope shortly to see him returned here, and will then endeavour to answer some private matters in your letters, not being able to do so till then. At his departure he ordered me to deliver all Monsr. Stiernhock's letters directly to the King and that only he should open them, so that I cannot acknowledge them by their different dates, but as they were all enclosed in yours, which we have duly received, none of them can have gone astray, of which you will kindly inform Monsr. Stiernhock, and also that the Duke's absence has been the cause of his not having heard from him for some time and that he will write to him on his arrival, which will be in 10 or 12 days. He may be assured that the King and his Excellency are very much obliged to him for the detailed advices he has sent them. His Majesty believes it will be better for you in future to address your letters to me under a borrowed name (directions how he is to do so), and for the same reason to send me your address under another name. I am impatient to learn how you have disposed of the letter addressed to Dr. Erskine enclosed in mine of 27 March. I am expecting the letter you have for Monsr. Germain (*i.e.* Wogan), having asked you to return it, as he has taken another route instead of passing by you. Nearly 2 pages. French. Copy.

THE DUKE OF ORMONDE to JAMES III.

1718, April 21.—I received yours of 8 March with an enclosed to *the Bishop of Rochester* the 19th instant, and by the same post duplicates of both by way of *Prague*. I am sorry that *Mr. Cæsar's* accounts and *Jerningham's* are so different. I am very much obliged to *the King* for his trouble in informing me of what relates to *Inese*. No doubt *the King* has just cause for what he has done. As to *Dillon*, I cannot think he can be influenced by any person to entertain jealousies that may make *the King* uneasy or create any uneasiness in his affairs, he being ready to sacrifice his own interest for *the King's* service, and they that know *the King* cannot believe he can be influenced to any person to do any thing but what is right.

I wish I could send you any agreeable news, but there is no likelihood of a *speedy agreement between the Czar and the King of Sweden*, as *the King* will see by a copy of *Sir H. Stirling's*, which I enclose.

By *Queen Mary's* order I made a proposal to *Dr. Erskine* of 254 (hundred) 254 (hundred) 533 (thousand) 444 (pounds)* to be paid by the King after his restoration, as equivalent to the Czar for the abatement he should make to the King of Sweden. I much doubted the success and the King will see by the enclosed that *Dr. Erskine* has not yet had any opportunity to acquaint the Czar with it, so I suppose there is nothing more to be said on that matter.

Upon the Czar ordering *Dr. Erskine* to acquaint me that he was very uneasy at my being here, I wrote to *Sir H. Stirling* for passports to return, in case there was no appearance of agreement with the King of Sweden, and *Sir H. Stirling* sends me account that they will be granted, though they are not yet sent. I expect *Jerningham* every day, but I don't see that he can be of any use.

I am very glad the King is in good health, and pleased to see he grows a lover of music. I hope he is well diverted.

Ormonde will write to the King as soon as he has taken his measures how to proceed in his journey, unless the Czar should change his mind, which, I fear, he is not likely to do.

Madame Chigi in a letter *Dillon* sent me desired me to beg of you to be her friend in her lawsuit. 6 pages.

THE DUKE OF ORMONDE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 21.—I had yours of 11 March the 19th instant and must refer you to mine to the King to avoid repetition.

I wish *Mr. Cæsar's* informations had been of a piece with what *Jerningham* says. I cannot imagine why our friends should wonder that I only write about my private concerns. They might easily believe that I had not heard from *Jerningham*, and that that was the reason of my not sending them any account from those factors with him. I informed them that, as soon as I had any thing to acquaint them with that came from *Jerningham*, I would let them know it, but you will see by the enclosed copy of *Sir H. Stirling's* that there is no present want of money, the Czar and the King of Sweden not being likely to agree very soon. I am sorry that *Wogan* has not brought a pleasing account of the things that he was to view, and the more so, since there is nothing to be done with marriage here.

I was surprised with what the King acquainted me with concerning *Inese*. It can have no ill effect as to *England*.

Sure these broils must produce some good effect for the King, for, if the war of *Italy* goes on, *France* and *England* cannot continue long in friendship. I am obliged to you for your trouble in sending the accounts you had from *Rome* and the Emperor's house.

* Sic in original, deciphered as 100,000*l.*, the real sum being 200,000*l.* (See ante, p. 247.)

I wish you well diverted when at *Rome*, and am glad that *the King* is a lover of music. I hope you have your eunuchs with you and that you won't be tired of them. 5 pages.

FANNY OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 21. Paris.—At our arrival at Paris we found all things in a hurry; the news of the league made, as you know without doubt, between the Emperor, England, Holland and France at the expense of Spain and the King of Sicily, the Hanover succession and the renunciation of the King of Spain secured mutually; but what touched me much more sensibly was the report that the King was embarked with the King of Sweden and 1,500 men, that he had had passports for Germany and that he and the Duke of Mar were gone *incognito*. This report was confirmed at the Palais Royal, Lord Stair's and over all Paris among the English. Many of them pretended they had letters and repeated all the detail, and Lord Stair said he had dogged them to Switzerland, but that his spies could follow them no further.

Two days ago we received the enclosed. You may easily believe I should have obeyed with pleasure the summons, since it's what you always wished for, but the "if" and the following words makes the friend (M. de Mezières) believe my journey would be needless, since he desires it but in case there's something on foot, as 'twould be of very dangerous consequence to tell him reports for certainties. After having considered ont this two days he makes me answer that, not knowing the situation of affairs to be able to give him an account of anything, and that what he desires of me is but in case I do, I don't do what he desires but have writ you word of it. You see plainly that, if you want him, you can reckon on him. He cannot give a better proof of his good designs, and we cannot now complain that he acts reservedly. He is going into his own country; most people think him already gone. He waits for my answer. I believe he wanted to know how things stood to take his measures with his at home and act accordingly, but, as I had nothing to say to him, you see my going is entirely needless, for 'tis but in that supposition he desires it. Though I am unwilling to make such a journey when it can't be of use, I shall never hesitate a moment when it can be of the least service to *the King*, and we've writ him word that, as we are not able to answer his question, which is the reason I don't follow his commands, yet, if he has anything to say from himself, and notwithstanding wants to see me, I'll part on his letter immediately, though I'm persuaded he'll not want me in that case. It's very unhappy you're at such a distance. Before your answer comes, things change quite, but there is no remedy. It's plain that man has a design to serve you and has it in his power, for it's not out of a pure

curiosity to know that makes him write the enclosed nor out of an ill design. He has too much honour to do an ill thing, and it's now grown by his late manner of acting his interest for you to succeed. You now know you may depend on him for, though his letters are short, they're more than enough from him. If you've any use to put him to, when it's necessary, you'll give us your orders, and, if you think it proper for me to carry them, you'll always find me ready. We should be too happy to find greater occasions to prove our gratitude and zeal to *the King*. I believe *Lord Ilay's* friend knows of the letter I send you.

We saw Lord Panmure and told him the charge you had given us. He has promised to spend some of his time with us, which we'll endeavour to make him pass as well as we can.

It's said that M. de Nancre threatened Alberoni with the King of Spain's losing his dominions, in case he did not consent to the treaty. The other told him his *pis aller* was to return home and be Regent. They say there are disputes between M. d'Argencon and the Re[gent]. Wagers are laid that he will not be long chancellor. Law is in love with Mademoiselle de Nail (? Nesle) and gives her 10,000 *livres* a month to visit her, when Prince Soubise is not there. It's a good revenue. Douglas was arrested yesterday for making false money and is in prison. I'm told the Re[gent] talked to Lord Peterborough on his accident in Italy. He answered he had nothing to say about it, because it interested three people, the Pope, whom he could not complain of, and that he was obliged to the Prince at Urbino, whom he would never speak ill or well of, and the Cardinal Al[bani], who was his friend. We have not seen him.

I long for your opinion of the enclosed, if you approve of my not going, which I would have done, but that he desires it but in case things are in a certain way. As we know nothing of it, both he and you would have blamed my venturing. The neighbour (Sparre), as to be sure you know, has had three attacks of the apoplexy and a palsy on half his body. If you do travel, which I wish, remember to send back these letters of his. By this time he ought to have received the account I sent him of yours and of *the King's* of 10 March, but I have not had an answer. Lord Edward [Drummond] is just arrived.

I forgot to tell you it's not in answer to anything we had writ to *Lord Ilay* that makes him send his last letter, but I suppose there are reports there as here that you're doing something. I wish you can read my epistle. I don't well know what I write, for I'm ill and in bed. The friend bids me tell you, he can't but think that *Lord Ilay* and his friends are in a design to help you effectually, when things come to a push. *Over 4 pages.*

SIR HUGH PATERSON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 21. *Rotterdam*.—This is chiefly to convoy the enclosed, which I received last night from *James Murray* in return to that you sent me to him. By what he writes to me, he is yet somewhat doubtful about his journey. I had a letter of the 9th from *Jerningham* from the place where *the King of Prussia* resides, so I hope he is by this time near being with *Ormonde*, from whom I have one dated the 31st, in which he mentions the arrival of the person *Jerningham* sent to him, on which he had wrote fully to *Dr. Erskine*. I have heard twice from *Menzies* since my last to you, but there is nothing of any consequence in them. He acknowledges that I sent him from *Mar*. He proposes going to the country for his health, which looks as if he inclined to give over meddling in the Company's affairs. I have advised him not to take any resolutions that way, till he at least hear again from *Mar* on it. He knows of *James Murray's* intended journey, but I have not mentioned *James Murray* to him nor taken any notice that I had heard of his journey.

I find by a letter of yesterday from *the Earl Marischal* to one here, he is to be soon at *Aix la Chapelle* or that way, and is to expect there *the King's* orders, how he is to be disposed of. He seems pleased with what has happened to *Inese*, whom, I know he had no good opinion of, but he suspects he still continues to meddle in *the King's* affairs. I have a letter to-day from E[nglan]d from a pretty good hand, which says ten men-of-war are ordered to go immediately to the Baltic, but that they are very indifferently fitted out and ill-manned. There is great difficulty in finding seamen to man the fleet for the Mediterranean, though there has been a great press for this week past, and it's thought the ships cannot be ready to go out so soon as has been given out, and it may be yet a month before they can sail. *Capt. T. Gordon* has, it seems, by *the Czar's* orders wrote to some others of his trade that are in *England* to come immediately to *Petersburg*, on which some are going, and I expect to see them here as they pass. They are all such as *the King* may depend on, whenever he has any occasion to employ them, and their ships were taken from them on account of their inclinations that way. Their being to be disposed of this way may, I hope, be for *the King's* service, and I am sure they will follow whatever orders he thinks fit to give them. The naval preparations here are like to turn to nothing. We long to hear that *the King of Spain's* friends have made you a visit, and it's believed here they will have time enough to do it, before ships can arrive there from *England*. I hope this will find you returned from *Rome*. We have heard of *H. Maule's* brother (i.e. Lord Panmure) being come to *Paris*. *H. Maule* proposes to go and see him, as soon as he comes to *Flanders*, in order to propose some things about their

private affairs, which I fear will not have the wished-for effect.

I came here this morning and design to see *Mr. Robertson*, before I return, and thought it best not to give him the letter you sent me for him, till I saw him myself. I have just now letters from *Ormonde* of the 4th. I suppose *Dillon* hears from him by the same post. 2½ pages.

J. MENZIES to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, April 10[-21].—The prints will give you our public discourse and particularly the great news from Vienna sent by Lord Stair, which is also confirmed by letters that Pentenreider himself has received. This is a dismal story to the Jacobites, who hoped for a quarrel between England and Spain and imagined great friendship and help from King Philip. The news too from the North is very mortifying to them. Apologizing for a mistake in the direction of his last letter.

J. MENZIES to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Thursday, April 10[-21].—I wrote you several letters by *Mrs. Ogilvie* and *Capt. Ogilvie*, which, I hope, are now pretty far advanced on their way. They gave my plain and sincere sentiments on every subject I touched, but I meant them only to yourself and *the King*, and I hope they go no further, nor friends in any new danger of an inquisition.

James Murray parted, I am told, three days ago. In obedience to your commands I waited on him, but he was gone to *the Bishop of Rochester*. I left a letter at his lodgings to be given him, when he should come to town and enclose a *verbatim* copy of it and his answer. I leave both to your judgment, only I believe the grandest of all the Grand Seigneurs nor Alexander, nor Richelieu, never wrote in higher airs to one of their dependents, and I hope you will be satisfied that our meeting on this foot could be of very little use in friendship or in business, nor do I think it a time for quarrels, so I must only let such great men alone. I sent it to Mr. Primrose (? Lord Oxford), who owns he never saw the like ont. I owe him nothing and, though loyalty almost entirely crushed us, I am of as good a family as himself. Let me get rid of those briars and clear of those mighty men and those flaming mountains which destroy, but do good to nothing. You will find at the long run that I am an honest plain-dealer, nor have I ever been mistaken in the substance of our affairs.

You have had, and have and will have mighty memorials and fine stories told you of fine persons and things for your service. I could tell you of all those very same persons and ten thousand more, and, when I had done, it signifies not one straw to your service. Intriguing and talking and drinking will just do as much, as you had an experience of in your own

case. When you bring the effects you will have more friends than you can well manage, and till then all Mrs. Cann's (the Church of England's) fine doings will end in a can. Yet the spirit of trade ought to be kept up till the effects come. I have done more for that than fifty of your fine flatterers.

I know not what to say of some of our promising partners. You know long since I had but an indifferent opinion of *Görtz*, and I am very sorry now to assure you a letter is come from *the Czar to King George* with his own hand with the utmost assurances and that *Ormonde* and all such shall be gone. One that was sometimes a merchant in Amsterdam, whom you know well, had it from an intimate friend of his, a Dutchman, whom *Baron Bothmar* showed the letter to. On the other hand *Capt. Thomas Gordon* has sent just lately for some of his own profession from hence to go in all diligence, and they are gone.

The mighty news that Lord Stair has sent to the Court here from Prince Eugene, as you will see it in the prints, is our great subject of discourse, has raised the stocks, rejoiced the friends of the Government and quite confounded the Jacobites. *Enclosed,*

J. MENZIES to JAMES MURRAY.

I believe you know I have had reason to retire a little out of the unfortunate bustle and be very much a spectator, and for some considerable time have often earnestly begged to be excused, my health also being very much broke by a long and constant drudgery. But by my last letters I have received new commands to have a little patience, and Lord Mar orders me to wait on you to discourse on anything that may be the common concern. If you will appoint me your most convenient time, I shall be sure to wait on you with the best of my humble opinion or endeavours, and pray let Lord Mar know the first time you write, that I have made this offer cheerfully.

JAMES MURRAY to JOHN MENZIES.

I received last night a very politic and mysterious letter from you, which, I suppose, is meant as a favour from a person who has behaved so remarkably as you have done with regard to me for some months past. If you have any inclination to explain it, you know I am to be found every day at home between 9 and 10. Had I imagined you had not known my lodgings, I would have given you my address. This is all I think proper to say at present on this subject.

JAMES III. to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, April 22. Urbino.—Acknowledging his letters of 26 and 28 March to himself and those of 27 and 28 to Mar.—

I am heartily glad *Dillon* is better and hope he may be now quite recovered. I take most kindly what he says in relation to himself and am as sensible of the great load of business he has now on him, and shall be therefore always ready to agree to any reasonable thing he can propose for his ease, but at present nothing more occurs to me than what I bid *Sheldon* tell you. I hope he is got safe to you now.

"The accounts you send me in relation to *the Regent* are, I fear, as well-grounded, as they are little surprising to me, I think indeed that there is no need to inform *England* of every little detail of disagreeable matters, but I think it would be deceiving *them* and not for my service to keep from *them* any material point such as this now in relation to *the Regent*, for their ignorance of such matters may run them into inconveniences, and deprive me of their advice on such occasions. I am therefore of opinion you should let them know that nothing can be now expected from *the Regent*, but apropos of him, if on that or any other subject you would have any particular thing go no further than myself, write it in a note apart, and at the top say it is for myself alone.

"By all I see in *James Murray's* letters of late, I think it necessary you should be as particular as you can in your letters to his friends. You see how many idle stories they hear, and, though a little uneasiness and jealousy in them is pardonable, I think it is both on their account and mine fit to prevent it as much as we can. I perceive *Mar's* letters and mine to *Lord Oxford's* are generally like to come to his hands before ours to *the Bishop of Rochester*, though writ at the same time. Now, though this proceeds from accidents and from the different opportunities their different canals have of transmitting letters, yet I fear it may cause uneasiness, to prevent which I wish that, whenever you receive any letters from me to *the Bishop of Rochester* and cannot send them immediately, you would write by the post that you have a letter of mine in your hands, which waits for a good occasion to be forwarded. I would have you also send me the copies of your letters to *England*, as I have and generally shall do mine to you that go to your correspondents, it being, I think, a mutual precaution necessary to avoid all mistakes, and for the good of my service. I am sorry for the report that is spread in relation to *Argyle*, but the thought was so natural that I hope, though he should hear it, he will not be disgusted at it, or suspect those he trusts, since it is impossible to hinder men from talking and thinking.

"I never doubted of *Inese's* dutiful submission to the orders sent you about him. He has written to *Mar* a very submissive prudent letter, for it is very natural and pardonable for a man that is not told the true reasons of displeasure to guess at others, though I can assure you that his telling his opinion and mind freely to me neither did shock me in him, nor never can in any I confide in, since that is not only their

duty, but what I require of them. I heartily wish I could have discarded *Inese* with yet more mildness, but I smarted too much for that I said (?) formerly to poor Du[ke?] Hamilton for to fall again into the same fault, when from it I apprehended the same inconveniences. I am far from blaming you in letting me know the good opinion you have of *Inese*, of whom it is needless for me to say more. I have done in that matter what was reasonable, just and necessary, and am therefore not in the least any more concerned about it, since it may do my interest good but cannot do it hurt.

"I should have said before that that what you wrote to *James Murray* and the other friend about *Abbé du Bois* was necessary in itself and prudent in the manner. You will to be sure have cleared the mistake in relation to the marriage *James Murray* mentions and which I understand not to be for the *Czar's* daughter but other relation. I must confess I am very impatient to hear from *Ormonde* on that head, for till then I can fix on nothing.

"Law hath written his thanks to *Mar* and me, just compliments and no more, though I believe sincere. As to *Lorme* (? *Law*), I think he is called, after all you say of him there is certainly no thinking of employing him in anything but *money* till we can see clearer into his conduct, but I hope we shall have no occasion for him soon in other matters, since *Dillon's* journey is no more talked of, I mean, what would certainly occasion it, as a thing near at hand. You say nothing of the *money the Regent* was to have given last February, but sure it will come at last. As for *Francia's* affair, I own I despair of it, and as much of getting any *money* from the *Pope* by all I see in relation to that affair with him. What the *King of Spain* will do time only can show, and that certainly will develope many things, of which it is not possible now to form any judgment in this uncertainty and, as our hopes would be vain and groundless, too much desponding would be the same. I desire you will, however, continue to inform me of what comes to your knowledge. Were it worth my pains, or were I in humour for such things, I could make a very comical recital of all that hath happened in my journey to see the *Furlo*. It has, I am sure, made noise enough, but I don't see any other effect that trifle can have but to use people to such things, and prevent noise when it would be hurtful." 6 pages. *Holograph*.

COLIN CAMPBELL OF GLENDARULE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 22. Near Bordeaux.—In mine of 28 Feb. I told you I had writ to a friend concerning *Glengarry*. It was to *J. Macleod junior*, his near relation and thoroughly trusted by him, and also that I had writ to *Glengarry* himself and at the same time to Sir Du[nea]n C[ampbell], *Ardshiel* and *Campbell* [of Auchinbreck]. I now transmit *J. Macleod junior's*

return, for it will be some time before I can have *Glengarry's*. I would not have troubled you, did I not think you will be content to find by what *J. Macleod junior* writes that *Glengarry's* omission proceeds not from want of duty.

It's pretty plain by *J. Macleod junior's* letter that *Argyle* has had his tools at work. Your hints as to him came seasonably, for it appears well-meaning honest men might have been deluded by him so far as to take him to be one of *the King's* friends, for no other handle could work for him in these parts. Indeed, it seems not a good symptom in *Argyle* to be tampering or gaining on *the King's* servants without his own permission, nor will he find it turn to any great account, for, I am persuaded, the advertisement given will make all there avoid him, so far as not to be entangled. I know *J. Macleod junior* will not only shun any more tampering that way but will also in the discreetest manner put all *the Highlanders'* friends on their guard, so as to have nothing to do with him.

I expect no return from *Campbell* [of Auchinbreck] till he is at home and *J. Macleod junior* and he meet ; I know *Argyle* and *Lord Ilay* are at pains to have him considered as in friendship with them, but, as he is an honest man, so he is a man of that discretion as not to be over-reached by them, though it's very like he might all the time he was settling his marriage and during his stay there have been very fair with them. His brother-in-law, *Calder*, goes down with him. As all accounts agree that that young gentleman has very good inclinations towards trading with *the King*, I know *Campbell* [of Auchinbreck] will not be wanting to encourage him to it. In my letters to him and Sir Du[nca]n, I advise them to fall in with *Lord Glenorchy* as a youth of good sense, whom I judged to have no ill disposition towards trading, and desired they might encourage him and take the first opportunity in it. His staying in *England* made me not write to them sooner, judging the country the fittest place for them to apply to him, but I did not tell them anything further than that I had reason to hope he had strong inclinations that way, which is enough to induce them to make the first advances towards him, which may be necessary, he being very reserved and cautious in his way, which, I judge, is the greatest ground for the suspicion he is under at present. You see *J. Macleod junior* writes doubtfully about him. I have sent you all I had from him on that subject, which you'll find in the last paragraph of a letter from a friend at London of 28 Feb. That letter is from an honest man, but at present well with *Argyle*, which, I suppose, *Lord Glenorchy* is not. His marriage is all it founds on, and his going sometimes to see *the Elector of Hanover*, which he could not well avoid at present. As to the young lady, I think it more probable he may turn her than she him, and, if he be a hawk of the right nest, as I think he is, he will turn her to purpose and wants

not an argument that may be a good means to make her a very early convert, and as to his father-in-law, I have no great fear of him, for I hope *Lord Glenorchy* has too much sense to be brought over by him.

(Mentions a letter from Inese, giving an account of his removal from *the King's* affairs.) I wrote him a return and gave up the correspondence in the most respectful and obliging manner I could.

A letter I received last night from *Scotland* says they never were in such a forward disposition to serve *the King*, and that they are full of hopes to see him soon, for he could never come more opportunely to make a good market, some things having happened of late that give the greatest resentment to men of all persuasions. 3 pages. *Enclosed*,

J. MACLEOD JUNIOR to GLENDARULE.

Acknowledging his letter of 5 March and another of 15 Feb. which he answered the 8th current.—I have dispatched your commands as directed, only Mr. C's (i.e. Campbell [of Auchinbreck]) I have not sent, because he's soon expected home, and I did not judge it secure enough to use the common method. However, he'll know its contents to as good purpose and in a safer way.

You seem surprised that Glengarry has not been so punctual in his returns to your lieutenant (i.e. Mar), and, when he understands by the express I've sent him that some umbrage is taken at that omission I persuade myself he'll be no less concerned. He has certainly been misled into that neglect by an apprehension his returns might perhaps not come safe, or he judged it not necessary, since, as he resolved always to act consistent with himself, so he rested secure that the neglect of a ceremony would never be misconstrued. I'll venture to say that, as his attachment to your captain's (the King's) interest began very early and seems rather innate than acquired, so nothing but the common fate of mortals can alter his fixed resolutions of contributing all in his power to ascertain what he believes founded on the most indisputable principles of justice. I wish all your creditors had the same motives of honour and honesty.

I was not a little alarmed with your account of Argyle, for, though I could not say positively that my endeavours had any certain effect, yet others would persuade me to believe that he was a well-wisher of your's (the King's), nay, further that he had advanced money in relief of some that were your captain's, (the King's) servants and thrown into prison on your (the King's) account, and many of his friends not far from here believe the reverse of what you write, at least propagate it, for what purpose time must determine. Meanwhile on the faith of what

you wrote I've acquainted my friends to take care of him, which, I believe, will have the wished-for effect, and I am much indifferent, if your affairs can be got effectuate without him what course he will take, for a person who wilfully acts an ill part deserves very little compassion, though I must assure you that his opposing the Elector of Hanover in some extravagant courses has gained him much favour everywhere. He's expected hither very soon. You'll understand by my last that some of your friends are afraid of a change of resolutions in the old trader's grandchild (Lord Glenorchy), but I'm glad you seem of another opinion and to be sure your affairs will go on the better in these parts that you have his countenance. Though you have given me no orders to go to the country, I'm resolved 'gainst the 27th instant to take journey, because it is absolutely necessary I advise with my own friends anent your affairs. What incites me the more to this is that it may not perhaps be in my power to get at them, when your affairs may come to be tabled, since you know I am not always master of my own time, and therefore I'm resolved to concert matters so, while the opportunity offers, so as to make it less material whether I am with them at the ranking of your creditors. I flatter myself, however, that you'll acquaint me timeously when your business may offer, which will be as much improven to your advantage as possible. Your commands for me will be safely got my length from here, so you may address as formerly. Your nephew, Sir Hector Maclean, is very well, a pretty boy and pleasant. I have recommended him to the gentleman who attends Glengarry's son, who is very careful and a bright gentleman, so pray thank him for his care and encourage him to go on. Capt. Straiton disburses the money as he sees necessary.—March 18[–29].

———— to J. MACLEOD JUNIOR.

By the public papers you will see that the Court has carried the Mutiny Bill in both Houses and the bill establishing the Commissioners of Inquiry in the House of Commons, which many here are pleased with. The Court doubtless are, since these bills are preliminary to arbitrary power, which in the same way has been introduced wherever it is, by pretending a necessity to support a standing army in time of peace and by having the private property of many subjects in their power, which none can deny now is, since by this last Act not only the unfortunate gentlemen concerned in the late insurrection are ruined, but most of all their creditors. The ministers are no better pleased with their success than the enemies of the present government, for mild measures might have brought several over, but by what is and has been done, they daily lose many who were their friends,

for, did a Sunderland or Father Petre prompt behind the scenes, they could not advise measures more likely to overturn the present constitution with respect to affairs either abroad or at home, and what seems to preserve it is rather owing to its enemies neglecting to improve many favourable opportunities than the administration of a ministry who are become objects of contempt.

They indeed tell us of an alliance with the Emperor, by which, as Lord Stanhope expressed himself in the House of Lords, in the strongest terms we are obliged to support him if invaded in any part of his dominions in Italy, but this alliance can have no other consequence than to entangle us in a new war, by which we will in all probability have the most considerable powers of Europe to oppose us, and then, to use Lord Stanhope's own words, the succession to the Crown of Britain may come to be disputed as well as that of Spain, in which case his Danish Majesty's alliance will be of as little use as their sinking divided High and Mightinesses, overcharged with debt and torn to pieces by faction.

The Regent is not spoke so well of at Court for some time; whether this proceeds from a discovery of any change in him, or that, knowing how little use a weak ministry and divided family &c. can be to him, I know not, but it's not probable that prince expects support from a ministry that in their own country are not able to support themselves without a standing army.

No public minister here makes that figure as the Spanish ambassador. His assemblies are crowded three days in the week, so that six large rooms are full of company and an acquaintance of yours has been half an hour in getting from the middle of one of the rooms to the door. He is obliging to all and by much the ablest minister residing at this Court. The Sicilian minister is much with him, which is not agreeable to the friends of our present government.

There is a story in town, as if a young lord of your country lately married to a duke's daughter was a convert to his father-in-law's principles, but, being a stranger to that lord and his father, I can only tell you what is said, which from several circumstances appears to be true. He is much at Court, and on his marriage sent K[in]g G[eor]ge a favour, who did him the honour to wear it. With note by Macleod: This comes from a person of honour of your acquaintance. I know you'll make no bad use of it, but rather lament the melancholy situation of your expiring native country. 'Tis strange that under the best of Kings we should be thus treated.

DAVID NAIRNE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 23. Urbino.—Thanking him for his letter of the 20th and sending the enclosed from his Majesty, who is

very well and was this evening at a music meeting at Madame Staccoli's.—Neither Sir John O'Brien nor *Dillon* write anything of business to me, nor do I desire that anybody should at present from that part of the world.

CAPT. H. STRAITON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 12[–23]. Edinburgh.—Yours of 3, 4 and 8 Jan. with all the others therein mentioned came safe to me 20[–31] March and, though I was then and for two weeks after confined to bed, I soon found means to get them all safely delivered, and I have since seen all the persons at my bedside, *Lord Eglinton* only excepted, but some days ago I received from *Mr. Lockhart* a little packet for you, containing his and *Lord Eglinton's* answer, which shall be herewith sent to Johnnie's (? Mar's) brother[-in-law] in Holland (*i.e.* Sir H. Paterson). I know nothing of particulars in them, only *Lockhart* writes they are to my heart's content, and I heartily wish they may be so to your cousin (the King) and you, and, being on the subject of letters, I think you need not have made the least apology for sealing *Sir J. Erskine's* letter. If you send me a hundred so, and I receive as many returns sealed, I will be as careful of every one, as if I knew the contents of all. I never was a grumbler and I hope I never shall be, and I never did, nor ever shall omit anything in my power, that can promote *the King's* interest and service. If I do anything amiss, it will be a defect of my judgment, not of my intention.

As soon as it was possible for me, I delivered with my own hands the sum ordered to each of those mentioned in yours of 3 Jan., but neither I, nor any other that I know of, have as yet received one farthing on account of the *collection of money* proposed. However, I shall use my best endeavours to persuade those you have writ to soon to meet and concert methods to get in stock for that trade, as much as can be had without noise or observation, and I shall frequently remind them to meet, and, were I once in any tolerable condition to go out, I shall push it as far as decency and discretion can allow, perhaps some little further.

I cannot promise you a particular account of what money your servant *H. Straiton* has received and disbursed on the Company's account, for he has not his papers at hand, neither is it yet convenient to name so many persons as are concerned in giving or taking, but in general he received in the end of the year 1715 only 500 and some few odd guineas, and he then and the beginning of next year faithfully disbursed that sum, and of the above mentioned sum he received from *Simson's* (*H. Straiton's*) * eldest son-in-law 100*l.* sterling, and he is still

* This must be a mistake for Symons' (Lord Sinclair's), whose eldest son-in-law was John Paterson of Preston Hall, *i.e.* namesake of John Paterson, Mar's secretary. See Mar's letter in the last volume, p. 361, where the cipher name is correctly given "Symons."

frank and willing to do more, and you may easily guess his losses otherways are not small. I told him what you wrote concerning him and his namesake, your bookkeeper, and he desired me to make his hearty and sincere compliments to you.

H. Straiton received about two years ago as he remembers from Mr. C[a]r in Dundee 170*l.* sterling, which was left there by Col. C[? lepha]n, of which he then paid to *Lady Stormont* 43*l.*, to the *Duke of Perth's* cousin and namesake 70*l.*, to the *Duke of Argyle's* namesake, the B[riga]d[i]e[r], 20 guineas and to one that returned with him that brought you the seals 5 guineas, in all 139*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* sterling. Other small payments at that time cannot now conveniently be particularly mentioned, and many are forgot, but the remainder of that sum was all given out except some trifle I do not distinctly remember.

When I wrote you a long letter last December I sent one copy to the Doctor (Menzies) and another to *Inese*, and in a postscript to the first gave you account that I had received from Willson of *Mackintosh's* money 200 guineas, and I am confident I wrote you the same account before, but either that letter miscarried or you have forgot it. However, I despair of getting any more out of Willson, for he was much concussed to what he did by a gentleman of *Mr. Grant's* name, who has done several good offices besides that and will, I hope, do more. He is nephew to old Gen. T[hom]as B[uch]an.

When I see him, I will endeavour to cause him to try once more what he can do with Willson. I have been inquiring if *Mackintosh's* doers are buying land or clearing old scores, and can learn nothing of it; on the contrary, some tell me his family is under difficulties at present.

As to the last mentioned sum, according to your letter of 3 Jan., I have paid to three persons therein mentioned 200*l.* sterling and have lately paid 20*l.* sterling on *Sir Hector Maclean's* account, besides the 30*l.* I formerly gave you account of.

H. Straiton received besides the sums above mentioned 100*l.* sterling, which by what *Inese* then wrote *H. Straiton* judged was for his own particular use, and yet I believe much of it was applied for those then in distress on the Company's account. However, if it was not designed for *H. Straiton*, please let me know and I will do my best to make him accountable for every farthing of it.

I have been a little puzzled how to behave with the young advocate (J. Macleod junior). That you may the better judge of matters, I must lay the whole matters of fact before you on that subject. As I told you, I delivered him the end of last August 30*l.* sterling, but *Sir Hector Maclean* was not brought to town till the last week of December, and then the advocate bought him a suit of plain cloth clothes, four Holland shirts, four cravats and one pair of stockings and shoes and, the beginning of January, brought him to the eldest *Macdonald's* son's governor, with whom it was concerted *Sir Hector Maclean* should be

boarded, and the governor had promised me to be very careful of him and kind to him, and, for what I can learn, he is as good as his word, and indeed his pupil, who is a sturdy, handsome young fellow, is in a singular manner kind to *Sir Hector Maclean* and always supports him on the streets, to the meeting-house and on all other occasions and frequently carries him under his arm where it's difficult for the boy to walk, for his right ankle is quite out of joint from his infancy. I am really charmed with his humanity and friendship to his young comrade.

Though the common method for all boarders here is to pay quarterly and in advance, yet the advocate made no offer of money for board or other necessities the boy might want, so the governor complained to me of it, and I desired him to ask it in the discreetest manner he could, which he did, but got neither money nor any distinct answer, on which I desired him to tell him in plain English that I desired him to deliver to the governor whatever he had over the payment for the clothes and the charge of bringing the boy to town, which the governor told him, and then he said he was exhausted, and, though I desired to see him, he came not near me till he knew I had paid the first and second quarter's board for *Sir Hector Maclean* and his servant, for he is not well able to go and come from school without one. I have paid the governor 20*l.* sterling (then follows a detailed account of the boy's expenses for board, school, clothes, pocket money &c. amounting to 55*l.* sterling a year). I really think the charge cannot be less and I am for encouraging the boy and would have him gratified in all harmless matters, for, though he has a weakly little body, the governor assures me he has a brisk, lively spirit and is a pretty good scholar and very well-principled for his years. The governor is a well-principled honest gentleman and will be useful in managing correspondence with *Macdonald* and other relations of the *Highlanders*.

When at length the advocate came to me, I said nothing of the money matters, expecting he might first say something but, when I found him going and like to say nothing, I told shortly, it could not be doubted your cousin (*i.e.* the King) in his present circumstances was much straitened for money and it was a wonder he was able to provide for so many as he did, and therefore I thought it highly reasonable his money should be managed with the greatest frugality, at which he seemed much out of countenance and in a confused stammering manner said he could give a good account of what he received, so I said no more, nor shall I without your further directions, but hereafter it's reasonable to put the money into the governor's hands and he to give account how it's disbursed.

By accounts from all hands, the poor *Highlanders* will this summer be in great want of bread, and therefore *Sir J. Erskine* and I are on a project to get *them* supplied. We shall do our best to get something effectually done, as soon as occasions

require it. That poor family had an ill crop last year and most of their cattle died.

I am truly amazed at *Lord Seaforth's* shameful conduct about *money* matters and have inquired about his affairs here and, by all I can learn, his effects here cannot be reached either by his old or new creditors, and this I have from Johnnie's (Mar's) friend and namesake's (L[ord] D[un]) own mouth. I am now very near him and he has seen me several times, and allows me to send for him whenever I have anything to say; he is in a few days obliged to go to *Lord Aberdeen's* country and will use his best endeavours to bring in *Lord Haddo* to trade, particularly that of *money*.

Soon after *the Earl of Erroll* died, I told you *the Countess* was to be married, and she is married and now she and her husband design in a short time to go and stay in her old residence, and I am confident both can and will be useful in promoting trade of *money* and other matters for the advantage of the Company. I cannot tell if the husband be known to you, but I know him well and am fully persuaded of his good intentions, capacity and great integrity, and that both will use their utmost endeavours to promote *the King's* interest, and therefore I most heartily wish your cousin (*i.e.* the King) may make some compliment to that worthy lady, which will certainly make her and her husband more active. Before he goes hence, I am to establish a method of correspondence with him, which, I am confident, will have no ill effect, and I hope it will be no objection against him that he is my particular and intimate friend.

The Earl of Wigton has been several times with me lately, and I find him most hearty and frank for the *money* and other branches of trade, and I cannot but wish some compliment were made him.

The Duke of Gordon's conduct from the first to the last has been indeed so very odd that it will not be easy for a man of much reading to find the exact parallel in history or romance. However, it's convenient to make the best that can be made of him. If *Lord Haddo* come heartily into trade, he will be of much use that way, and so will my friend *Grant's* namesake, who is one of *the Duke of Gordon's* chief trustees. I shall on this subject have a full conference with Johnnie's (Mar's) friend D[un], before he goes off, and am confident he will in that and everything else that's for the advantage of the Company do his best.

When Mr. *Lockhart* may see *Argyle* or what he will make of him when he does, I shall not pretend to divine, but it's known almost to everybody that *Argyle* is not easily to be satisfied either in his ambition or love to money; and how far it will add to the advantage of his character that he seems to be pinned to a light, empty, ill-natured thing, I leave it to you to judge.

I have a particular concern and respect for *the Duke of Montrose's* family, and would fain have him retrieved, if

possible. At the same time I declare I never had any further obligation to him or his than common civility, and my chief reason is for the merit of his ancestors and their great services to your cousin's (*i.e.* the King) family, and besides I think *the Duke of Montrose* much better-natured than any of the Sq[ua]dron]y set he is engaged with, so, if your cousin (*i.e.* the King) or you think fit to say anything to him, I will find several sufficient and sure hands that can deal with him, in case he come here. One I shall name, and that is a lawyer of his own name, whom I suppose you know and who has done much service and kindness to the distressed friends of the Company here.

If you incline that anything should be said to *the Duke of Athole*, I suppose the eldest *Macdonald* may be a fit hand and with him I have a safe correspondence by means of the son and governor, who assure me that *Macdonald* is still the old man and will stand firm.

I have likewise a pretty secure correspondence with *Sir Hector Maclean's* chief relations, particularly him that's called tutor and next in succession to *Sir Hector Maclean*, and I had lately a letter from him, and in his own way he is hearty and frank. I shall repeat one sentence of his letter. Speaking of himself and his relations, he says, There is no people better known to do their duty, and it is so much bred in their blood that it cannot be drained.

Mar's letter to *the Earl of Balcarres* was carefully delivered, but it's so long ago that I cannot perfectly mind the verbal answer the trusty bearer then brought me, yet, to the best of my remembrance it was that he would always be ready to serve those that were kind to his children. Whether that letter was from *Mar* or some other, it's probable he knows the subject and may easily guess if that be a proper answer or not. If *Mar* has anything further to say to *the Earl of Balcarres*, I can easily get it delivered.

Johnnie's (*Mar's*) last method of writing was most convenient and I most earnestly beg he may continue the same method, that is, to write one letter for the view of the chief trustees and co-partners here, and what particular directions he may have for his servant may be in a paper apart, but do not think I mean or in the least desire that other letters should be left open for my perusal.

Though in one of your last you desired me to draw on *the Duke of Gordon's* namesake at *Paris*, I have some unwillingness to do it, unless *Sir Hector Maclean's* wants or some other necessity constrain me, and I wish you would rather give direction to *the Duke of Gordon's* namesake to remit me what you think fit to trust in my hands, which he can with greater ease and safety do than I can, for all his correspondents here are honest men and I am pretty well known to all or most of them.

I had lately a letter from Mr. *Inese*, desiring me to write no more to him nor expect from him anything concerning *the King's*

affairs, for he is no more to meddle that way, with which he seems well satisfied, and says it was always his opinion that those of his character should not meddle. I always had and still have a particular respect and esteem for him, and think him one of the best and most sufficient of his character that I know, but, since he's laid aside, I shall not be sorry if others of his tribe were so, especially on this side of the water.

About the end of February I sent you a letter from Mr. *Rait*, but since have not seen him, for he is in the country and, I suppose, not yet perfectly recovered.

Your servant *H. Straiton* has never yet been able to make further progress than the gardens close by his house and not that for some months past. However, there was a necessity to carry him to Edinburgh to be near physicians and surgeons, who much differed in opinion about the nature of his malady, but all agreed it was necessary to open it, which was performed some weeks ago, and out of it came full three Scots mutchkins of water, which has given much ease, and he hopes time will make him better. This malady the men of skill call Hydrocele. *5½ pages.*

JAMES III to the KING OF SPAIN.

1718, April 24. Urbino.—In reply to his letter of 31 March assuring him of the interest he takes in everything that concerns him and requesting him to give his most sincere compliments to the Queen on that happy occurrence (the birth of a princess). *French. Copy.*

JAMES III to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 24. Urbino.—“The very sight of yesterday's packets almost turned my head. I have not near read all my letters, so can yet less answer them, I mean, speak of them to you. I shall only say that the letters you were so curious to know the contents of contain nothing extraordinary as Paterson tells me, for I was forced to give them to him, the ciphering was so *embrouillé*. I shall read them and send them you next post. I have a long letter from *Ormonde* which I have given to uncipher and nothing very vexing from *Queen Mary*, who, if I may say so of *her*, will, I find, do well. *Her* heart is, I am sure, good, and I believe a friend of mine, whom you have heard of, has helped to soften matters there. I send you some strange projects the Queen sent me from Camocke, they'll divert you on the road. Think of them and bring them back to me with your opinion of them. I shall not go to Loretto, as you advise, and with reason, but shall expect you here, where, I hope, you will be before our Cardinal, who leaves Rome the 5th of next month. I shall that post send you back some of your letters and write of what 'tis necessary you should be informed of before our meeting, for which I am very impatient, though I am far from disapproving a few days' delay, for,

if you be here the 5th, it will answer for the post as well as the 1st. I am well, thank God, and drove out of my little room now with the sun.

“John [Hay] desires me to tell you he hath got a squeezy (quinsy), but I don’t advise you to believe him. He is very good and careful of himself and, I hope, you’ll find him very well.” *Holograph.*

JOHN PATERSON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Sunday night, April 24.—Yesterday I had yours of the 20th and will, as soon as I can find an opportunity, lay your letters before the King, because hitherto he has not had leisure to hear them read. He is now at a conversatione in Madame Staccoli’s, but told me he was to write to you this post. I delivered your commands to Mr. Hay, who is not yet so well as I could wish. I hope he’ll observe your directions in following the doctor’s advice, but I wish the Lord may advise the doctor, which I think I may say without offence, if he was the best in Christendom. Yesterday the Duke of Salviati’s son arrived here, and his uncle, the President, five or six days ago charged me with a great many compliments for you, which I forgot to mention, but I believe you will be at no loss, for I am told you have plenty where you are. However, I shall wait on him the next time the post comes in and return him your compliments as by your orders. It is now late, and I have nothing to say, besides that I am almost blind with the agreeable diversion of unciphering. I pray God send us a time when we may freely call a spade a spade.

I had letters yesterday from Stiernhock and de Busi, but they are of an older date than those I sent you last post.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 24. *St. Germain.*—My letters of the 17th and 18th will come to hand before this. I forwarded the duplicates for *Ormonde*, *Dr. Erskine* and *Jerningham*. *Sir H. Paterson* writes that the latter parted from *Holland* about 15 days ago to join *Ormonde*. Having given me no account of this journey, I can’t tell on what grounds he undertook it, but presume he informed *Mar* of his reasons. I had a short letter from *Ormonde* of 31 March, telling me that he wrote to *the King* by way of Germany, but desires I should send you the enclosed copy of his letter to *Sir H. Stirling*. I believe you’ll find it very succinct and dry, as indeed it appears to me, and apprehend much that *the Czar* will send the passports as required without further examination. In that case *Ormonde* will be obliged to remove from where he is now, which, in my weak opinion, may prove of ill consequence, especially in the present conjuncture. I write my mind very plainly to my friend *Ormonde* on this. I wish it may reach him before

he parts from *the Czar's* neighbourhood and cannot help being sorry that *Jerningham* did not go straight from Lübeck to *Ormonde* instead of coming to *Holland*. You'll perceive an air of peevishness in what I say here, and must own I am not in so good a humour as usual.

I don't hear that *the King of Spain's* final answer is yet come to *the Regent*. I'll go to *Paris* to-morrow, whence I shall write at large what accounts I can learn on that head. I enclose *Menzies'* last letter with some prints as also one *Inese* gave me.

James Murray brought no answer to the last cargo sent to *England*, but I suppose we shall soon have it by *George Kelly's* return. I send *Sir John O'Brien* this moment to *Paris*, both to provide a post-chair and what money may be wanting to *James Murray* and to give him instructions about his journey, that he may not be imposed on by the road for want of knowing the custom of the country. He'll part to-morrow morning and, I hope, will find *Mar* safely returned from *Rome*.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DOMINICK SHELDON to JAMES III.

1718, April 24. St. Germain.—Last week I gave *the King* an account of what passed betwixt *Queen Mary, Dillon* and me, and I hope their resolutions will be to *the King's* satisfaction. *Queen Mary* seems desirous I should tell *Lord Middleton* and *Dicconson* what *the King* told me concerning them. I have already done it to the latter, with which he seemed not displeased, and I hope the other will be so too, when I can speak to him at leisure.

'Tis true *Flanagan* is not dead, but is unable, as far as I can understand, to do any business. My chief concern will be to recover my pension, which others who were in the same predicament with me have got these two years and in but one and the same *ordonnance* to Mr. Nihill for the payment. When I see him, I hope he will explain this to me.

I could wish *the King* would by the return of this bearer send *Queen Mary* some preserved cedrats, for on my mentioning them one day *she* asked why I did not bring *her* some. *She* seems to be in good health.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DOMINICK SHELDON to DAVID NAIRNE.

1718, April 24. St. Germain.—When I wrote the letter I sent to you this day sevensnight my hand shook so much that I could not add anything to you as I intended in the cover. I have since taken physic and am better, but do not find travelling agrees with me as well as formerly, though we met with no ill accident and had the best weather in the world. I gave *the King* an account of what I had done since my arrival with *Queen Mary* and *Dillon*, the first being willing to do what the other desired and the latter all he can and in the manner, I hope, *the King* expects from him.

(About his pension as in the last letter.) Flanagan intends to come here as soon as his health will permit, from whom I hope to have an account of my other concerns and advice what to do with my *billets d'estat* that are now at a very low ebb.

I cannot forbear transcribing a paragraph from the letter you sent me back from Dr. Ingleton: "As to the King's letter to Mr. Leslie, when I first heard from the Queen and Mr. Inese that sentence apart which raised the difficulty, I own I was alarmed as they were, but, when I afterwards saw the whole letter, I was convinced both from the design of the letter and from the context, that the King in that sentence spoke not his own sense but the sense of Protestants without appropriating to himself anything of that expression."

Pray let the President know I have not been wanting to give the Queen an account of his zeal and attention to all that relates to the King. Lord Edward [Drummond] arrived here the 21st.

W. GORDON to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, April 24. Paris.—Sending the enclosed, which came yesternight.

LORD TULLIBARDINE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 24.—I had yours of 24 March three or four days ago. My last was on 2 April. *Glendarule's* opinion and mine to *Clanranald* and *Brigadier Campbell* was that, as things stood, they should return hither, with which I acquainted Mr. *Dillon*, who since approved of it, and sent his directions accordingly. We expect them soon and *Brigadier Campbell's* name shall be filled up, when he comes, as overman in the papers sent me by Mr. *Inese*, who lately wrote to *Glendarule* and me that he was not to meddle more with the King's affairs. It's not probable *Brigadier Campbell* will decline what is now enjoined, but rather endeavour to go through with it carefully and nothing else possible shall be neglected in diligently executing what's commanded concerning this. *Glendarule* and *Tullibardine* were not to go hence, till they had met the two gentlemen from *Bayonne*, but now, though several things are uneasy to them, particularly the inquiry these about *Marlborough's* nephew (*i.e.* Berwick) make, yet they cannot think of stirring so long as there is a probability of seeing the gentleman you mention in these parts, in case their meeting with him may be of any use. Therefore *Tullibardine* wrote to Mr. *Dillon*, desiring he would, if not improper, let them know if that gentleman be to pass this way in any time, that they may endeavour not to miss him. *Glendarule* and I are very sensible of your extraordinary kindness to us, particularly in the instructions you send us about the laird's affair, and we should be unworthy of your

protection, were our part black, as there have been pains to represent it. If there were any expressions too hard in my letter to *R. Gordon* concerning his cabal, it could not well be avoided as I was then stated with them. As carefully as possible I write to you of everything that was doing here which might procure new light how to behave, for according to instructions there was no answering to have done otherwise, especially had things continued as they were. I shall never meddle with anything but orders nor presume to take upon me in the least when I am not authorized, nor had any of us ever a thought of troubling the laird, with whom we had no concern or any kind of grudge, which I am very well satisfied *Glendarule* never gave him the least grounds to suspect. However, it's no wonder what his friends in *Scotland* write, since, as I noticed formerly, he has never been from *Bordeaux*, only for a little while at *Cahors*, but continually in company with skippers of every kind and other people of all sorts. In their assemblies he preached nothing but discontent and reflections on everybody. Though in the main he is a very honest man, yet that way of doing might very easily occasion folks inquiring into the reasons of his uneasiness, but it's not unlikely much of that proceeded from *Smith of Methven's* brother being much with him at that time. He is now in a pretty good humour, for on your former advice, which I sent him, he has returned me very civil compliments and we are to meet in a few days. *Nearly 3 pages.*

The DUKE OF ORMONDE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 24.—*Jerningham* came here yesterday. He designs staying here till Wednesday's post comes, expecting to hear from *Dr. Erskine* by *Sir H. Stirling* in answer to a letter he wrote to *Dr. Erskine* from *Holland*. According to the answer he will take his measures, but, if neither he nor *Ormonde* hear from *Sir H. Stirling* or his friend, he intends to proceed to *Petersburg*. I wish the pains he has taken may not be lost, but I fear it.

(About money not being wanted immediately, as in his letter of the 21st), for should *the Czar* and *the King of Sweden* adjust their accounts, which I do not see much likelihood of, and *the King of Sweden* should be willing to join in our stocks, he could not attempt anything before the latter end of October, the fleet of *England* not leaving the *Baltic* until mid[d]le of that month.

Ormonde wishes that *the Elector of Hanover* does not spoil all by advantageous offers to *the King of Sweden*.

As *Ormonde* mentioned in his last, he cannot but believe that these broils in *Europe* must produce some good to *the King*, for it seems impracticable, if the war go on, that *France* and *England* can be good friends. I suppose *Sir H. Stirling* gives you an account of what passes in *the Czar's Court*, which has been very extraordinary.

I have not heard from *Sir H. Stirling* since his of 31 March, and have had but two letters from *Dr. Erskine* since I came here, his last being of 14 Nov. O.S.

I hope *the King* will think of *marriage*. It is what all his relations desire of him.

The DUKE OF ORMONDE to [LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON].

1718, April 24.—(About Jerningham, as in the last letter.) I suppose you must have received mine of 24 March with a copy of *Sir H. Stirling's*. In that letter you will see there is no present want of *money*, so I believe you will have wrote to our *friends in England* to *contradict* what you desired *George Kelly* to tell them concerning their getting the *money* with all haste. (Reasons why money is not wanted immediately and hopes that the Duke of Hanover will not make good offers to Sweden, as in the last.) *Ormonde* hears that *General Ducker* is gone back from Sweden to England. I hope to-morrow's post from *Riga* will bring me some news from my friend *Dillon*. *Ormonde* told me he was impatient to be informed of the *Emperor's answer to the Duke of Hanover*. My compliments to *Queen Mary*. When I have heard from *Sir H. Stirling*, you shall be informed of what resolutions I take.

JAMES III to CARDINAL GOZZADINI.

1718, April 24. Urbino.—I cannot let the Abbé Rondoni return to you without testifying that he has acquitted himself here of his duty of preacher during Lent with universal applause. I could not attend his sermons, as I should have wished, because I am not sufficiently good at Italian to understand him well at a distance, but he preached one at the Capuchins, where I heard him from near with pleasure. On giving me your letter he faithfully discharged the duty of delivering all the obliging expressions you had entrusted him with, for which I return my most sincere thanks. *French. Entry Book 1, p. 234.*

CARDINAL DE NOAILLES to [JAMES III].

1718, April 25.—If I did not fear to trouble you, my letters would be more frequent. *Cardinal Gualterio* has sent me your letter of 15 March, which I received with much pleasure and gratitude. “Je suis tres fâché du besoin ou vous etes tousjours tous d'*argent*, mais il est tousjours tres difficile de venir a bout de ce que l'on souhaitteroit sur cela. *Le Duc de Noailles* n'a plus que de la bonne volonté et point de pouvoir. J'en ai encore moins, mais nous ne laisserons pas de faire, l'un et l'autre, tout ce que nous pourons. Il est bien certain que *la Reine* ne neglige rien, mais les obstacles sont si grands, qu'il est difficile de les vaincre. Quand elle s'approchera de ce pais, nous pourons prendre des mesures, et il ne tiendra pas a moi qu'elles ne soient efficaces.

“ Il court des bruits qui me resjouissent, j'en attens la confirmation avec grande impatience. On disoit aujourd'hui que *le roi de Suede* est a *Ecosse*, et qu'il a des amis considerables avec qu'il est lié, qui l'aideront a soutenir la cause qu'il entreprend d'appuier, et qui pourront bien la faire gagner. Dieu le veuille et fasse enfin rendre justice ; Il le fait souvent dans le tems qu'on s'y attend le moins.

“ Je voudrois bien que vous n'eussiez point de desagrément du coté de *le Pape*. J'avoue que j'en suis touché, et que je ne m'accommode point que Pivot (les Protestants) vous serve mieux que lui, mais je connois votre foi et votre courage, et, soit que rien ne vous abbat, que vous profités de tout pour votre salut. C'est la plus grande de toutes les fortunes, et la gloire la plus solide qu'on puisse acquerir. Je ne vois rien de plus consolant que cette parole par laquelle St. Paul assure si fortement que tout contribue au bien de ceux qui aiment Dieu. Il n'y a donc qu'a l'aimer pour changer les plus grans maux en biens, et les adversités de cette vie en des prosperités eternelles. L'affaire personnelle, dont vous croiés que le decision ne sauroit beaucoup tarder, n'est plus secrette. Je souhaite fort qu'elle finisse promptement et heureusement.”

I did not know that Mr. Inese was removed from the business with which he was charged. As you were the sole author of it, I do not doubt it was with good reason. I will keep it secret most religiously, and shall not be less desirous to procure for his brother all possible advantages. I praise God that your health is so good. 3½ pages.

FANNY OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 25. Paris.—Since I wrote last post, we received a long letter from my m[other]. I send you the copy of the article relating to your affair, that you may judge in what situation it is. I wish it may please you and that you may have occasion now for his service.

The report continues so strong that you're gone that we were in pain for fear the letter we sent you last post were fallen into ill hands, but Mr. Gordon assures me that we need not be apprehensive. I wish to God the news was true.

Yesterday I met Col. Nugent in a company full of English. He was entertaining them with politics and assured them that now *Lord Ilay* and his relation had changed party, for they were disobliged, and it was a very happy thing that he could answer the master would give them a pardon, and a great deal more of the same nature but as a thing concluded on, for words with him cost nothing. I interrupted him and told him I knew those gentlemen very well and could answer that they would never be for any of that family, and that they would sooner be for the Turk than our master, and that they and you did not agree formerly nor never would, for they

did not love our master nor you. On that he said that all he had been talking of was pure conjecture, but that it was very extraordinary that I knew anybody of such a character. I told him that he that was a man of importance was right to be cautious of his acquaintance, but that I, that was very insignificant, did not weigh the qualities of every person I knew. The rest of the conversation was spent in his and the company's railing at them and Mr. Nugent's wishing to see them receive the fate of their grandfather. I told them I was persuaded they'd merit it. I don't know if I did right, but 'twas with a good intention, for, as he's the trumpet of St. Germ[ains], I thought 'twas better putting him on that scent. I'm sure he'll be big till he makes a story of it to our mistress, so I give you notice ont, for I've made him a mortal enemy to poor Lord Ilay. Lord Stair has bailed Douglas out of prison. *Enclosed,*

COPY OF THE SAID ARTICLE FROM HER M[OTHER'S]
LETTER.

Mr. ——— is not in town. When he comes, which will be in some days, I'll send him yours. I hope the young gentleman will think of returning soon home. His friends and relations are more impatient than ever to see him, and I'm satisfied the doctor (Lord Ilay) has so true a friendship and so great an opinion of him at present that he will make him his heir, though he's very shy in showing his good intentions to him, because he would give no jealousy to the rest of his relations, who are apt to be in furies against him on that head, because they begin to suspect it.

J. MENZIES to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, Monday, April 14[-25]. London.—Our public prints may always show you how the wind blows here, for they are most obsequious to the government, except sometimes that they blunder.

We have had for some days a flood of accounts of two very material points : 1. The Emperor's agreeing to all the articles as to Spain prescribed by England and France. 2. The Czar's declaration to King George against the Pretender and having anything whatsoever to do with him, but on the contrary no alliance with him, and the Duke of Ormonde and the other gentlemen there shall be all turned away. At first it was whispered that this was by a letter under the Czar's own hand, but the enclosed Postman gives it another turn, which gives the Jacobites a handle to say the whole is a fiction, to support our stocks and money matters, which were indeed tumbling, but now are up again a little higher. A few posts must show us more of these matters, but at present the Jacobites are sadly down.

There has been very severe search for Shepherd's speech, and a strange paper that has given great offence, The Character of the present Cham of Tartary, but we do not find that anybody has been found out, and many wonder why our great ministers should trouble themselves with Tartary, except it be to take a Tartar, as some are pleased to pun. The town grows extremely thin, parliament men all gone home, no trade but stockjobbing, and that is performed by brokers.

The SQUIRE (JAMES HAMILTON) to the DUKE OF
MAR.

1718, April 14[-25].—Our most remarkable news for some days was the Emperor's and Spain's accepting the mediations of France and England. This considerably raised our stocks, which were sinking very fast, and contributed mainly to the filling up the Bank subscriptions for 1,500,000*l*. About the same time Baron Bothmar showed a letter to a Dutch merchant in the City, signifying that the Czar had assured King George he had no thoughts of marrying his niece to the Pretender, nor of giving any encouragement to him or his adherents and that he had given orders to the late Duke of Ormonde and others there to depart his territories. These things strangely knocked down the Tories and Jacobites, who have nothing now to support their spirits but disbelieving these reports. Yesterday and to-day the stocks are on the decline. 'Tis certain, if a war should be with England and Spain, the public funds would not long stand without something more imaginary than their imaginary bottom, for the trade up the Straits is the only branch now left that is considerable to England.

I do not hear that K[ing] G[eorge] and his Highness are in any good way of being reconciled, for lately a scuffle happened between the Duke of Newcastle's footmen and his Highness'. The next day the Duchess sent a gentleman to make an apology, but the doors were shut against him, and orders were given to forbid the Prince from coming to Drury Lane playhouse. The 15th the Lord Chancellor resigned. Lord Parker or Lechmere is talked of to supply his place. We hear of six regiments to be sent to Port Mahon. *Undated, but date endorsed as above.*

LORD BALMERINO to JAMES III.

1718, April 14[-25].—I have little to say, save to inform you of my faithful humble service. As for the process you mention, I hope well of it, but I cannot form a very distinct judgment of it, till I get a more particular account, which I expect from your solicitor, and then no assistance I can give shall be wanting.

The BISHOP OF EDINBURGH to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 14[-25].—Having since last Christmas been sadly afflicted by a severe rheumatism, I have been in no condition to act in the affair you recommend to me, however much I have it at heart, but, now that I begin to recover, I shall exert myself with the utmost zeal in it, only both I and others of your friends want to know with respect to what particulars it is that we are to contribute to carry on your trade, for we may readily mistake as to those commodities you specially aim at, and much need particular directions.

The ties of my relation to *the King* are more binding on me than the late no less seasonable than obliging favour I had by his order on *H. Straiton* or any further prospect I may have by his prosperity, however I must own with the profoundest gratitude his being mindful of me. Because I have nothing at this time worthy of his trouble, I earnestly beg of you to make my most just and grateful acknowledgements to him.

QUEEN MARY to [the COUNTESS OF NITHSDALE].

[1718,] April 26. St. Germain.—“I am so guilty towards you in point of writting that I must beggin by asking your pardon for it, and assure you that it is not for want of kyndnesse, but I have so mucch to writt to the King that I seldom have time or strength left for other letters, and this I hope you will beleeve, and excuse once for all. I am sorry the King has not granted your request, however his letter is kynd and the leave he gives you to go, and stay wherever he shall settle with his Queen, I think ought to be accepted by you without your saying, that you will expect to be sent for, this I tell you as a friend, and only to yourself, for I would not so mucch as have you writt to your Lord that I say so, but only, that, when the time coms, you will make use with pleasure of the permission given you. The King had sent me your letter to him, and the copy of his to you befor you sent it me, for he knows the kyndnesse I have for you, and how mucch I wish you about his wife, as soon as he has one, for I writt to him about it befor you did, and I was glad to be able to tell him, that you knew nothing of it, nor had not asked it of me, as in truth you had not then, but I am sorry I have succeeded no better, and I desire nobody may know this but yourself, unless it be F[?ather] Maxwell, to whom I shall explain this matter, to shorten my letter, and only tell you that you may count upon my kyndnesse, whicch I shall always show you when in my power, but this matter dos not depend on me, if it did, you would have reason to be pleased, as well as with my giving you som succour in the hard circumstances you are in, if I were able to do it, but my own are succh, that at present I cannot give the least help to my best friends, which is no small grief to me, but, if ever I am in a better condition, you shall be so too.”

2 pages. *Holograph.*

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 26. *Paris*.—I came to town last night and an hour ago received the enclosed from *Ormonde*. His note to *Sir H. Stirling* is quite in the succinct style. I wish that may not be displeasing. *The Regent* has not yet received the *King of Spain's* final answer in relation to the *Emperor's* late concession. *James Murray* parted hence yesterday and I hope he'll be soon with you.

W. GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 26. *Paris*.—Acknowledging his letter of the 5th and stating that by *Mr. Murray*, who parted the day before, he had sent all the packets and letters then by him, and sending some which came since *Mr. Murray's* departure.

MONSR. STIERNHOCK to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 26. *Vienna*.—(The contents sufficiently appear by the following note.) 26 pages. *French*. *Partly in cipher*.

JOHN PATERSON.

Note of the preceding letter. He acknowledges Lord Mar's of 24 March and says he had sent an extract of it to his Court and directly to the King, his master, because he did not know whether it was proper in the present conjuncture to own to any of the ministers there his having a regular correspondence with Lord Mar. He had mentioned Lord Mar's good offices towards facilitating the peace, particularly by means of Dr. Erskine. He repeats his desire to know with whom of the Swedish Court Lord Mar has a correspondence. He will write hereafter in cipher and sign his letters Frank for fear of accidents. De Busi's cipher not being full enough, he desires Lord Mar will send him another, or he will send Lord Mar one. He mentions some letters of Comte de la Marek of 10 March, and that it is said for certain the King of Sweden is in negotiation with both the Czar and King George and will be determined by his own interest to agree with whichever of them he finds most flexible, that the Emperor is angry with the Czar &c.

SIR J. ERSKINE to JAMES III.

1718, April 15[-26.]—Expressing his joy and respect at receiving his letter.—I have been in pain from the reports that the *Elector of Hanover's* friends have often circulated about you, for, though I did not altogether believe them, I was much afraid, and now I see that there was something in them, but the very agreeable news of your good condition, of your health, and of the prospect of a happy marriage, and the hope you give me of my being able to kiss your hands have delighted me, but I shall be still more, if it shall please heaven to grant me my most ardent desires of seeing you in

all these points the most happy person in the world. "Le bonheur, dont Mademoiselle. . . veut bien prendre part, n'est pas si grand à mon gré qu'elle le croit. Il est vrai que des accidens m'ont arrive . . . par lesquelles le pouvoir de me nuire a été derobée à des gens, qui en avoient bien la volonté, par eux-mêmes, quand ils n'en croioient rien. Mais l'utilité de la seule circonstance de ma vie, par laquelle je croiois vous pouvoir un jour servir à quelque chose, m'a été volé par la trahison d'un malheureux et sans l'esperance de quoi je ne m'aurois jamais scu resoudre de quitter ce que j'estimois mon plus grand bonheur. J'ay pourtant le plaisir de me voir cause qu'un qui me hait ne tire point d'avantage d'une affaire, qui sans moi aura, peut-etre, rendu à quelqu'un de ses amis plus que je n'aurai pu bien entendre avec plaisir, quand même ce n'étoit pas grande chose. Cette affaire est à l'heur qu'il est en proces entre nous, et, quoiqu'on croit de voir bientôt un propriétaire qui ne sera pas si rigid, on m'a persuadé de finir le proces au plustot, ce qui je tache de faire avec empressement, quand même il me couteroit bien cher, puisqu' il est possible mais loin de certain, que quelques mois d'avance en cette affaire pourra donner à moi et à mes amis un plaisir qui vaudra bien le depense. Mais quel que mon sort puisse etre en cette affaire, qu'il m'en revienne du bonheur . . . ou du chagrin, cela n'otera rien de l'extreme grandeur de l'obligation que je vous en dois." My inviolable attachment to you will end only with my days and will have no other limits than those of my power.

"Permettez, que je vous felicite sur votre bon gout en fait de musique. Mais, s'il y a ce changement en vous, il y en a un bien plus grand en beaucoup des gens sur votre conte, depuis que j'ai eu l'honneur de voir, qui ne songoient guère à vous en ce tems là, mais à l'heur qu' il est se rejouiroient avec moi de vous voir à l'opera en Haymercatt prenant plaisir en nôtre musique à la manière Italienne et de vous y voir la bonne fille, que Mademoiselle a nommée dans sa lettre, . . . iroit cent lieux à pied."

The orders of which Mr. Manley (? Mar) has informed me shall be followed, as far as I can. 2½ pages. French. Enclosed in the next.

SIR J. ERSKINE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 15[-26].—Explaining why he had not written oftener and acknowledging his letter with *the King's* of 1 Jan. enclosed.—I need not tell you my satisfaction from the remembrance of that friend, and I hope you will help me with such a thankful acknowledgement as it deserves, and that *he* will bear with any escapes which the want of the thorough knowledge of the language and the way of writing the enclosed may occasion.

I was mightily pleased to see your hand-writing again, though I drew no bad conclusions from your silence, for I reckoned

there had been some part of trade fit to be concealed, but, though it is not altogether so, yet the prospect of the co-partnery's affairs being soon in a very good way was very agreeable, and the more for what *the King* says on that head as well as to his establishment in the way of doing well. Some aver positively it's in *the Regent's* family, others in Mr. Mansfield's (? Duke of Modena's), some, but few, pretend to be let into the secret of its being in *the Emperor's* house, because though *the Elector of Hanover*, say they, and *the Emperor* seem to be in the strictest friendship, that's only carried on to prevent suspicion, and others confidently affirm it to be in *the Czar's*. Whatever I guess, I say nothing, nor am I in any uneasiness about it, because I know *the King* so well and that he is so perfectly able to judge what is best, that all his friends may rest satisfied that he will do what is fittest for him in his present circumstances and will tend to the real interest and good of his family. May it be soon and happy!

I am so far from envying you the good entertainment you and my namesake received at *Venice* that, though I would have been very fond to have been of your party there, and yet more so when you found that good old acquaintance you mention in such perfect health, yet I think all the pleasures and comforts you can have are little enough, when you are taking so much trouble for the good of your friends. I was mightily pleased you were so well diverted too where you then were and so merry even without drink and return my thanks for the specimen you let me share of it. My neighbour in the coalpit, as you call him, shall very soon have it, and then we shall make a rehearsal, though I'm afraid it will be a sorry one. However, we'll make up the rest by drinking all your healths, in Burgundy I cannot say, but in as good Bordeaux as need be, and, though I never exceeded much that way, yet I never lived so sober in that article in all my life, though a body would think to drown care one would now then have "recours

Au prompt secours
Que contre la tristesse
Le vin, le dieu des amours
Offrent sans cesse."

I am sure long ere now you have one I sent under *H. Straiton's* cover. I am still as earnest to do service in the affair of the *money* or what else may be useful to the co-partnery, as you can imagine, but the salt (? silver) affair, which should chiefly have enabled me, has hitherto by our friend Johnson's (? Haldane of Glenagies) kind doings been a charge to me, but it will, I hope (I mean the salt on hand) soon yield something, though 1,000*l.* sterling less than it would have done, had Johnson been where he well deserves to be. However, I will most cheerfully do what I can. Mr. Skinner (? H. Straiton) and I were both of your opinion as to the manner of providing the *money* and that a less quantity sent to the right mercat,

before others learn the knack of that trade, will yield more profit than a much greater quantity if the trade come to be understood, and so you may be assured of its being done cautiously.

Sir J. Erskine is endeavouring to renew his lease of the salt pans (? silver mines), which he's advised he can procure by law. What success he will have, or whether he's in the wrong for endeavouring it with this landlord, I shall not say, but all his friends concur in advising it, because, though the salt trade be now much shut up by the northern war, yet, if he can have his lease finished, and but some few months' salt on hand, when the trade comes to be opened, it may be more valuable than several times so much afterwards, and he's so much convinced it is so, that he spares neither pains nor charge to compass it, and only the hopes of that can comfort him for having lost the company of his dear friends he left at *Avignon*, which he as often repents, as he has grounds to fear stops to be put to that affair, which made him think of taking that resolution and then again grows easy when he gets hopes of ending it.

Ely (? *Sir J. Erskine*) spoke to Mr. Skinner about meeting with those merchants to talk of their common concern. He has no difficulty to do it with anybody *the King* employs, nor by what Mr. Skinner tells me, have they, I believe, any as to him, and I believe in some days some of them will meet about an affair which Ely has much at heart, relating to a gentleman you mentioned to Skinner called *the Highlanders*, who so much wants necessaries at present that even bread must be provided for him; but, as you well know, he's a greedy fellow and would be sure, if he believed other people were taking care of him, to endeavour to have it for nothing. It must be so ordered as to make him thankful and pay the merchant too, which I hope may be done, but have it he must, for without it he cannot stir half a day's journey from his own house, which were pity, for you know, he's a rumbling, useful fellow and can serve his friends in his own way, and never could there be a better conjuncture for setting trade afoot, if once you had settled matters with your foreign partners, for, though that company you have most to fear as rivals be strong in the family of the *Harrisons* (a thousand men) and want not *money*, yet all the partners are so terribly divided in factions and parties, and so heartily hate one another, that I believe even the loss of their trade could not frighten them into an agreement, and I suppose *Argyle* would never be so hearty as formerly (and then *the Highlanders* could do something), if I may guess by some of his friends, who to myself wished for an opportunity to resent their own and his treatment by *the Elector of Hanover*, but how far they are to be trusted I shall not determine.

The treaty with the Czar and the King of Sweden has been much longer on the anvil than we thought could have been

expected, but I suppose, at least I'd fain hope, it will soon be ended now, and that nothing but that stops their advancing their share of the stock for trade. I'm mightily pleased *Dr. Erskine* has the occasion to do service; I always was sure of his good will. I haven't heard from *Sir H. Stirling* nor him, since *Sir H. Stirling* left *Holland*, but I often hear of their being well and going on in the same way. I reckon *Ormonde* hears pretty often from them, who are now at Mr. Skelton's.

May his message succeed and the Company's affairs be bettered by it, and so I hope they will be by the *King of Spain's* difference, which is probable will soon appear with the *Elector of Hanover*. You would be surprised, if you knew how far the *Elector of Hanover* is in disrepute even amongst his own friends. *The Prince of Wales*, who, you know, is just as cunning as himself, has got some of them, but many more who appeared fond of both are now very indifferent to them and weary of their company as well as they are of the *House of Commons*, whom they think a rascally fellow, and believe the *Elector of Hanover* and he will never part, but, had the *Prince of Wales* acted with as much spirit as *Argyle* would have had him, the *House of Commons* would have been sent a packing. However, if he soon get the *King's* pass, it will be as good.

I was very vexed when I saw *Mar* had been in such perplexity about *Lady Mar's* affairs here, because, though they have not been so punctually discharged, because of some unforeseen difficulties, as I'd wish, yet they are far from being in the condition he imagined, as you'll find by the enclosed from *James Erskine*, to whom I read that part of yours as I had also done to *David Couley* his partner (? *David Erskine*, Lord Dun) and that occasioned *James's* writing thus. I have already written to *Lady Mar* how uneasy *Mar* had been, and what he desired of *Sir J. Erskine*, assuring her that she could not oblige him more than by laying her commands on him in anything he could serve her in and that her security was most undoubtedly good, unless Mr. Johnson's son *Duddel* (? *Drummond*) and his worthy society did her most palpable injustice, for, before the *House of Commons* gave them this new warrant, by which I doubt they'll prove uneasy to many I'm in great concern about, her affairs were putting on such a foot as they could not have failed to go as just as any pendulum clock, but what effect that may have as to arrears or in time coming it lies in their breast only to tell. I saw to-day Mr. *Rait*, who is just getting out of his painful rheumatic disease. He says he wrote to *Mar* about two months ago and gave it to *H. Straiton*, the factor. He desired me to tell *Mar* that he hopes in a few days to remit *Lady Mar* what will make her perfectly easy and added that he believed *Duddel* and company would be so far from disordering her affairs that they would make them as right

as I could wish. I heartily wish the event may answer his expectation. Jo. Morrice (? Erskine) was in some concern about his woods, parks, and policy, of which he has now turned greive. I have lately heard of sweet Tam Morrice's being very well. Those of this country *Mar* mentioned often remember him very wishfully. Poor Frank's family are much distressed by the loss of the two young handsomest lasses.

I hope to hear from or of you sooner than you can get this, by what your brother[-in-law] with *Holland* (i.e. Sir H. Paterson) told Mr. Skinner. 6 pages.

JAMES III to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, April 27.—Yours of the 4th to *the King* and to *Mar* are come safe. You will, I suppose, know before this that *Jerningham* is gone to *Ormonde* and I think he has been very much in the right, as he also prevented your directions as to his leaving *Holland*.

Our late accounts from thence you will also be sure to have had. They are comfortable and we may now reasonably hope *à quoy nous en tenir*. I send you not *Ormonde's* to me, there being nothing material in it but his explaining what he said before about *the Czar's daughter*, who is, it seems, *daughter* to the present wife born before marriage and during the life of the first. This is what he has heard; he adds that according to the custom of that country *she* has, though born before marriage, been made legitimate. Pray forward the enclosed to *Ormonde*, who seems to be in very good humour, though in a dismal place and way of living. I think you should let him know we can expect no good at present from *the Regent*, for such disagreeable truths 'tis fit both he and our friends with *England* should be acquainted with. I am though in hopes in a few days to send him some comfortable account in relation to *the Pope*, about whom I did not care to write but on sure grounds, and those we are like to have soon as appears by the Italian letters I send *Queen Mary*. I think I always forgot to mention to him that some months ago I had *Luc[c]a's* pulse indirectly felt in relation to *the King's* living on his small estate, but I found that gentleman's great dependence on *the Emperor* made that impracticable at present. I should be very sorry this last should make up entirely with *the King of Spain* and think you do well to inform *Ormonde* in general of all those matters.

I am very glad *George Kelly* with his cargo was at last arrived and shall be very impatient to have a return to it. You are very much in the right not to be uneasy about the story of the picture, for friends will soon see they have no reason to complain of you. It is a very unaccountable story indeed; I shall endeavour to come at the bottom of it, and certainly disapprove the conduct of the authors of it. I cannot but remark here that I have heard no more from *the King of Sicily* since what I wrote to *Queen Mary* about him. His silence is,

I think, remarkable in this juncture, especially considering that his last letter denoted the contrary.

You did very well not to communicate to *Inese* my letter of 25 Feb. about himself, and as well to leave in his hands my order about the delivery of my papers, which 'tis very reasonable he should keep. I should be the more concerned at the ill reports you mention to be spread at *Paris* about him, had I or mine given any occasion for them. His conduct on that occasion is very commendable, and, if your discountenancing on occasion such reports can do him any good, you will do well to do it, for it was never my intention that his exclusion from business should be looked on by the public as a disgrace.

On second thoughts, if there is time to get *Ormonde's* letter to me copied you shall have it this post from *Mar*, whom I expect back in a few days.

The Czar's domestic affairs make a great noise. All I know of the son's extravagancy is his having carried from *Bologna* some months ago 22 dogs.

I suppose you know the part *Barry* of *Bayonne* has acted. I do not see any hurt it can do, and, now the parliament is up, I believe they will not think it worth their while to make a plot of it, though they could. All the effect it can have will be to make the knight (*Sir Peter Redmond*) now employed in it go the more cautiously to work, for you easily see the ill consequence it would be, should *the King of Spain* be able to tax us at present with any light or imprudent proceeding. If the knight be with you, you will do well to preach a little prudence to him, and in the meantime *the King of Spain's* agent with *Rome* shall be informed of what relates to *Barry's* affair, to take away all handle of complaint that might thereafter be made against me in that respect. I cannot but be in great pain for your health and beg you to take great care of it, and not to apply more than is absolutely necessary, when you are unwell. 4 pages. Copy in *Nairne's* hand.

THE DUKE OF MAR TO JAMES III.

1718, April 27. *Rome*.—As I told you in my last of the 20th I intended, "I went next day to *Frescati*, where I was so pleased with the place, by its natural as well as artificial beauties, and by its putting me so much in mind of *Richmond*, a favourite place to me, and not unlike another I am more nearly concerned in, that I could not persuade myself to leave it sooner than Saturday, and then, being so far in the way, I thought it better to go from thence to *Tivoli* than to return here and make a new work of it, which would have cost me a day more, so we went there on Saturday afternoon, but by no means did I find that place to come up to the beauties of the other and we returned to town on Sunday. The good Cardinal came to me that night without sending before and told me that the Pope desired to see me on Tuesday forenoon,

so, when that time came, to Montecavallo I went with Mr. Stewart just as the Cardinal had directed me in all. When I came there, Cardinal Aquaviva was with his Holiness and was in the outward room as I was carried in. We bowed to one another only as I passed, I not being sure it was he, but after I had passed he made a compliment to Steuart about me, so that I find myself obliged to go and wait on him upon this, beside other reasons, before I leave this place, as I told our Cardinal to-day, who is to make the appointment. His Holiness was exceeding gracious and not a little facetious. Steuart explained in Italian what I said in English and *vice versa* to me. You'll easily imagine that most of what passed was in relation to your Majesty and his beloved Urbin, which last puzzled me a little. He spoke of my liking architecture and made me a present of the Book of St. Peter's, which he had lying ready on his table, for which I returned the best Scots compliment I could. Upon his expressing his great desire to serve your Majesty, and his wishes that the settlement of the affairs of Europe may terminate in your restoration, I thought it was not amiss to tell him that I was sure your Majesty did not doubt of his good inclinations and that I was almost morally sure that within a twelvemonth from this it would be in his power to restore you, with which thoughts I was the more pleased, because I was fully persuaded that he would omit no opportunity to serve you, which would not only be a great glory to him, but also by his doing so, he would have an opportunity of removing in a great measure the prejudices in England against the church of which he is head. This seemed to surprise his Holiness a little and after a little pause he made Steuart repeat it again and thereafter asked in how long a time I had said, which after his telling, his Holiness thought fit to say that I had told him good news, and that nothing which depended on him would be wanting ; to which I seemed in no manner to doubt of. A good deal of other discourse passed both of the affairs of Europe, of which in our part of it he seems not very well informed, and of bagatelles, and so we parted, in his charging me to assure your Majesty of a great many fine things. After that I called for Cardinal Paulucci, but missed him as I expected, so our Cardinal is to get a time appointed for that visit, as he is to do for that of Imperiali, who I thought to have seen to-day, but he is gone out of town, as Albani is, and return not till the end of the week. I am to see too by our Cardinal's direction Sacripanti as a Scotsman and to call for the two nephews, which are all the visits I think I shall make besides my old acquaintance Gheraldi, who has been with me often.

"I was with our Cardinal to-day and gave him an account of what had passed with his Holiness and I had the pleasure to have his approbation as to what I had said to him, thinking it right and well-placed and timed. I wish your Majesty may be of that opinion too, but, if it do no good, I hope it can do

no hurt. The Cardinal is to see the Pope on Monday, when he will see how he took what I said and I confess I long [to] know it."

(About his having been very much out of order in his stomach and the remedies he had taken.)

The weather here begins to be very hot, which they say is earlier than usual, so they expect a very hot summer and their apprehensions about lying out of Rome are already begun. Geraldini told me that a strong young fellow of his acquaintance, who had lain but one night out of town towards Ostia, had died of a violent fever, and this morning a cook we have got fell down dead on the floor and, though brought to life again by bleeding, is not yet recovered. All this is a spur to my leaving, but you would not, I fancy, think I would do right to set out, till I find myself pretty well, which just now I am a good deal from being. You will see it will take me all this week at least to make my visits. I think to take leave of our good Cardinal on Tuesday, when he will be able to tell me what the Pope said. On Wednesday morning the French post comes in and I wish to see the letters as they pass, so I propose to set out that afternoon or Thursday morning early, if I be as well as I hope I shall, and go the route mentioned in my last, unless I receive your commands to the contrary. I hope you will excuse the short time I am like to be longer absent than you proposed, and that no business will suffer by it. There will be no travelling, I fear, in the middle of the day to one who is not in a better way than I am, so my journey may not be so quick as I would wish, but I shall make all the haste I can and ask pardon for its not being sooner. I shall not be here to receive a return to this, but, if you have any commands for me, it is but addressing à M. Gerard to be left at any post on the road till called for. I have now seen most of what's to be seen here to my taste and I really long to have the happiness of waiting on you again, so I shall make all the haste I can.

I was honoured with your letter of the 17th at Frascati and with that of the 21st since I returned. My not coming to town on Saturday was the reason of my not acknowledging the first by last post, but I had little to say and hoped you would forgive my not writing and see the reason of it. I return *Dillon's* to your Majesty and your answer. It is mighty well. Enclosed is the Queen's packet and what I had to-day from Mr. Dillon and there's one from him to yourself in Nairne's packet. You will see by his to me how jealous he is about *Capt. Ogilvie's* going over and you know how little reason there is for it. It seems too he thinks he has been oftener there by directions of late, in which he is also mistaken, but of this kind we shall soon see more, I'm afraid, by the impressions that he has got. I cannot but take some notice of this to him, though I'll do it gently, and I am much mistaken, if I did not write to him of *Capt. Ogilvie's*

having gone over of himself without the knowledge of any here, as soon as I knew it, and expressed my being angry with *Capt. Ogilvie* upon it. If you think it worth your while, Paterson may look out the copies of my letters to Mr. Dillon and see if it be so.

The other letters I had I have sent to Paterson to be laid before you. 'Tis little I can make of them here for want of the ciphers, but I believe most of the answers to them will be time enough after I am with you. Your Majesty is very gracious to Lord Pitsligo, of which I have informed him.

It was no small pleasure to me to have your last in so good a hand by yourself, and, if you will be pleased to mind it but a little for some time, writing so will come as easy to you as ever or as the hand you commonly now write, which, forgive me for saying, mostly requires a cipher and takes away great deal of the beauty from the good sense as well as from the clearness and conciseness of the expression your letters always have without any compliment really in themselves. Be so good as to pardon this freedom, which is more 'tis like than others will use, whatever they think and much more, I know, than becomes me.

The more I see of this fine country, the greater pity I think it is that you should be in so bad a place of it during the time your hard fortune obliges you to continue here, which has made me be turning it in my head ever since I left you how to remedy it, if you should be forced to stay another winter, and, though you be, I hope your family will be increased and then, I am sure, your present habitation will be still more disagreeable, especially to the new comer. Besides what I ventured to write on this in my last, I have had several thoughts and projects, which I will not trouble you with now, but reserve them for talking when I see you, which will do better than by writing, only I must say that, if ill fortune oblige you to stay longer in this country, it is hard if things cannot be so contrived that you may at least have all the agreements it is capable of giving, but I would hope there will still be no occasion for these thoughts by your going soon where it will be more agreeable to you and all that belong to you.

If I understand *Mr. Butler's* letter right, I hope things betwixt the *Czar* and the *King of Sweden* are quite adjusted ere now, which I hope will soon produce good effects.

I think, and so does *Cardinal Gualterio*, that the *English fleet's* being to come to this place of the world is very lucky. It is impossible but it will make the *Regent* alter his way of thinking and doing, and, since he has none of the *French fleet* to send at the same time hither, I am persuaded he will think it necessary to send some of his *army* to prevent the *Elector of Hanover's* having it in his power to determine things as his caprice pleases.

Cardinal Gualterio told me a piece of news to-day which, I believe, was not expected by any, that the old lady who

formerly had so great credit with *the King of Spain* is allowed to return thither, by which people believe he and *the Regent* are in a good correspondence.

What has happened as to *the English fleet* will certainly make *the Emperor* more uppish and stick closer to *his* points than *he* might otherwise have done, and, though *he* should offer to renounce *his* claim, people here do not believe that *the King of Spain* will rest satisfied with that. 5 pages. *Holograph.*

THE DUKE OF MAR to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, April 27. Rome.—I have all yours, but have little to say in return, had I time, as I have but little, What's in Gordon's letter was all this day's post brought for you. It brought me some, which I send to be laid before the King, when he's at leisure. I cannot conceive who writes so familiarly to him as the two in Gordon's letter seem to be without anything being said of them to anybody. I have made little of the enclosed, not having the ciphers, but I hope to see them again with you before most of them require any answer and I shall have left this before I could have a return to this. There's another letter from Glendarule enclosed, so I shall have many of his to answer, not having had time to write to him yet. I sent yours to Gordon last post and wrote to Lord Pitsligo. I know not what Gordon means about your brother, nor have I heard any more about him since the two letters you mention sent to him last year. Tell Mr. Nairne I took nothing out of his packet but Mr. Dillon's to myself and there was none from O'Brien to him enclosing it.

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, April 27. Vienna.—M. Stiernhock having promised to send me to-day his answer to the Duke of Mar, I would not fail to accompany it with this to tell you, that there is a report here as if King James had suddenly left Italy, and the Grand Chancellor of the Emperor told a minister this morning that the Court had certain information of his departure for Livonia for his marriage with the widowed Princess of Courland, the Czar's niece. However, the Nuncio assured me this morning that his Majesty was still at Urbino and that all these reports were false. The English ministers here continue to represent to this Court the prejudice to the peace of Germany, should this marriage come about. The Emperor is apparently inclined to the interests of the Elector of Hanover, on account of the fleet, which he hopes to have soon in the Mediterranean to check the progress of King Philip, with whom, add the said English ministers, King James is in close friendship and perfect intelligence. In short, they do all they can to make the Emperor join with them in interrupting everything that may tend to assist King James. However, "tout cela reste icy

dans une certaine indifférence ” and I can assure you that Prince Eugene is always “ dans son intérieur ” for his Majesty’s interests.

Yesterday arrived here a courier from the French Court, who has brought but little good, and at present people here begin to believe that France is more and more in King Philip’s interests. The Emperor therefore endeavours to arrange peace with the Turks, which is looked on as certain, and, as all the plenipotentiaries will be at the congress within three weeks at furthest, I shall be able to advise you of what shall happen with regard thereto. The Czar should by this time be returned to Petersburg, and the peace conferences with Sweden are going on, though not with much success. The report of the escape of the Czarovitch is not confirmed ; on the contrary, he is closely guarded in a convent in Muscovy. *French. Partly in cipher deciphered. 3 pages.*

JAMES III to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 28. Urbino.—I was not surprised not to hear from you last post, for I reckoned you in the country, as I still reckon this will be my last to you at Rome, and that you will be back the 7th or 8th. You might have saved yourself some unquietness about your Dutch letters, for you will find nothing in them. I join to them two I received last Tuesday’s post. There was none from *Lady Mar*, who, I hope, will be well with you this summer. John [Hay] is in pain not to hear from his beloved. He is himself in a very good way and walks about with a white face as narrow as a knife. Clermont is in steel, so you see how the troublesome planets reign here, for the sun doth not spare us neither, but in recompense we have excellent white and red Burgundy besides our champagne, and good beer, small and strong. We have Tempesti with Italian *vaudevilles*, and the daughter of the Doge of San Marino with a voice that, I believe, will drive live guard man into her garret. If all this joined to curious weather be not preferable to old stones and brass, give me leave to say you have a very antique taste, but enough of bagatelle.

I bid Paterson write you the smaller matters, and here you have in different bundles your letters back and those to you with some I send you to bring back with you. You know I have retrenched remarks, but you’ll easily see one reason of my desiring you to forward to *Dillon* the copy I send you of *Ormonde’s* to me. I see no great need of sending him yours except to show confidence to *Dillon* and to let him see how well *Ormonde* and *Mar* agree. You’ll see what a noble blunder Oglethorpe has made. Pray make my compliments to your uncle (Lord Panmure), for his letter to me requires no answer, nor does, I think, his to you much. Did I not love myself and you, as well as I do, you would not have in me so exact a correspondent, but I hope our mutual friendship won’t have

much occasion to show itself in writing and that I shall soon embrace you here. I suppose you know our Cardinal has delayed his visit here a little as well as the apparent pleasing reason for it, though I am such an unbeliever that I never think myself sure with some people, till I have in possession the effects of their words. You'll do very well to see Perugia, if it be not too much out of your way, for I am such an Urbinist that I would fain have others convinced by themselves, that after Rome and Bologna the rest is hang choice. 3 pages. *Holograph.*

JAMES III to the DUKE OF ORMONDE.

1718, April 28.—I cannot but acknowledge myself your long letter of 3 March. It grieves me to find by yours to *Mar* what a dismal life you lead at Mittau, and the more when I see how little you regard any personal uneasiness, where the good of the trade is concerned, but I hope our present uncertainty will not be long by the accounts from Holland from Jerningham, who was going to you with Sheridan. If the last be any ways useful to you, keep him, as I have no immediate or particular use for him, I only ask him if he be useless to you. Dr. Erskine's ways are really unaccountable, but, if the wished union be once compassed, I hope all will go as we wish, and 'tis certain my going to Muscovy can never be advisable but on great and good grounds, such as the marriage, to which I own I should have great reluctancy, if the person be downright a bastard, but on all these heads I can say no more, till you send me further accounts, which I pray may be satisfactory, for I can send you nothing new from these parts, and I fear *Dillon* can give you no very good account of the *Regent's* dispositions. God send us better days and patience in the meantime and you all health and success. I am very well as I hope this will find you, but you must take great care of your health in that, I fear, sad climate, especially if you can't take much air. I expect the Duke of Mar back here next week and Cardinal Gualterio is also to be here about that time.

I made your compliments to Clermont and our poor good President, who received them with tears in his eyes and returns them heartily as does t'other. I refer to *Dillon* for everything. 2 pages. *Holograph and copy.*

BRIGADIER JOHN HAY to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 28. Urbino.—Thanking him for his good advice in his note to Paterson.—I shall endeavour to profit of it, though I can't think that doctors' opinions are always to be followed *à la lettre*. Yet I believe I shall be able to persuade you that I have given entire faith to them for once, which I don't yet repent and, I hope, shan't. I am now almost perfectly well. I beg pardon for not sending the enclosed last post, but I was so much out of order that I quite forgot it, and

so very busy cursing all physicians and quacks that I could think of nothing else.

The weather here is turned excessively hot so as to be troublesome, which, they say, happens very rarely here so soon. There is great appearance of the summer's being intolerable. We have had two of the President's nephews here from Florence. One is gone, the other, the Duke de Salviati's son, is here still. There is come to town from the republic of St. Marino a girl that charms everybody with her singing, and has touched Creagh so much that he says he would marry her, if he thought she would please the King, which I don't at all doubt of, as matters stand at present, for they say she is not disagreeable. Cristini will be here the beginning of the month. The King is perfectly well.

JOHN PATERSON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Thursday night, April 28. Urbino.—Since my last, which was, I believe, the 24th, I have read to the King the letters you transmitted me with yours of the 20th, most of which do not seem to require an immediate answer. If you think fit to write to Powrie or W. Gordon about that affair of Mr. Trotter's, 'tis well, but, lest you have no leisure to answer their letters, I have left mine to Gordon open, by which you will know the King's pleasure about it.

'Tis evident enough by Tullibardine's and Brigadier Campbell's letters that Barry must be a very abandoned rogue, but I believe that need give nobody any great uneasiness, for I don't apprehend he can do much hurt. As for what they write about the a[r]ms, that is now out of doors, being, as you know, put into other hands, and so I do not see what further orders you can give about them, till you have heard from Sir Peter on his arrival in these parts, or from some of these gentlemen after they have discoursed with him. I have though returned their letters, lest you should think fit to write to any of them. I likewise return Miss Fanny's letter. *Argyle's* brother is, I think, but in a very indifferent taking, but, when one reflects how that m[arria]ge was brought about and what part he has acted since its consummation, if ever it was consummate at all, one may say without being ill-natured he has deserved it richly. However, they say, there is never a great loss but there is some advantage to be got by it, and so his l[ordshi]p may now come to find out that the love of money is the root of all evil, besides that, while this process is depending, he'll have an opportunity of becoming experimentally learned in a point of the law, which possibly he might never have understood so well had this not happened, but I pity his friend Glendarule. Should this story come to his ears, it will break the very heart of him.

(Enclosing the letter from Vienna calendared *ante*, p. 282.) I wish their intelligence may prove false, but I begin to have my own fears about it.

The Jew must be a very strange, inconsistent fellow, if what Father Græme says of him be true, and the King thinks it may not be improper you let Mr. Dillon know what accounts you have of the Jew, that so he may be the more cautious about him.

His Majesty is to send you under his cover what other letters came for you last post, amongst others one from Sir Hugh Paterson. His Majesty will write you himself what he finds proper to be said on them, only as to that article in Sir Hugh's letter about Mr. Dundas he ordered me to tell you he would concert it with you, after you came here.

Will you pardon me for charging your packet with the enclosed for W. Gordon. It is from Clephan, I believe to his wife, and he's anxious to have it go safe.

You will see by Busi's letter he has forwarded yours to *Dr. Erskine*, though he does not mention by what canal. I wish it may go safe, and the rather because, if I remember, you in that letter recommended to *Dr. Erskine* to write more frequently to *Ormonde*, which I wish he may observe. The King is, I believe, to send you a copy of *Ormonde's* letter to him, which I have put into the Queen's cipher. I wish you may not think I have given you an unnecessary trouble in putting so much of it in cipher. It is, however, the safest side to err on, and, it being to go on to Paris, I could not well do it otherwise in case of accidents. Speaking of *Ormonde* reminds me that Macmahon some days ago said that Wogan had told him that *Ormonde* and *David Kennedy* were no more together and that he had reasons for what he said. This I fancied might be a mistake, but I begin now to think there may be something in it, because you'll see in *Ormonde's* letter to *the King* that he mentions a letter written by Butler to Wogan, and so it is not impossible but Wogan may have authority for what he says, and the authority too of a minister. (About the hot weather, as in other letters.)

Some few days ago arrived here a young lady of Bologna, who, they say, is pretty enough and sings to a miracle, as I am told by our virtuosos. She sang at a conversatione at Signor Bonaventura's the night before last, where the King was present and all his subjects except Sir W. Ellis and myself, and lucky it was for us. Never any lady, I believe, made a more universal conquest. Not a single man escaped her, I mean of a subject, for such as were not killed dead on the spot came home mortally wounded, and still there is nothing talked of but her amongst those that have life enough to speak at all. Of the wounded Nairne and Creagh seem to be in the most desperate condition; Forster was very bad, but it happened luckily to be his bleeding night, and there are now good hopes of his recovery. I believe, if Sir William and I had been there, we would have had our share of the common calamity. Sir William very justly pretends that the number of pensions should be reduced, as thinking it unjust to continue dead

men on the list, but this is not yet determined. I pray she may be gone before you arrive for fear of further mischief.

I wish you would order some of your servants to buy some paper, both for letters and warrants, a hundred or two of good quills, some good ink and two or three pounds of fine wax. This place affords nothing good of any kind.

Though I had nothing to say to Lord Panmure, I durst not take the liberty with him I sometimes do with others, so I have wrote to him and Sheldon under Gordon's cover. He is in a strange peevish way. I think the King told me you were to write to him, which I presume you will not find an easy task. I would not for something have been ordered to do it. $6\frac{1}{2}$ pages.

JOHN PATERSON to W. GORDON.

1718, April 28. Urbino.—Informing him that he had mentioned to his Majesty what he had recommended about Mr. Trotter in his of the 5th, but that the King can do nothing in that matter, having taken the resolution in general not to fill up any of these places when they fall vacant, and that but for this he believes Mr. Trotter would have stood as fair for that employment as anybody, for the King said he knew Mr. Trotter to be a very honest man and to deserve very well of him.

RICHARD BUTLER to [LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON].

1718, April 28.—Since my last to you of the 14th I had yours of 23 March. *Ormonde* writ to you the 24th. He has not yet received the *passes* nor any other news or letters from *Petersburg* since his last to you. He wonders much at the delay, considering how eager they lately seemed to send him away and the unusual uneasiness *the Czar* was said to be in at his being here. *Jerningham* is still here, waiting for letters from the same place, but, if they do not come next post, he'll stay no longer. I find by yours of 1 April that mine of 6 March got safe.

JAMES HAMILTON to MADAM (? the DUKE OF MAR).

1718, April 17[-28]. London.—I have yours of the 5th and delivered yours enclosed. The wisdom you lay at my door proceeded from that sense of duty I shall ever owe to *the King* and the warmth I bear to *Mar*. These only were my motives nor had I those hints at first from *Menzies*. I heard relations reasoning that way. I am in hopes and most ardently wish that all mistakes between *Menzies* and *Mar* are before this happily removed, and were the effects of a mutual friendship, because I've heard both express a peculiar desire for an interview in order to a right understanding, nor can I help thinking a good harmony between them of the last importance to their lawsuit. I had no power from *Menzies* to write on these

heads, and I was never inquisitive about particulars but always obeyed implicitly. I am afflicted at giving *Menzies* any grounds of diffidence of *Hamilton*. If any such thing was, it was a sin of ignorance, nor can I think how I gave cause to so heavy a charge, being tied to him by long and the greatest of obligations as well as to his indefatigable labours for what is dearest to me, besides being employed and daily entrusted by *Menzies*, nor can I ever forget the honour and trust done me by *Mar*, which makes me the more afflicted to hear of any misunderstanding betwixt the two.

I had the discontents I mentioned from other hands and those that have a just esteem for *Mar*, nor are they any secret, which *James Murray* can testify, if he pleases. I have reasons to infer they might originally have come from some interested in those at *St. Germain's* with the grumbling that was against *Mar*. Many came to town this winter that averred their being employed by some relation, and those spoke of things and gave characters according to their different views and benefactors. I have been frequently asked if I knew of such and such being employed in the family, which I answered in the manner I thought might lessen any credit being given to those imprudent reports.

It seems evident that *the King* will trade the securer, that many of *St. Germain's* are not concerned; but the manner it has been brought to bear God forbid I should judge, though I may own it will give a loose to some tongues, but whoever looks into what has been a long time passing from that quarter cannot in reason complain of another method being cut out, that every fair trader could not but wish for, and, though it should run high against *Mar*, as here I know it did, yet the thing itself cannot but have the approbation of all that are heartily concerned in that commerce. If *Queen Mary* approved or gave a tacit consent, few ought to complain, for, as *she* is the most considerable dealer in *money*, besides the attachment many have to *her*, *her* frank concurring to an end so very essential to *her* interest and satisfaction cannot but remove many difficulties, which certainly *Mar* would take a peculiar care of managing, it being what is naturally expected from his knowledge and judgment.

The Squire (*Hamilton* himself) assures me he has a grateful sense of the kind offers more than once made by *Mar*. The reason that induced him to solicit for a composition with his creditors was that he might be of some small use in *England*, which he could not imagine himself to be capable of anywhere else. Had he been told of the least inconvenience returning on *Lady Mar* for mentioning him to *the Duke of Kingston*, he never would have desired it, and what he has done in that I beg may give no offence, he being ignorant till yours came of any advice or method proposed by *Lady Mar*. His motives for pressing anything that way were that he might be at freedom to go about and gather up for *the King* and to

ease the burden he was and still is to *Menzies*. His case has been laid before *Sir W. Wyndham*, who intends to attempt something in his favour. *C. Kinnaird* is expected in town on Saturday, who will renew it, but, whether brought about or not, he is willing to obey your commands.

I am persuaded you judge right of *the Duke of Roxburghe*. What I can yet learn is no ways material, though he would have it thought to be otherwise.

What I said of *Lord Arran* and *Sir R. Everard* not having that attachment to *the Bishop of Rochester*, I heard from one or two belonging to *the University of Oxford*. I'll make it my business to learn more of that matter ; at present my informers are at Oxford.

Your young niece Francis (Mar's daughter) has been indisposed these few days, but now she is mending and is of a very sweet temper, a promising and beautiful child. Your nephew Master Frank (Mar's son) has been all these holidays at Mr. Newington's. Some weeks past I suspected him to be somewhat melancholy. I inquired of Mr. Falk if he knew or imagined anything of discontent or if he wanted what was necessary either for his improvement or pleasure. He told me he did not. I talked several times to the child to be cheerful and to imagine the best. At present he is fresh-coloured and very hearty and ordered me to send you his duty and that he wrote twice to you of late. Mr. Falk desires me to assure you that he never dictates or instructs him in one word when he writes to you. He is much concerned by reason you tax him with it. 4 pages.

COLIN CAMPBELL OF GLENDARULE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 29. Near *Bordeaux*.—I enclose a letter to you from *Glengarry*, which came under my cover and also his to me. You'll be content I judged right of him and to find him the old man. His letters are short, but very substantial and most sincere, for he will not fail in anything he promises, of which *Mar* has had some experience. I have writ to him, and any commands you have for him, if sent me, shall be forwarded, so poor *J. Macleod junior* has not been wanting, having, the moment he received mine to *Glengarry*, sent him an express, which has brought his return so quick, and now he has gone home himself to promote *the King's* interest amongst his friends and is to remain there, till he receives my advice to return. He tells me in his last he had sent my letter to *Campbell* [of Auchinbreck], from whom he had just then received a letter with the warmest expressions of his [good] intentions towards *the King's* interest, desiring [him], when he had heard from *Glendarule*, if [he could] be of any use to *the King* in that place to [let him know] of it, for he was soon to leave it, and begged him in his first letter to

Glendarule to make his compliments to *Mar*, to whom he was a most faithful servant. Now my letter is sent him, it's like I may hear ere long from him.

I find still in *J. Macleod junior's* letters that *Argyle* has been at much pains to make himself acceptable amongst *the King's* friends, which I continue to think no good symptom of his sincerity, having no permission for it or any direct correspondence with *the King* himself. Some time ago I wrote you my opinion of that gentleman and his friends, [and] had thoughts to say something more about him ; but [deferred] it, till I hear from you, and shall only mind you, that it were to be w[ish]ed that *the King* would take the first opportunity [of making] himself master of that jurisdiction at present pos[sessed] by *Argyle*, but really belonging to *the King* himself by all the law and equity in the world. This would make him thoroughly master of all the *Highlands* in *Scotland*. It is indeed a power only fit for him and no other, and, ever since *Argyle's* family had it, they have been undutiful, ungrate, and in entire opposition to *the King's* family, for it began only in the first years of *the King's* grandfather. Depriving him of that jurisdiction takes the sting at once out of that family and puts them on an equal footing with their neighbours, and I think it's their interest to want it, it having been most fatal to them, it having brought them to imagine themselves able to c[om]pete(?)] with *the King's* interest in those parts [and to] oppress their honest neighbours for w[h]ich some]times they had their rewards, so that they have [been] on the most precarious footing imaginable as well [as] undutiful, so I hope you'll agree I mean [no] harm to *Argyle*, when I wish what has been so fatal to his family should be taken out of his hands, after which I would gladly hope he might be brought to that just way of thinking and acting his predecessors were in, till they had the misfortune to have that jurisdiction in their hands, and to my knowledge the most considerable and wisest of his relations and friends wish him rid of it, and that it should return to and remain in *the King's* own hands. The expectations of its being so will be no small [motiv]e to induce all under that jurisdiction to serve *the King*.

I need say little [more of] it after I can tell you with great truth [that] no fewer than 450 persons, including gentlemen and commons, were executed by the sentences of that jurisdiction in the troubles of *the King's* grandfather, whose greatest crimes were serving their true master. You'll be pleased to advert in this, when *the King* gives his *indemnity* and, it's like, will be willing to make it as extensive as possible, and, though he should go 30 years back with it, I do not think it secures *Argyle* that jurisdiction, which was lost by his grandfather's crimes in the last years of *the King's* uncle. This I only hint that it may fall under your consideration, for I have no [know]ledge in those matters. It is my duty

to the King that prompted my writing about this so fully, and other considerations might have prevented my giving you any trouble about *Argyle*.

Glendarule thanks you for your advice about the old laird and will leave nothing undone on his part that can oblige him. *Glendarule* need say less on this; *Tullibardine* having writ to you so fully about it some days ago, who is most sensible of your kind advice, and we are to see the old gentleman very soon. *Glendarule* cannot find why he should be so angry with him in particular, for he never had any acquaintance with him till he met him at *Bordeaux* and was [far] from meeting him with any prejudice, though he could not in some things approve [of] his ancient way of thinking more than he does [of] *Glendarule's* modern way, but all that is over and [he] is now in pretty good humour and *Glendarule* and he will soon be good friends.

Brigadier Campbell arrived here last night and goes to-morrow to *Bordeaux* to see what can be done in the blind captain's affair. *Tullibardine* is not to remove from this till he hears of the gentleman you mentioned in your last, that was then on his journey to *Spain's* bounds, nor then, if his staying here can do any service. 4 pages. Torn. Enclosed,

GLENGARRY to the DUKE OF MAR.

The great honour of yours of a long time I had, to which I had returned answer, but was deprived of directions, but this under the cover of my friend fully assures that I am unalterably fixed to the captain (the King) and owe all the deference imaginable to the lieutenant (Mar), who was most civil and obliging to all, when commanding our garrison, and, if ever capable to serve him, at pleasure he may command me. 1718, March 19[-30].

The SAME to GLENDARULE.

Never lover longed to hear from his mistress more ardently than I did from you, for I was extremely anxious by reason of the storms at sea. It is true your consign (*J. Macleod junior*) informed me sometimes of your health, which was some comfort, yet not so agreeable as from your own hands. The traders of this poor nation and most unhappy in the union are at the lowest ebb, and, if others with their stocks would come and settle, we doubt but they would soon reap advantage, since money is the life of business in the hands of good merchants. Deliver or direct what is enclosed to the lieutenant (Mar) and assure him that neither by night nor day he comes to any harbour near me, but I shall wait on him. Though *Stuart of Appin* is returned home, I neither heard from him or saw him.

The DUKE OF MAR to JAMES III.

1718, April 30. Rome.—Since I wrote last post, I have been a good deal out of order, but I am a good deal better. I went yesterday to the Cardinal to concert our going, so that we might not incommode one another. Had I been well, I should certainly have set out to-morrow or next day to have been at Urbino as you direct, but in my condition I dare not venture it. The Cardinal offered to stay some days to let me get before him but, the weather being now very hot, and he to return again, I thought it would not be civil to detain him so long as I was afraid I should be obliged to stay. I told him my intention of seeing Caprarola and Perugia, which would detain me two days longer on the road, and that, in the way my health was, I thought I could not travel in the middle of the day, which, he said, was the case with him too, so none of us were like to make quick journeys. He has just sent his squire, the little Frenchman Arbaville, to tell me he resolved to set out Wednesday afternoon, and that, if I went Thursday morning, all would answer right. I am very sorry this brings me not to Urbino as you proposed before him, but I shall not be long after him, if I keep my health, and by Thursday morning I doubt not I shall be very well to begin my journey, so I have agreed to what he proposed and he's to send me the route to-morrow morning.

I have made all my visits save to the two Cardinals, Albani and Imperiali, who are out of town and will not, I believe, be back before I go, and I am now but seeing again for the most part, what I have seen already, so you may be assured my ill health is no excuse for staying longer. I hope there is nothing very pressing to write by the next post.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 30.—I received yesterday yours from Rome of the 12th. I am glad you are pleased with all the fine things you saw there and hope this will find you safely returned to Urbino and in perfect health. Mine is much better. My last to you of the 26th was very short and writ in great haste, the post being just on departure. I enclosed in it *Ormonde's* last to me of the 3rd with a copy of his note to *Sir H. Stirling* of the same date. I found the latter in a very succinct style and wish that may not displease *the Czar* and determine him to send the passports already required by *Ormonde*, which, I fear, would be of ill consequence at present. I wrote my thoughts very plainly to *Ormonde* on this head, but apprehend his party will be taken before my letter reaches him. I am told *Stair* had a courier from *England* two days ago and since takes great care to publish that *the Elector of Hanover* has received late assurances of strict friendship from *the Czar* and that *the Czar* has sent a pressing message to *Ormonde* to retire out of his territories. *Mar* knows the last part of this to be

true, which in my humble opinion is a great presumption for believing the first to be very likely. Be that as it will, *the King* and friends should be more active than ever in taking what measures can depend of them. The rest must be left to Providence.

The Regent has not yet received *the King of Spain's* final answer in relation to the new scheme of *union*, and, by the best information I can have, he does not expect it will be to his satisfaction. In this case *the English fleet* will in all probability go to the *Mediterranean* in order to act against *the King of Spain*. I am told by a good hand that *the Regent* is engaged to *pay the best part*, if not the whole *expense of this fleet*. I am also assured that the most *solid funds here will be seized upon* to provide for this fine *enterprise*, if it comes to execution, which occasions the present *non-payments* and may give rise to greater misfortunes, as several thinking people believe.

(Requesting that he should not be cited as the author of such news.)

I enclose my last letter from *Menzies* with the prints, and one for *Mar*, which I believe comes from the same hand. The post from *England* is not yet arrived, so I can say nothing of our friends there. As this goes by *Lombardy*, please let me know how many days it will be on the road. *Mr. Sheldon* will meet with great difficulties about what he writes to you of, except you assist him according to his request.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DOMINICK SHELDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 30. Paris.—I perceive I am like to meet with difficulty here in the recovery of the arrears of my pension, even though the Regent should order payment of them, for, though my share was comprised in the same *ordonnance* by which others have been paid these two years, my absence was still a pretext to hinder me from being put on the *etat de distribution*, as they call it, without which no money is paid out of the *Tresor Royale*, and the amount of my arrears is now so considerable, that it will make it almost impossible, unless I can find a friend in business that will help me, and the only one that can do it effectually, I am told, is Mr. Law, who has that esteem for you, that, if you would recommend me to him, he would get me out of the labyrinth I am like to wander long enough in here.

DESCRIPTION OF PRINCESS CLEMENTINE SOBIESKA.

1718, [April?].—The youngest daughter of Prince James Sobieski is allowed by her father, mother, uncle and indeed all the Court to have the advantage over her sisters in sense, discretion and evenness of temper. She is about 15 and by a very becoming modesty and engaging manner has gained the esteem and caresses of her parents and uncle, who are in appearance much more particularly fond of her than of the others. I have not seen an instance of [any] young lady

so much beloved and universally well-spoken of in [such a] numerous family. She has a certain grace in everything she does and that grace rather owing to a good-natured indolence [and] sweetness of temper than to airs, affectation or design, which [she] seems to leave with a great deal of carelessness to her sister [Char]lotte ; for indeed the eldest has no manner of pretension either [by] beauty or behaviour to vie in any respect with the other two. The distinction I make between Charlotte and Clementine is very obs[ervable] in that Court, for, though all the young Polish lords and gentlemen admire Charlotte, who has the advantage in size and beauty, they [don't] always agree in her character, except the person in present favour, which extends to no more than a preference in a party at cards, dancing or conversation, in which she is changeable enough, either out of a variety of humour towards them or because her parents, and particularly her uncle, who is somewhat whimsical, has a very nice eye over her behaviour. Clementine on the contrary seems to know herself so well and k[ee]ps so decent and unaffected a distance that, though no man makes addresses [to] her except those of regard and deference, everybody seems to love [her] and speaks the best things of her and even her uncle reposes on [her] discretion and is content to leave her to herself. He has a great inclination to the match and would of all things most willingly signalize himself and bear a part in the King's restoration.

Princess Clementine is rather something lower in stature than [the] King ; has light brown hair and a very good skin, black and lively eyes, that have a certain [amiable] languishment in the turn of them without any design or artifice. [Her fea]tures are rather genteel than very beautiful and in a just proportion [to her] person. Her face is somewhat lengthy by a certain fall towards her [chin like] her father, but plump enough ; her neck very good and rising [of ve]ry full breadth for her shape, which is slender. None of 'em dance [very] well and that is said by all the Court to be occasioned by the [want] of a good master, which is owing to a certain carelessness in the [Prince], who is of a very easy and even temper. The Princes and all the [Court], particularly Major O'Reilly, have assured me that the Princess [Char]lotte, who is of a very fine size and shape and about 19, [was] exactly of Clementine's at her age, which gives them all hopes of [her] growing tall. However, that may be, she seems already fit for [all] the purposes of marriage, though an addition to her size would be very [de]sirable. She looked a little paler and thinner than usual, while I was there, which some attributed to her fasting, but most to a female indisposition.

The portion of the eldest was generally computed to be 1,000,000 florins or 2,000,000 livres, which amounts to about 140,000*l*. [Englis]h, in which her jewels, which are very considerable, are to be reckoned. That of the second, they believed

would fall very short of that sum, and [as] the youngest is the darling both of father and mother, 'tis reported her's will be the most considerable, and her father has told Major O'Reilly that, if a certain match were proposed, he would go near to make it perhaps double that of the eldest. *Over 2 pages. Torn. The endorsement is gone except the date "1718." Though not in Wogan's handwriting, it must be by him.*

JAMES III to POPE CLEMENT XI.

1718, May 1.—This page will be insufficient to express the gratitude with which my heart is not only full but overflowing on learning through Cardinal Gualterio your generous intentions and promises in my favour. Your name will be concealed with the utmost secrecy. I long to find myself in a position to perform exactly the first condition your Holiness has imposed on me. You may rest assured that both your commands will be faithfully observed by me. It cannot fail to produce the best effects, for, as the want of the sum you know of has been my greatest embarrassment, so the certainty of having it ready will be the strongest argument to solicit the determination of the enterprise desired. *Italian. Holograph. Draft.*

JAMES III to CARDINAL GUALTERIO.

1718, May 1.—Nothing can be more just and well-founded than your reasonings in your letter of the 27th relating to the business of money. I am not surprised at the slight delay, but flatter myself that the next ordinary post will put me in a position to write to the Pope my thanks and my acceptance of the conditions imposed on me, after which I see nothing to delay your journey, but, that business being so nearly finished, you do well not to leave such a work incomplete, though the unusually early heat makes me wish the more to have you here, before it becomes excessive. On your first advices I made a sketch of a letter in Italian to the Pope, but I cannot flatter myself it is worthy of being presented to him. I shall write another in French and then you will give him the one you choose. In these I shall keep to generalities, but shall accompany them with an ostensible letter to you, in which I shall speak clearly on the subject of *the King of Spain*. I believe that will be enough, for I shrink from putting into a letter, which may be seen by several, the least thing that may appear a little hard on *the King of Spain*, though it be not so in reality, and it seems to me that, following the method I propose, it answers equally to the satisfaction of *the Pope* without wounding the delicacy I feel on that subject. Cardinal Paulucci's letter being only an answer to mine does not require one, but you will kindly inform me if letters of thanks ought to be written to him and the other two, when the business is finished. A few days will inform us of everything, and, if

it turns out as we wish, it will be doubly fortunate, for the peace of the North being, I reckon, made by this time, you will easily judge how much the assurance of the sum in question will facilitate the negotiations of him who watches over my interests there.

The Duke of Mar is charmed with the marks of kindness his Holiness has shown him, and not less with all your attentions, for which I thank you with all my heart. I believe he will do well not [to see] Cardinal Aquaviva. I am too sensible of the long continued friendship of the Princesse des Ursins, not to learn with pleasure all that has happened to her, and beg you to assure her of it from me on the occasion of the permission she has just received of living at Rome under the protection of Spain. I believe she hardly expected such a favour from the person who obtained it for her. If by chance the Duke has not yet left, I beg you to let him know I have received his packet of the 27th and am impatient of expecting him. I am to take medicine to-morrow; my health in general is good, but I am often troubled with bile. You know the Gospel says the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak, so in moderating the vivacity of the one, the other will grow stronger, if God pleases. 3 pages. *French. Copy by Nairne.*

JOHN PATERSON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 1.—Letting him know by *the King's* desire that he is impatient to have him with them again, and therefore presuming that, if he has not left Rome before this gets there, he will lose no time in coming.

JAMES III to the BISHOP OF LORETTO.

1718, May 1. Urbino.—Thanking him for his present of fruit and his letter of the 27th. *French. Entry Book 1, p. 235.*

CAPT. JOHN OGILVIE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 2. Dunkirk.—In my last I gave you an account of the manner proposed for conveying the packets, which, I assure you, is not to be relied on. Some time before I went over, I made an agreement with John^d Davis, the man *Anne Oglethorpe* proposed to me, which I send, yet, when I wrote most pressingly for him to come, he sent me word he could not, which is a fact, for he belongs to the Admiralty and must wait on them, when they have business with him. He is a smuggler, and now and then runs a present of wine for Counsellor Lacy, an Irishman, a great friend of Macmahon's, and it's he that recommends this Davis to her, so she is for having every trust put into the hands of the Irish against *Lord Oxford's* inclination, but rather than take the blame on himself he has laid it on me, for *Lord Oxford* was imposed on in the matter of removing me, but she is sadly afraid *Lord Oxford* should perceive that. Therefore she takes a great deal

of pains to justify herself and to make him and you believe she is my truest friend. As to the proposal she made of this man, first he is the sworn servant of the Government and has a yearly salary from them, and secondly it's the love of money makes him serve our interests, but it's all one matter to me how it shall be ordered, provided it be safe and well for our master's service. I shall always obey and pay, as far as the 600 *livres* will go. The articles between the first and me, I have also enclosed. His name was Peter Dun, of Irish parents, born and bred in Dunkirk, recommended to me by Mr. Gough. The salary is so little that there was a necessity for him to wait sometimes for merchants to have freights of goods to help him to defray his charges. This was certainly a detriment to the service. However, there's no more to be said as to him, for he has lost his vessel. Some goods were damnified on board him, and the merchants pursued him here before the Court of Admiralty, and, the judge being a relation of theirs, our poor skipper was condemned to more than he was worth. Mr. Gough designed to appeal to the *Parlement* of Paris, and we sent up the processes and prayed *Dillon* to send someone to give but half a crown to an advocate of the *Parlement* for his advice, if it would bear an appeal, but *Dillon* never so much as answered our letter till the time was expired and then the poor man's ship was seized, so about two months after you may see in the tail of *Dillon's* letter what he says, but I am persuaded he was not ill-pleased that the boat was lost, for it would be a satisfaction to *the Bishop of Rochester* and his friends that there were no way to correspond but through their hands, and *Anne Oglethorpe* is so much imposed on that she cannot see through it. Were it not for the sake of *Lord Oxford* and *Mar* and *the King's* service, I should not trouble myself about her actions, but tell her that everything she says or does was her wisdom. This would make her my sincere friend, as she is *Menzies'*. I have not patience nor the art to dissemble and play the politician, for my miserable education was amongst rustic soldiers.

Mr. Gough advised me to make a new bargain with the skipper we had first, and that his friends should buy him another ship, and that I should write to you to allow him something more than the 600 *livres* a year to enable him to serve us more punctually, so I have laid all before you and pray you to just do as you think most proper and let me have your orders. What I proposed of Capt. Urquhart's brother will not do, for I have a letter from his brother that he is gone to Petersburg with some other sea officers to serve the Czar, and his brother begs me to pray *Mar* in his name to write to the Czar's physician to recommend his brother. I wish it may be done, for the Captain is an honest man.

Now I am to let you see the reason *Lord Oxford's* letters did not go so quick as *the Bishop of Rochester's* or perhaps as you expected. I enclose Mr. *Dillon's* letter to me of 15 Jan. I answered

him the very night I received it that our boat was on the other side, but I should have a boat ready before the goods could be with me from him, and, if they were of that consequence he said, I should conduct them myself, therefore I prayed him to let me have the goods immediately and his orders. His letter was on the 15th and I send you one received from Father Græme the 18th, that there was a packet sent over by Francia, the Jew, which cost 10 *guineas*, so you see *the Bishop of Rochester's* was sent before he advertised me. However, I never heard from *Dillon* till I wrote up to him and repeated what I had writ in my first letter. I also told him I fancied he had sent the goods he wrote to me of, another way, or they would have been sent me before, and that I was well satisfied if they were sent, for I was not ambitious to be employed in anything more nor I was useful in, on which I received a letter from him of 12 Feb. which I send, that you may clearly see where the fault of the delays lay.

I cannot but advertise you of the behaviour of that fool, Ord, at St. Omer. A great many of those poor miserable men are gone over. Warrants are out for apprehending them, and messengers on the search for them. Some were apprehended and amongst them is Mr. L[e]onard, a very brave fellow. He will, it's thought, die, for no mercy is to be expected. Two are here; one is Mr. Charlton, a Northumberland gentleman, who had a good estate. Should he go home, nothing can save his life. The other is a very good seaman and a brave fellow, who surprised the castle of Holy Island. These two he has discharged and tells them he has Mr. Dicconson's orders to give them no more subsistence. I saw them both to-day. The tears ran down their faces. They are almost distracted for to go home and to be hanged or starve here or knock themselves on the head or beg their way to Urbino, and throw themselves at *the King's* feet, which will fall out, if W. Gordon be not caused to subsist them here. I know it cannot be any pleasure to *the King* to see those miserable men coming about him. They tell me they have had nothing for three months, so you may judge their condition.

I wish you would write to poor Father Græme. He is almost dead with grief to think you should be angry with him. He has a good many enemies for being suspected to love you.

I am 600 *livres* in debt, which makes me very uneasy. I was 100 *livres* out for a packet you sent me, just as our boat had parted. It was the one that came when *James Murray* was in the country, that the noise was about the opening of.

I was 100 *livres* out for the boat I sent for when *Dillon* wrote to me 15 Jan. Ours was then at *England*. The poor fellow Duncan was cut off from his subsistence at St. Omer, came to my lodging, fell sick and died here, after lying two months ill, so his expenses and his burial I was obliged to pay, all which has run me out, so, if there be any possibility to help me, I know you will do it.

I was at a stand whether to send this packet or not, having had so many accounts that *the King* and *Mar* were removed, but I concluded it was best to send, till you ordered me the contrary. I send some papers that are cried about to make you laugh. $7\frac{1}{2}$ pages. *Enclosed*,

CONTRACT.

*Between Capt. Ogilvie and Capt. John Davis, 6 Jan., 1718.
Calais.*

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to CAPT. OGILVIE.

This is in answer to yours of the 3rd. It's true I wrote to you to know if your boat was ready and that you made me the answer you mention. The enclosed packet addressed to Morley is for Mr. John Menzies from John (? the King) and William (? Mar): pray forward it without delay. I suppose the boat is still on this side, and do advertise you not to send this packet but by a sure hand. I presume the two letters you sent me for Trusty are for the Duke of Ormonde, that being his cant name in my cipher with you. Let me know the truth of this the soonest you can. William (? Mar) writes me word that new orders are given you to remain where you are. I am very glad of it, none being more fit to establish a sure conveyance 'twixt us and our friends the other side.—12 Feb., 1718.

FATHER GRÆME to CAPT. OGILVIE.

I was just going to tell you I despaired of Mrs. Ogilvie's arrival, when the letter you wrote me to-day came, by which I understand she is to be here soon. I shall certainly write to Mr. Davis by the first mail from this. So soon as he gets my letter, he'll certainly come here, according to the bargain I made with him. Francia says he hired a boat two or three days ago to send over a packet by, and that it was of such consequence he gave 10 guineas for it. If that be true, Dillon dispatched another packet by his canal, and durst not trust me with it, because he knows me to be too honest a man to play bouty with my friend. You ought to inform me what truth there is in the story of the King's illness. I have seen a letter of 29 Dec. from Urbino by which it appears he is in perfect health. It was the Swedish Resident in London that first alarmed us with the news of his being dangerously sick, and Stair's letters that warranted that false story. Stanhope Murray is still in town with me. He is a lad of very good sense, though not so much devoted to O[rmon]d as to our friend, Mar, because he alleges the first has not given so good proofs of his sincerity in the cause as the latter. He stays here in hopes I'll go to Dunkirk with him, but, if Mrs. Ogilvie does not come by Saturday next at furthest, I am resolved to let him go without me.—18 Jan., 1718. Calais.

SIR H. STIRLING to the DUKE OF ORMONDE.

1718, 21 April[—May 2].—I had yours of 19 April last post. I have written fully *all that we know* in these parts by two later than that of 31 March, which I find you received, and have nothing new to add, but that I herewith *send passes tho' not absolutely in the manner you desired*, since *in place of high Dutch they are writ in Latin*, which I hope, however, *will equally answer the end*, seeing it is universally understood in those countries through which the gentlemen are to pass, but how far it will be proper to go through the Emperor's country must be considered, since *by the late treaty between the Emperor and the Duke of Hanover the roads may possibly be rendered not so safe as could be wished*, whereas, *the King of Prussia and the Czar being perfect good friends, that road may not be so bad as Ormonde seemed to apprehend* in his of 30 March.

If anything be yet further wanted for Ormonde's convenience it will be as soon granted as demanded, since, as I have told you all along, *the Czar wishes nothing so much as the King's success*, tho' without previous agreement with the King of Sweden he cannot be in a condition to do him any service, and is very little apprehensive of what can be done against him while the King of Prussia stands his friend, which he makes no doubt he will do for their common interest. Copy.

GEORGE JERNINGHAM to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, May 2. *Mittau*.—I could not last post answer more particularly yours of the 3rd. I did not obey the first orders the Queen sent me, because it would have proved detrimental to our business, I not having then quite finished what I proposed in coming into *Holland*, which was to give *Prince Curakin* a true light of the situation of *affairs* in Sweden both in regard to them and us, “for, if this had not been done, the Czar would not have had any idea of our having an interest in those parts, which was the first motive that induced him to look our way, and, if he should conclude from my return that I had made an ineffectual expedition and that our *credit* and interest was totally lost there, he would soon change his way of thinking, and I wish he is not already inclined to other sentiments, partly from what has been mentioned and chiefly from the negligence of those about him, who ought with an indefatigable zeal suggest from time to time new matter of speculation to him. Hot heads must always be amused. *Prince Curakin* entered firmly into the merits of these affairs and plainly saw where the difficulty lay. I prevailed with him to represent these matters in the light he saw them in to the Czar, which he did, and joined a letter of *Jerningham's* in his packet, which he desired, lest he might himself forget anything of moment to us, and got the *Swedish minister at the Hague* to write to his Court to assure them of the manner we still employed for their service, that according to my promise given them I

was going to *Petersburg* to make the last effort, that letters from thence seemed as earnestly to desire an accommodation as they could wish. After this I had nothing more to do but wait till letters came from *Sweden* giving an account of *Görtz's* departure; and we had a true account from thence that he parted from *Court* 11 March in order to join the others already arrived at *Abo*, on which I left *Holland* and travelled day and night till I joined *Ormonde*, expecting to have met further intelligence at this place, but so unpardonably negligent is the correspondence from *Petersburg* hither, that there's no counting for it. We know not in the least what's doing below, but expect daily answers to our letters, on which I intend to proceed, if *the Czar* will admit the same. His uneasiness on *Ormonde* being in these parts seems to arise without cause. I hope it will wear off without any ill consequence to us. They have had new matter of speculation to work on since my return and, if they let the bribes and intrigues of *England* prevail, 'tis clear to a demonstration that all those great designs which *the Czar* is daily building at *Petersburg* will fall a sacrifice to that agreement. The goodness with which *Ormonde* carries on the justice of our cause is truly worthy of admiration. His long confinement in a miserable situation is no affliction to him. The patience and constancy with which he bears the notorious negligence of his correspondent is certainly without example. . . . A little more time will give us to know the situation we are in." 3 pages.

JAMES III to CARDINAL AQUAVIVA.

1718, May 3. Urbino.—Sending him an exact translation of Capt. Camocke's memorial and requesting him to send it to the Catholic King and get an answer to it as soon as possible. He can answer for Camocke's loyalty and courage. He has only answered him in general terms, not being able to do otherwise till he received an answer from the Spanish Court. The rewards promised appear somewhat large, but he may well believe that in that matter money should not be spared. What expenses the Catholic King may incur shall be re-imbursed him after the restoration. 4½ pages. *French*. Holograph. Enclosed,

The SAID MEMORIAL.

A former English captain at present in France, a faithful subject of the King of England and well-known to the principal officers of the English squadron going to the Mediterranean, has written to his Majesty to lay before him a plan by which he hopes a great part of that squadron can be engaged to declare for him and to join the Spanish fleet. For this purpose he proposes that a person of confidence be sent secretly to Madrid, authorized by his Majesty to communicate the plan to the First Minister

of his Catholic Majesty and to concert its execution with him, and that he be furnished with all the full powers and instructions necessary for treating secretly with Admiral Byng, commanding that squadron, or with such other English officers as he shall find disposed to negotiate with him.

He declares that this negotiation, if well managed, will turn to account for the service of the two Kings and will very efficaciously contribute to the restoration of the one and to the success of the other's designs.

This officer knows Admiral Byng very well, with whom he had at another time some confidential dealings in relation to the interests of the King of England, to which he did not appear too much opposed. and this is what has given him so much confidence of gaining him that he offers to succeed at the peril of his life, provided his Majesty gives him the necessary powers.

1. He demands that his Catholic Majesty consents to give a certain retreat in all the ports of his kingdoms to all English ships that shall declare for their lawful King and shall come with the intention of joining the Spanish fleet and serving the two Kings.
2. That the King of England write an obliging letter to Admiral Byng and promise, if he return to his duty and bring over the squadron under his orders, to give him the title of Duke of Albemarle, with which his uncle rewarded General Monk, and to grant him besides 100,000*l.* sterling to support that title and that the Catholic King will be guarantor of that promise.
3. That he be authorized, if the Admiral be intractable, to make the same offers and promises in his Majesty's name to such other officer as may be second in command and who shall be inclined and able to render the same service.
4. That he be entrusted with a circular letter to all the captains of the squadron to encourage them to return to their duty and with a declaration of his Majesty to engage not only the officers but the sailors to quit the Usurper's service, promising each rewards in proportion to his rank and the service he shall render, provided he declares for his Majesty within a time limited by the declaration.
5. That his Majesty should empower him to offer to every captain of a ship of the line, who shall declare for his Majesty and bring his ship into the service of his Catholic Majesty 20,000*l.* sterling, to be paid by his Catholic Majesty on the ship he commands being brought into his service and also a commission as admiral: to every lieutenant of a ship of the line, who shall seize his captain and shall have sufficient credit with the other officers and the crew to master the ship and bring her into some Spanish port a commission as captain to command the said ship

with a knighthood and a reward of 5,000*l.* sterling to be paid by his Catholic Majesty : to other inferior officers, who shall do the same service and bring their ships into a Spanish port, a promotion in proportion to their merit, a medal and a reward of 2,000*l.* sterling and finally to each sailor, who shall leave the Usurper's service, 5*l.* sterling and payment of all his arrears.

6. That his Majesty write a particular letter to a captain named Scott who has much influence in the fleet and promise to make him an Earl and Admiral of the Blue and to have him paid 30,000*l.* sterling when he shall join the fleet or come into any port of Spain and shall declare for the two Kings.

This officer concludes all his proposals by demanding an inviolable secrecy, and that his Britannic Majesty lose not a moment in taking his resolution and sending him his orders accordingly, because time presses and speed is as necessary as secrecy to assure success. French. 3½ pages.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 3.—I don't find that *the King of Spain's* answer is yet come and am still assured that *the Regent* does not expect it will be to his satisfaction, which is no small trouble to him. *Kelly* writes to me of 14 April (o. s.) that I shall soon hear from *the Bishop of Rochester* in answer to the last cargo. He says also that friends with *England* are much disheartened on account of their notion of *the Czar* and *the King of Sweden's* coming into *the Elector of Hanover's* measures, in consequence of which *Ormonde* has received orders to depart from *the Czar's* territories. The ministry there publishes those facts with affirmative circumstances to justify their truth. All the prints from *England* do the same.

Sir Peter Redmond is still here and intends to part for *Bordeaux* the 10th. I gave *Tullibardine* an account of this and shall observe your directions in regard to the former.

Queen Mary was taken ill with the ague last Sunday night and had a cold and hot fit, but I hope it will be no great matter and that *she'll* soon be well again. I am very sorry for the accident *James Murray* met with on his journey, which is very uncommon in this country.

WILLIAM GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 3. Paris.—I had yours of the 12th. The enclosed was delivered to Earl Marischal and the other for H. Straiton forwarded, and I shall make him understand it by writing to my friend at Edinburgh to speak to him, by whom already some money is paid by Mr. Dicconson's order in part of the pension allowed by the King for Lady Dundee and the rest shall be forthwith ordered to make up 100*l.* sterling.

I have not heard anything from C. Kinnaird about the two trunks or boxes. All care shall be taken to get them safe here. I shall write to R. Arbuthnot and R. Gordon in case they be sent without my being advised. You shall be acquainted when I hear anything about them, and they shall be carefully kept till you order how to dispose of them. If they be bulky, I'm afraid the Custom House will break them open and search them. Brigadier Hay's lady is on the road 'twixt this and Calais, but not yet come here. Money for the subsistence is very much wanted and many are much straitened for want both of credit and money. Mr. Dicconson can't give it till he receive it and that's very uncertain.

JAMES III to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, May 4.—Though I have been and am still a good deal out of order, I shall answer as fully as I can yours of 12 April to *Mar* and me. A very little reflection showed me the importance and usefulness of Camocke's proposal, but, as nothing could be done but in concert with *the King of Spain*, the first step was to apprise him and accordingly an ample extract of his memoir has been made and a letter to accompany it writ to *the King of Spain's* man at Rome. Both shall be sent on Friday and a copy of the letter will be sent to *Queen Mary* by *Booth*. This was all that could be done as yet, and you see no time has been lost, but, till *the King of Spain's* answer comes, I can determine no particular orders for Camocke. *Mar* shall write him a civil compliment in my name next post, and I desire you to return him my thanks with the best quieting put-off you can think of, for it would be as imprudent as unfair to trust him with the sort of intelligence I am in with *the King of Spain*, on whom the whole stress of the business lies, and whose answer must determine my orders. I think your notion of Camocke himself very just, for, though he may not have all the qualities necessary for a settled negotiation, he may not be the more unfit for that for an executive part in the business proposed.

I suppose you are not ignorant of another proposal also made by Camocke in conjunction with Booth's son-in-law, Pye. The project was suitable enough to those two gentlemen's characters, being as wide a one as I have heard of, no particular persons named and Mr. Pye's discretion and weight with friends the only guaranties of the proposal, but, as all men are to be heard, and wise men may sometimes profit from the wildest notions, I shall make *Mar* write also a civil put-off to him in that respect and consider what use may be made even of that project, in case of a breach between *the Elector of Hanover* and *the King of Spain*, for in that case all may turn to account, but, except in such a case, I look on Pye's project as no less than extravagant.

A little time will show what we have to expect from *the King of Spain*. If he absolutely rejects the proposal now sent him,

he will agree to no other at present ; if he agrees to it, nothing, I think, ought to be untried with him, because he will certainly in that case refuse nothing reasonable, and therefore, till his answer comes, I think it would be by no means advisable to stir any more in what was once literal Barry's charge, so I entirely approve the directions you have sent to those parts, which shall be confirmed by *Mar* with orders not to pursue that affair without further directions, except Sir Peter and you can hit on some proper method, which I much doubt. *The King of Spain's* present situation cannot long remain as it is ; as it is, it is our business to soothe him and give him no cause of complaint, so it is his own interest alone that must make him befriend us, and any spur on our side, not accompanied with the greatest secrecy and prudence, would be useless and might be dangerous.

The public accounts from your parts assure us of the Emperor's being willing to renounce Spain, while my last letters from Vienna speak in a very contrary strain. A little time will, I suppose, clear those matters. The letter you sent from *Butler* is indeed most comfortable. I hoped to have returned by this post to *Ormonde* a favourable account of *the Pope's money*, but from him no answer is yet got, though I still hope to receive one on Saturday by *Cardinal Gualterio*, who will no longer now defer his journey hither. He was to set out to-night and *Mar* to-morrow for this place. I shall be very impatient to hear further from *Ormonde*, which I hope I may do also on Saturday.

Capt. Ogilvie has ill luck, for you may remember how angry we were at his going over without orders. It seems now he had none either from t'other side, for I find by *Anne Oglethorpe* to *Macmahon* that she durst not produce him to *Lord Oxford*, but without giving any particular reason, so his motions are as great a mystery to us as to you. Those that know him better than I think him an honest man and I believe him such, but his ways are unaccountable and his mysteries inexcusable.

I never doubted of *the Duke of Lorraine's* true kindness for me, but have not yet heard from himself directly. You answered *the Prince de Vaudemont* very right as to *the marriage*. I have had a kind line from *the Prince de Vaudemont*, to whom *Nairne* writes, I not owing him a letter.

I am heartily glad your uncle is safely arrived. Pray tell him I hope he will have ended all his business before the heats, that nothing may hinder him from joining me again, if I stay in this country. I have a great deal to say to you about *Father Calanan*, which, to avoid confusion, I shall write to you in a paper apart. I was really surprised to see him and yet more when I knew the subject of his errand. He has promised me to tell *Queen Mary* his opinion of my letter to *Leslie*, which, I find, differs as much from *Mr. Inese's* as does his knowledge and experience in matters of divinity. *Over 4 pages. Copy in Paterson's hand.*

THE DUKE OF MAR TO JAMES III.

1718, Wednesday morning, May 4. Rome.—The French post which used not to come till Wednesday morning came last night. I enclose what I had by it and there's a letter in Nairne's packet for *the King* from *Dillon*. "By what I understand of the enclosed copy of *Dillon's* to *Ormonde* and *Sir H. Stirling's*, I see *Ormonde's* to *the King* brings no good news, but I hope you will soon have better from these parts and I think there is reason for hoping so. It is plain by what *Menzies* tells that *the King of Sweden* has refused *the Elector of Hanover's* proposals, and by all that it is to be thought that *the King of Sweden* and *the Czar* have accommodated all before this, which will alter the last's way of thinking. What I understand by the letters in relation [to] marriage and *the Czar* is wonderful, but I hope we shall soon hear of an alteration in that as well as to what relates to *Ormonde*. My friend *Dr. Erskine's* way of doing is, it seems, intolerable, but what with his own natural temper and the influence of that climate, I believe he cannot help it, and that he thinks there is nothing in it. I am confident though that he will do all the service in his power in the odd way peculiar to him. He has not wrote to his mother these ten years and been designing to do it every post.

"I cannot think that *the King of Sicily* or *the King of Spain* will agree to or take for satisfaction what *the Regent* and *the Elector of Hanover* have got *the Emperor* to offer.

"I have a letter from *Lady Mar* of 26 March O.S. by last post, which tells me that she had written the day before by *Mrs. Ogilvie*, who was coming over, but she says not a word of *Capt. Ogilvie*. It seems *Capt. Ogilvie* must be sick that *Mrs. Ogilvie* comes. I cannot imagine that *Lord Oxford* designs that she should come to this country. *Dillon* and others too, I fear, will think that I am the occasion of her coming, which your Majesty knows there is as much ground for as their other suspicions, but there is no help for these things, until people at home as well as at Paris alter their way of thinking and doing amongst themselves.

"*Lady Mar* acknowledges one of mine which I sent under *Capt. Ogilvie's* cover by *Freebairn* at the same time I sent him the last packet for *Lord Oxford*, *Anne Oglethorpe* and *Menzies* concerning *Inese*, so that all the packets for them are come safe, though *Capt. Ogilvie* was on the other side, which is owing to poor F[ather] Græme's care.

"I am very glad *James Murray* is coming and I will long for him, but it is wonderful that it should be talked at Paris and the real design of his being to do so, as your Majesty will see it is by the enclosed, which I had from *Freebairn*. I shall despair after this of its being possible for some people to keep anything, which is lamentable. I did not think it fit for me to mention anything of this to *Dillon* and your Majesty is best judge whether or not you will give yourself

the trouble of doing it. I fear the people he employs are not so close as those about him ought to be."

I had yours of the 28th and am very glad you were in so good humour. I want none of the things you mention to bring me to the place wherever you are. However, the things are good, and I hope the fine lady, who, I hear, has made a conquest of all your subjects there, will not go till she has done more execution on the rest of them, who are now coming. I never thought I should have a mind to visit the famous republic of St. Marino, but, if she be gone before we arrive, there will be no resisting following her thither. I am now pretty well and I hope nothing can hinder my setting out to-morrow early by the route I intended, which will keep me but two days longer than if I had gone straight. I think there is appearance of more reason now for looking out for a better winter quarter for *the King* and his lady in this country than was apprehended some time ago.

It seems *Dillon* has had another from *Menzies* before this, which I wonder he has not sent and that *Menzies* has not wrote to me in answer to mine about *Inese*.

The Cardinal told me yesterday that he held his resolution of setting out this afternoon. 4 pages. *Holograph*.

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 4. Vienna.—I believe your absence from Urbino is the cause of your silence. However, M. Stiernhock and I hope to be soon consoled with some lines from your Excellency. M. Stiernhock has just received advices that the treaty at Aland is going on successfully, and that it was by no means certain whether the Elector of Hanover would be included in it or not. It is known that he is making considerable offers in order to be included, but the King of Sweden's firmness makes it believed that in the end peace will be made with only the inclusion of the King of Prussia, and it is doubted whether the King of Poland will be also included. This Court, however, concerns itself very little with the said affairs of the North, and seems to be much irritated with that of Muscovy on account of the deposition of the Czarowitch, notwithstanding all the assurances the Czar had given the Emperor during the stay of the said Czarowitch in the Emperor's country, that no harm would be done him on his return. However, one sees quite the contrary. The affairs of this Court are in much confusion on account of the uncertainty on all sides. The Emperor tries to gain time before resolving to renounce Spain, and for that purpose to see the result of the treaty of peace with the Porte, which ought to be known in four or six weeks. *French*.

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, May 4. Vienna.—I have been without letters from you from some posts. Both M. Stiernhock and I are expecting

them, at least in order to know if our letters have been received. *French.*

The ARCHBISHOP OF URBINO to [DAVID NAIRNE].

[1718, May 4?] I have received with infinite joy the honour of the King's commands that I am to oblige Cardinal Gualterio with my litter and mules for next Saturday. I will make my litter-man return to town Thursday morning with orders to be at your absolute disposal for going towards Aqualagna with the litter. *Italian. Torn.*

MONSIGNOR ERCOLE MARL[IANI] to [DAVID NAIRNE].

1718, May 5. Fano.—Expressing his infinite obligations for the advice his Britannic Majesty has been pleased to give him upon what Cardinal Gualterio has written to him on his proposal.—But, if I am to tell you my real opinion in the Lombard fashion, I hope but little from the promises of the Court of Rome, which has for so many years given me words and not deeds. Yet the influence of his Britannic Majesty and his favour in reminding his Holiness from time to time of me may make me hope to experience some result thereof. *Italian.*

The DUKE OF ORMONDE to JAMES III.

1718, May 5.—I received your letter of 20 March the 3rd instant with the two enclosed for *Dr. Erskine*, which I have forwarded and given *Jerningham* the enclosed for him.

The copies of *Sir H. Stirling's* letters, which I have sent to *the King* and *Dillon** show that there is no likelihood of anything to be done concerning marriage in the *Czar's* family without an agreement between him and the *King of Sweden*, which those copies give but little hopes of. *The Czar's* two nieces, as I am informed, are very beautiful young princesses and have very good characters. *Ormonde* wishes with all his heart that the *King* could have one of them, but *Ormonde* cannot but think there is the same difficulty in this as is mentioned for the daughter.* *Ormonde* has heard but twice from *Dr. Erskine* since his arrival here, and I have not heard from *Sir H. Stirling* since his of 31 March, which I cannot but wonder at, for he promised to let me hear from him every post. Letters come in five days from *Petersburg* to this place. *Ormonde* has no other to correspond with but *Sir H. Stirling*. *Dr. Erskine's* proceeding is very extraordinary.

Sir H. Stirling in his last told me that the passes were granted.

*I cannot imagine why they are not sent. I wish that the *Czar's* delaying to send the passes may be occasioned by changing of his mind in being willing to agree with the *King of Sweden* on easier terms. *The Czar's* daughter is too young. There are some things, which *Ormonde* mentioned concerning that affair, that I fancy the *King* would not like, had the age been proportionable.*

As to *the King of Sweden*, there is no occasion of offering him money, were it to be got, which I find by *the King's* there is no hope of, but I cannot but think that, if the war in Italy go on, it will be the interest of Spain and France to help the King.

Ormonde hopes that *the King* will not lose any time in thinking of another match.

I have acquainted Sheridan with the honour you do him. Jerningham writes to Mar to-night. Ormonde is sorry that *the King* has lost so faithful a servant as poor Flanagan. 5 pages.

The parts between asterisks are printed in the Stuart Papers, pp. 39, 40.

THE DUKE OF ORMONDE TO THE DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 5.—I received yours of 24 March the 3rd instant. I hope this will find you in good health and returned from the pleasant journey you proposed.

(About the negligence of Dr. Erskine and Sir H. Stirling in writing, as in the last.)

I suppose before this that the fleet [of] merchantmen [from] Spain has landed their men in Italy. Ormonde cannot but believe that, if the war go on, the Regent will let the King go back to France or Avignon. Sheridan shall be sent as you desire, if I have anything to inform *the King* that is of consequence.

J. MENZIES TO LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, Thursday, April 24[-May 5].—Our ignorance and uncertainties here as to foreign affairs are extreme great, as you may see by the enclosed prints, and, except it be the Cabinet, no man here is wiser than the prints. The beginning of the *Post Boy* says right as to our darkness, and the beginning of the *St. James' Post* gives you the true sentiments of a topping courtier. We have had much talk of Stanhope's laying down these few days. Another we have had of a motley ministry, the majority Tories. But we had this so often it goes for nothing and it falls again; no offer as yet made. If it were, many would accept. I have yours of the 27th.

Postscript, dated April 28[-May 9].—We are in the utmost darkness and uncertainty here as to foreign news, and consequently as to the measures to be taken at home and his Majesty's going to Hanover or not &c.

The Court and Monsr. du Bois and Monteleone and other ministers had letters from Paris on Saturday night. It would be long to tell you the various reports which on such an occasion go about, but the voice of the Court and of some foreign ministers, who surely know, is that Spain will knock under. Some think this is only said to keep up our stocks, but by my authors I have reason to think there is more in it.

Our fleet for the Baltic is not yet sailed, though the Government seem to have received some new uneasiness about that North Pole. Our fleet for the Mediterranean, if necessary, will be ready by 1 July. We have not got a new Chancellor.

PAPER given by FATHER CALANAN to JAMES III.

1718, May 5.—Experience shows that the want of a diversion in Ireland much contributed to the ill success of the King's affairs in Scotland, and it was impossible for the well-affected in Ireland to do anything for want of arms, money &c.; nay, had they all that, the North being ill-affected, as it was supposed, and being much superior in strength and wealth to our friends, it were but temerity for them to attempt anything, particularly after what happened in Preston. Now we are offered to have the North in our interest, and he, that assures us that the gentlemen of interest in the North will join us, heartily assures us in the meantime the seizing of Enniskillen, Derry, Carrickfergus and Charlemont. Therefore he would be glad to know whether this project be agreeable to his Majesty, that he may without delay prepare things that all may be ready for an insurrection the moment his Majesty arrived in either of his kingdoms.

It is desired, if his Majesty approves of this offer, that he may send an ample commission to the L.—— G.——t (? Lord Granard). *Original and copy.*

JAMES III to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, May 6.—“Father Calanan came here last Tuesday and immediately asked with great *empressement* to see me. He was with me half an hour, during which *il a battu la campagne* in a manner too mysterious for me to understand. We adjourned till next day, and then I bid him tell me downright what it was he came about, upon which he began to talk to me about a project which he said he had communicated to you, but of which I told him I could make nothing, without he explained himself more, and desired him to put it in writing against next time I saw him. He told me he would, but that Robin Leslie, the proposer of the project, desired that neither Lord Mar, Nairne nor nobody here might be privy to it, but Mr. Wogan, who was in Leslie's confidence and apprised of the affair. I told him that was a very impertinent message, and so we parted till next day, and then he brought me his paper, a copy of which you here have.

“Upon reading of it with him, I told him I thought the view was very good, and might be made good use of, if proper measures were taken in it, but that the proposal was so general and unexplained as to all particulars, that I could not in prudence act in it without explaining myself upon it with *Dillon*. Upon this he pressed me again to speak to Wogan about it, which I told him positively I would not do; that I would go to the

good of the affair and the good of the service but not be imposed on so grossly ; that I had a good opinion of Wogan, had employed him to my satisfaction, and that, if he were still here, it was I alone detained him in view of some future service for him ; that he had been here above a month, and several times in private with me without having thought it convenient to open his mind to me on these heads ; that it was true that I should be always ready to hear anybody on any proposal they had to make, but that his long absence from Paris, and he, the Friar's, being so lately come from thence, demonstrated to me that Wogan could do nothing in the matter but be a voucher for his word, and that I did not want, and that therefore my discoursing with him on the affair could tend to nothing else but to a compliance, which I should think unworthy of me, were the first persons of my kingdoms concerned, much more in Mr. Leslie's case, in whom of all people I thought it the greatest insolence to be in such a manner laying rules for his master without so much as giving a reason, since it was plain that at that rate it was no more me, but every little mad body that were to name ministers to manage my affairs ; that I would never refuse to keep any particular affair or name of person to myself, but that, when it came to a project, which affected the gross of my service, that I could not keep it from the Dukes of Ormonde and Mar and *Dillon* without ruining my own interest or discharging them from the management of my affairs. The Friar stunned would fain have recalled what he had said about Lord Mar, and told me he was ready to see him, if he were here. I replied I had not lost my memory and kept him to what he had said, but added that I was so far from desiring he should see my Lord Mar that I begged of him to be gone before his return, for that, should they have any discourse together, Lord Mar had too much sense not to see what would make him and all honest men weary of serving me ; that after that I would deal fairly with him, the Friar, and would therefore make no mystery in telling him that Nairne should write every word that had passed between us, for that what Leslie would impose upon me was more than I myself could in reason do to anybody employed in my business, since they could not write nor do all by themselves. After this I asked him abundance of questions, which did not a little embarrass him, and in which his answers were so obscure, to say no more, that I will not pretend to give an account of them, but one particular I cannot be mistaken in, I made him repeat it so often, which was that *Dillon* was apprised of all but *Queen Mary* not. I could not but remark that the only reason I could draw from him for his shyness of Lord Mar was his intimacy with St. Germain and Mr. Inese. I have enlarged the more upon bagatelles because I could plainly see that the main project was not the chief drift of the journey. Whatever that was is more than I can tell, but I am sure that neither his age,

his character nor his sense could allow of his making such a journey only to give me the enclosed paper, upon which I can determine nothing, and he sees it. I sent for him again this morning, and pushed him very home on that head, but could draw nothing from him, he still persisting in saying that he would not meddle in my business without my participation and seeing me, though that had been proposed to him. I told him he acted a very dutiful part, and then agreed with him what follows.

“That I should send to *Dillon* the enclosed paper, and act according to the lights I should receive from him upon it, since I could never go hand over head in such a work, that on *Dillon's* informations I should determine what was fit to be done, and that I liked his, the Friar's, going into Ireland better than anybody else, he being known and esteemed by both parties, but that I would enter into no project in which Leslie should have an executive part after the blind and insolent message he has sent me, for, though I looked on him to be honest, yet that his mad notions were to be profited of, but not followed entirely, and that after the rate that he had used me, I could never think it for my interest to employ anybody whose notions and principles could allow them so great a latitude as to make his King less master in his own affairs than the last of his subjects, which I looked on him to be. On this we parted very good friends, and he told me that the road of Bologna and Milan being too dear he would return for cheapness' sake by Rome and Leghorn.

“You never having mentioned anything of this Friar to me made me enlarge the more on what passed with him, though I conclude, as I told the Friar himself, that you, looking on Leslie as a madman, did not think it worth your while to trouble me with his empty notions. After that, as much so as I think these, I think they ought to be considered on, for the thing proposed would be of the greatest advantage, if it could be effected by such prudent measures as might square with greater ones, for, should anything be done rashly in such matters, we should not only lose the proposed benefit but draw upon ourselves all those inconveniencies which must be obvious to you. In fine I leave this blind tale of a tub to your consideration, and your answer and opinion can alone determine me in it, for my own reflections I shall make none. I know Leslie is mad and the Friar honest, and therefore am not much in pain to find out the bottom of this deep contrivance, which I believe I shall never find out, since what I look upon to be the main project has been at first knocked in the head, and that I have showed myself not to be such a fool as I was thought. I shall, however, take Wogan to task, when the Friar is gone, and may be I may get something out of him. These are, I must confess, very odd ways of carrying on business, and such ways as by discouraging all honest people from meddling in it, must fall very hard on me at last,

for I declare I had rather have to do with those who will not allow me to be their King than those who, allowing of that, would make me their slave, and, as I told the Friar, I think it the duty of all dutiful subjects to show their disapprobation and indignation at such proceedings."

I shall tell Duke Mar of the Friar's project, and he will hear enough of it, I believe, from other hands. I should have said before that the Friar came by Leghorn, whence he went to Rome, on the report, as he says, of my having left Urbino, and, if that was the reason, he has stayed a good while at Rome. He told me, when he was there, he did not stir out nor see anybody but his General. He is not here a puckle and always speaks mysteriously of the road he shall take to return, so that it is very manifest to me there is something in all this affair which I cannot see quite through. *Copy.*
6 pages.

The EARL MARISCHAL to JAMES III.

1718, May 6. St. Germain.—I received last post your orders. Wherever you think me most in the way to be of any service, I shall always find that place most agreeable. I am very sensible of your goodness to me on all occasions and, as far as I am capable, shall endeavour to deserve it.

FANNY OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 7.—It is impossible to express the great concern we're under for our Queen's death, but, as you've more need of consolation than repeating so melancholy a subject, I'll say no more about it. I wish it lay in our power to be any ways useful to our master.

The SAME to the SAME.

1718, May 7.—(About the Queen's death, as in the last.) "The friend (M. de Mezières) on this ill news had a mind to go directly to the Regent to speak to him for the continuation of the pension, but he thought it was more proper for the person that is charged here with the affairs, who perhaps had a letter from our poor Queen, to have asked it, which would have been the certain way to have had it done. In that case it would have been only officious in him to speak. Unluckily nobody thought of desiring the Queen to write to the R[egent]; it's a mistake, which was owing to the distraction they were under and it is said that the person, that carried the melancholy news to him, said nothing of it. Therefore the friend, who avoids doing anything that may make him be thought busy, yet, as there are some cases that everybody that is a friend must exert themselves, went to M. Le Duc [de Bourbon] and told him: I am come to you from myself, I do not meddle in K[ing] J[ames'] business, I am charged with nothing from him, but I have had always a regard for you. Hitherto you have

done me the honour to ask me sometimes my advice, I now give it you from myself. Here is an occasion to make you be esteemed and admired by doing a generous action that costs you nothing and gains you the friendship of a K[ing], that perhaps will not be always unhappy. It is to ask of the Re[gent] the continuation of the pension. If by the treaty that is lately made he durst not give it to the K[ing], let him give it those that had it of the subjects who must else starve. If he is willing to continue it, we'll find a thousand ways to name it that it need not infringe his shameful treaty. M. Le Duc said all that you can imagine that is most kind and tender on the K[ing's] account. You yourself can wish nothing to his sentiments. He told him he would act in that occasion as for himself, that, if the affair was consulted in the Council of the Regency, he would say all that was fit for it, that, if it was not, he would make the Regent insensibly fall on that conversation and would do all in his power to determine him. He thanked the friend for his advice to have given him the notion to do good or serve the K[ing], who he so much esteemed and that he looked upon it as his own affair; that he feared there would be difficulties, because since the late treaty the R[egent] heard no reason on that subject, but that there must be found some other tour. The friend repeated to him that this idea came entirely from himself, that, if you approve what he has done, you may do what more you think proper to improve what is begun either by desiring the K[ing] to write a letter to M. Le Duc to desire his friendship in this affair, which the friend, if you please, will deliver and say all that is fit to be said upon it, or else to let it drop there. There is no harm done, the friend having spoke but from himself.

"My sister sent this day for the person that I have written to you already on the notion of. She fired him and he is this night to speak to the Reg[ent] from himself as she has piqued him with generosity. It's always putting the irons in the fire, which is all that they can do till they have your answer to know if the K[ing] likes it or not and what more he thinks fit to have them do. You know how ready the friend is to serve him, so he has but to send his orders. The person, who my sister spoke to, has just now asked her the list of the persons the Qu[een] gave pensions to. She spoke of it to Mr. Gordon, but, you may easily believe, will not think of giving it him, till she has your approbation.

"Mr. Gordon spoke to her of Father Grahames, who was to be removed, which he desired to have prevented. She went to the Père Provincial and he has given her his word and honour he would recall his order and he should stay there. She told him the K[ing] would thank him when he saw him; the monk is going to Italy, so that is finished. I send you enclosed a letter which I hope you will like. It's in answer to that you sent us. You know how dangerous it is to write from that country; therefore one cannot expect often letters

of that nature for, if I am not mistaken, it's all in a few words that he can say, since he desires to be judged by his actions. Pray send me your opinion of it and let me beg you will not let yourself be seduced by his enemies, for he's of as much importance for you now as when you were here. The letter he expects an answer to is that that I sent you. He has deferred his going to his own country till June. If you have any orders to give me on that subject, write me word. We have not heard from you since 10 March. The enclosed that I sent you was so gummed up that I have been obliged to take the cover to pieces, as you may see.

"Law yesterday abjured his religion. They say he is to buy the cordon blue 400,000 *livres* and that George has given him his pardon, but that they dare not propose it to the Parliament. It is said the Dutch have not yet signed the treaty. The last courier that came from Spain brought word that they would not hear of it. M. Le Duc in conversation with the friend told him that he was persuaded it could not hold, though the Regent was infatuated with it."

I send you a compliment in another letter, because the person that sends the courier has sent twice to ask if we had no letters to send. Don't speak of M. le Duc's conversation to anyone but the King, for he's very cautious. I write without a cipher, because I know it goes by a safe hand. I forgot to tell you that I had writ to *Lord Ilay* that his shyness was so excessive that one would think that the old quarrels were still in being and notwithstanding the master had made him such a present. George goes to his own country as soon as the birthday is over.

Lord Peterborough came to see us t'other day. He bolted in upon us and began very high, saying we were the authors of his misfortune, by my eldest sister's means, that he would follow the source of that affair and it should not end so. My sister told him very gravely she did not know what he meant, that, if he thought her guilty, he ought not to come and see her. The conversation changed and it dropped there. In going out he told M[ezières] he knew him to be a man of honour and he would tell him something he intended to do when in England, but he would exact his word and honour not to tell it to us nor anybody living. He spoke only in general terms and talking a great deal found the way to say ill of nobody. My sister denied positively knowing anything about it but by the public. He said he believed her, because he was persuaded M[ezières] would not have let her do it.

Lord Bolingbroke is here and is every day making his humble court to Lord Stair. We see Lord Panmure very often. Lord Jersey arrives at Paris. Mr. Skelton tells us 'tis to recover his health, which was grown very bad and tended to madness for grief of his wife's behaviour.

CHARLES FORMAN MACMAHON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 7. Versailles.—I was in hopes that the next occasion I should have of writing would be to congratulate you on his Majesty's restoration. The generally credited report of the King of Sweden's great preparations gave us all the reasons in the world to expect it. But alas, our hopes that way are vanished at present and I have only to condole the death of the best Queen upon earth. Her Majesty fell ill at St. Germain four or five days ago and died about 8 this morning. She has left it the most dejected melancholy place in the universe and really it is impossible to express the despair and astonishment of those unhappy people, who by this sudden and unexpected blow have lost their royal patroness, to whose goodness and charity alone they owed their support.

I humbly beseech you to remind his Majesty sometimes of me and that, if anything should be undertaken for his service, I may be granted the favour of hazarding a life, which cannot be better laid down than in the defence of my lawful sovereign and his just cause.

CHARLES FORMAN MACMAHON to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, May 7. Versailles.—Just as I had finished the enclosed to his Grace, Mr. Gordon sent me yours of 14 April I cannot be thankful enough to his Majesty for his goodness to me and am very sensible he would have recommended me, had there not been good reasons to the contrary. I was apprehensive of the impediment before, and therefore did not desire recommendations directly. I chose to go to Spain, it being, as I thought, the least opposite to his Majesty's interest, and where I might find some opportunity of rendering service, for that ever was and shall be the aim of all my actions, to which purpose I wrote to England to my friends, whom I could trust, to get me heartily recommended by the Spanish ambassador, in which they were very active and were to furnish me with a detail and minutes of the most circumstantial parts of the funds, debts and army. With those helps I did not doubt to do something, when I received directions to lay aside the thought of going there, and to think no more of it, desiring me to have a little patience. In my last to his Grace, I gave him Mr. Dicconson's opinion of the matter, so I am heartily sorry to have given his Majesty and his Grace so much trouble. My zeal is far short of his Majesty's goodness to me, but I would I had but opportunity to exercise it; there would soon be as many exiles in Germany as there have been these 29 years in France, if his Majesty's clemency did not prevent it. His so readily entering into my proposal concerning my wife and children contrary to the rule he had laid down, shows that we can never call ourselves unfortunate in following the fate of our sovereign, who shows himself as much our father as our King.

The death of our late gracious and most pious Queen, who this morning rendered up her spotless soul into the hands of her Redeemer, will not suffer me to pass in silence the loss of a princess who is the most universally and justly lamented of any that ever lived. She might truly be called the mother of the poor, and, as far as in her lay, the help of the afflicted, but she is gone to accompany her royal husband, whose joint intercession at the throne of God, I hope, will prove advantageous to the son.

As soon as his Majesty's filial concern and grief is somewhat assuaged, and he admits access to his royal person, I do not doubt you will take the first favourable opportunity of letting him know with what dutiful sentiments I receive these marks of his favour and that I will study all ways and means to merit them. $3\frac{1}{2}$ pages.

CH. HALL (? FATHER CARNEGIE) to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, April 26[–May 7]. Edinburgh.—I was overjoyed at yours of the 6 March, and am very far from putting a wrong construction on your silence. I had a letter from *Dr. Abercromby* some time before he died, which he told me he wrote by your orders, and I wrote to you, when I answered him, but it seems you never received it. (About his having heard from Inese of his no longer being employed.) I am glad *the King* keeps his health well. It would have been kind to have said as much for yourself. I am infinitely obliged to both for your good opinion of me, God grant I may continue to deserve it. I pity *the Duke of Gordon* and all I shall say for him at present is that few have *Mar's* courage and conduct.

The judges of the Enquiry are to meet shortly, who, it's thought, will be heavy on the Tories. I have not a word of other news that can be relied on. We are here sometimes uppish, and sometimes dumpish, according to the accounts we get of the Chevalier.

THE COUNTESS VERONICA MOLZA to JAMES III.

1718, May 8.—“Con mio sommo dolore comparisco avanti la Majesta Vostra per marcarle qual sia la mia giusta afflitione per la gran perdita che veniamo di fare della nostra gran Regina, degna Madre di V.M. Dicole dunque che un'ora avanti di morire, essendo presso di lei, mentre era tutta tremante, mi disse darle questo piccolo crocifisso, com'io fece, me lo servò nella mano e mi disse con commando di mandarlo alla M.V. com'io faccio. Queste sono le precise parole: Molza, vi prego, quando son morta, mandare questo crocifisso al Re mio figlio. Me lo replico in due volte, ora dunque con l'occasione del corriero mi sono data la liberta scrivere questa mia, assicurandola che Madame Strickland ed io non l'abbiamo mai abbandonata, l'altre pure hanno fatto il lor dovere.

“Adesso non ci resta piu che un unico dolore di questa perdita irreparabile. La M.V. mi permetta ch'io raccomandandi

M. de Nugent con la mia povera figlia. V.M. sa che la Regina l'haveva accordato 800 franchi l'anno. Quest'era la sua dote. Il povero M. Nugent perderà il salario, se V.M. non a qualche pietà per loro. Sono indotti alla mendecita con tre figliuoli sulle braccia.

“Per me, ritornero a Modena, mia patria, senza sussidio. Io non dimando nulla alla M.V. Tutto sara rimesso alla sua clemenza. Solo le dimando una gratia, se si puo. La gratia e questa, s'ella volesse ordinare che mi fosse dato la mostra che la Regina portava. Sara sempre una memoria che sara avanti gl'occhi miei, se V.M. conosse pure ch'io ne sia degna. Tengo ancora il ritratto di sua Altezza Reale in tondo, s'ella vole ch'io lo consegnì a M. Dicconson o pure ch'io lo porti meco in Italia che di la poi mandarci a Urbino. Io non partiro cosi presto, ci sono dovuti undici mesi di salario. Sono piena di debiti e non so dove trovero mille franchi che mi condurranno a Modena. Siamo nelle mani de Dio e di V.M. Per me ho perso tutto quello poteva perdere in questo mondo. Supplico V.M. farmi fare solo due righe di risposta per sapere si ella haveva ricevuto questo crocifisso. Non so quando potro partire di S. Germano, se mai ci pagano gl'erretaggi. Questi sono dovuti per i debiti. Bisognerà poi ch'io cerchi per carità mille franchi per far il viaggio. Siamo in cinque persone, io, Conte Molza, mia figlia, ma fame de chambre, e un servitore. Non potro fare il viaggio a meno di mille franchi. Spero e mi lusingo d'un benigno comparimento dalla M.V. Piglio parte al dolore ch'ella proverà in questa nuova funesta. Direi molto piu, ma, trovandomi immersa nella afflitione ed un cuore oppresso, finiro col raccordarle quello, ch'ella mi fece l'honore di dirmi in Lorena, ch'ella non abbandonarebbe mai M. de Nugent, e molto confido nella sua parola. Mi permetta che le porta l'umigliatione del Conte Carlo, che il pover huomo si trova tutto sballordito dal dolore.” 6 pages.

WILLIAM GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 8. Paris.—I had yours of the 19th with the enclosures, which I delivered and forwarded. This is designed by the courier that brings you the deplorable loss of the Queen, who died yesterday about 7 in the morning. God preserve the King from any ill this unexpected death may occasion, and God help a great many poor afflicted starving families that her goodness only supported, and who without some extraordinary providence will be in great hazard of perishing.

The DUKE OF ORMONDE to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, May 8.—I have just received yours of 12 April. Yesterday I received *the passes*. I send a copy of *Sir H. Stirling's* letter that came with them. One of his is not come. He

does not mention the date of it. It is the only letter that has been lost, except your four, that were directed to Ulm.

I am very sorry for what you mention concerning the *the Emperor and the Elector of Hanover*. How do we know that *the King of Spain* will agree to it? A little time will show it.

Ormonde hopes to leave *this country* in a few days. He will write to *Dillon* before he begins his journey.

I am promised by friends in *England* to have a copy of *Monteleone's* memorial. I wish that *the King* had the original of the picture. You will see by *Sir H. Stirling's Dr. Erskine's* good breeding. Pray my compliments to *Queen Mary*. I will answer hers by next opportunity.

Jerningham continues his journey to *Petersburg*. I am sorry it has not been in my power to send you any agreeable news, but never was there such a brute as our trusty *Dr. Erskine*.

The EARL OF PANMURE to JAMES III.

1718, May 9. Paris.—Condoling with him on the Queen's death.

The EARL OF PANMURE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 9. Paris.—The Queen was taken ill on Sunday the 1st, which I did not know till Monday evening, so I went to St. Germain's Tuesday morning and Dr. Blair went with me. They told us there that the Queen was better and that they did not think her in any danger. Dr. Blair did not then see her nor was his advice asked, but on Saturday morning an express came for him, so he went to St. Germain's in all haste but found her speechless, and past all hopes of recovery, for she died about two hours after. I'm told that Dr. Garvan and the King of France's physicians thought she was in no danger the night before and were resolved to have given her physic the next day, but I will not enlarge on so melancholy a subject.

I was desired by Mr. Dugeat to write to you in his favour. He was also recommended to me by several others here. He says he was in one of Lord Huntly's squadrons at Sheriffmuir and was afterwards a lieutenant in Glenbucket's battalion, and, after the King went from Scotland, lurked there, whereby he contracted sickness. This occasioned him to spend so much money and put his affairs in that disorder, that he could not live in Scotland as he did formerly. I doubt not you will have an account of him from others. He is brother to the Laird of Auchinhuwe, who was a captain in my regiment.

Postscript.—I wrote the above yesterday, thinking Mr. Freebairn was to have gone to-day, but find he does not till to-morrow. Since writing I heard a piece of news I cannot

but acquaint you with, which is that Mr. Dillon is no more to be employed in the office he has now here and that Mr. James Murray is to be put in his place. This I was very much surprised with. Mr. Murray is very little known to me, but he a very young man for such a trust. He has indeed a good character, and for ought I know, may deserve it, but I think I am as capable of discharging that trust as he. I have given sufficient proof of my loyalty and have suffered pretty much for it, and I am sure it is very much against the King's interest for such to be neglected, and I never gave ground for anybody to think I was capable of doing anything but what's worthy of the part I have all my life acted, though I have not met with that encouragement that both I and others expected I would. This has been and is very bitter to me and adds a great deal to my sufferings for the King, which were otherwise very great. It may be objected that I am attainted, and that, if I were employed here, the government of England might complain of it to that of France, but I suppose that nobody that will have this trust will have any public character, but will only act underhand, which I do not see but I may do as well as any other. I have referred the King to what I have writ to you, which I desire you to communicate to him and use your good offices in obtaining what I desire. You may depend as much on my friendship as on anybody's that can be employed. This is the second favour I have asked from the King and, if it be refused as the other was, it cannot but be very bad encouragement for me. The King has both said and written to me that he has great regard and esteem for me, but the world will always conclude that he has most regard and esteem for those he trusts and employs in his service. 4 pages.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DOMINICK SHELDON to JAMES III.

1718, May 9.—Condoling with him on the Queen's death.

L. INESE to JAMES III.

1718, May 9. St Germain's.—Condoling with him on the Queen's death.

FATHER GAILLARD, the QUEEN'S CONFESSOR to JAMES III.

1718, May 9. St. Germain's.—“ Vous connoissez assez mon attachement et sa confiance pour comprendre la profondeur de ma douleur, qui est pourtant, Dieu merci, très soumise à sa sainte volonté, et qui est aussi bien adoucie par la consolation d'avoir rendu à Dieu cette ame si pure et si sainte, qu'il m'avoit confiée, et qu'il a voulu malgré mon indignité recevoir de mes mains, mais il n'est pas question de vous expliquer ces sentimens qui sont la matiere du sacrifice que j'offriray à Dieu toute ma vie avec un coeur aussi soumis qu'affligé. Il s'agit de vous instruire en detail pour votre

consolation premièrement de ce qui s'est passé dans cette sainte mort et secondement de ce qui vous y regarde personnellement par les sentimens que la Reyne m'a marqués a vostre égard et par tout ce qu'elle m'a chargé de vous écrire.

“Premier article de ce qui s'est passé à la mort de la Reyne. Il y avoit quelque temps environ un mois que la Reyne avoit esté attaquée d'un rhûme qui disparoissoit quelquefois, et qui de temps en temps se renouvelloit n'estant pas toutafait guéri. La Reyne se portoit assez bien le dimanche, premier jour de may, feste de St. Jaques et St. Philippe. C'estoit le jour qu'elle avoit choisi pour remplir l'heure de son adoration devant le St. Sacrement, s'estant associée à la confrairie de l'adoration perpetuelle du St. Sacrement établie dans la paroisse de St. Germain. Sa Majesté se rendit pour cela à l'église de la paroisse cinq heures du dimanche apres disner, ayant fait ses devotions à l'ordinaire le matin dans sa chapelle et y ayant recité le rosaire à quatre heures à la maniere accoutumée. Le St. Sacrement fut exposé à la paroisse des que la Reyne y fut arrivée un peu avant cinq heures. La Reyne commença son adoration à genoux où elle se tint pendant une demieheure, et fut assise sur ses jambes la demieheure suivante, n'ayant pas voulu s'asseoir sur son fauteuil qui luy estoit préparé. L'heure de l'adoration finie, le salut fut commencé à six heures, auquel elle assista à genoux. En suite elle monta dans son carrosse pour s'aller promener sur la terrasse ou elle sentit du froid. C'est ce qui la fit retourner apres demieheure de promenade sans pourtant s'estre trouvée incommodée, car elle soupa ce soir là avec plus d'appetit qu'elle n'avoit fait depuis longtemps. Elle se coucha à l'heure ordinaire, mais elle passa assez mal la nuit jusqu'à cinq heures du matin du lundy qu'elle fut saisie du frisson de la fièvre qui dura une heure, ce qui fut suivi de la chaleur. C'est ce qui fut compté pour peu de chose. Je fus appelé et j'eus l'honneur de s'entretenir selon tous les sentimens de sa pieté. Cette fièvre n'a point cessé jusqu'au dernier jour de sa mort, elle parût plus considerable par les redoublemens qui survenoient, l'un le matin plus leger, l'autre sur les quatre heures de l'apres disner, qui commençoit par une toux assez violente, c'est ce qui a duré jusqu'au dernier jour. La nouvelle de cette maladie ayant esté sceüe à Paris, Monseigneur le Mareschal de Villeroy par son zele très vif et très fidelle par la Reyne me fit l'honneur de m'écrire pour offrir à la Reyne les medecins de la cour, qu'elle souhaiteroit. S[a] M[ajesté] demanda Monsieur Dodart, aujourd'huy premier medecin du roy, et Monsieur Boudin. Ce sont les deux qui la traitterent dans sa grande maladie dernière. Ces medecins sont venus tous les jours depuis mardy jusqu'au vendredy, veille de la mort. D'abord ils ne trouverent rien de mortel dans cette fièvre, ils ordonnerent une seconde saignée, la premiere ayant esté faite des le lundy par l'ordre de Mr. le chevalier Garven. Cette suite de redoublemens et de toux les a embarrassés, mais ils

n'en ont pas paru trop alarmés. Le mercredi et jeudi se passerent de mesme facon et mesme la nuit du jeudi au vendredy fut si bonne qu'on commenca à mieux esperer et mesmes on ordonna une medecine pour le lendemain, samedi.

“Pendant tout le temps la j'ay rendu mes assiduités à la reyne, la messe tous les jours, et les prieres ont esté dites dans sa chambre. Des le jeudi la reyne demanda a se confesser. Les medecins me prierent de l'en detourner, de peur que la preparation à la confession ne donnât quelque agitation, qui eut pû troubler le bon estat qui sembloit s'establir. Je priay la reyne de différer sa confession. Le lendemain, vendredy, elle m'en parla encore avec quelque inquietude de mourir, disoit elle, sans confession. Ce qui me determina à consentir à sa demande fut une toux très forte et un redoublement tres violent qui la prit vers les cinq heures du vendredy peu apres que les medecins furent partis avec esperance de la trouver mieux le lendemain, disant pourtant qu'ils trouvoient la fievre bien ardente. Je traittay alors avec la reyne l'affaire de la confession sur l'empressement qu'elle m'avoit marqué. Pour la delivrer de tout inquietude je la priay de prendre tranquillement toute cette preparation, qu'il falloit faire tranquillement sans manquer à prendre tous les soulagemens qui devoient l'interrompre. Ainsi fut il fait. La reyne me fit sa confession avec les sentimens ordinaires de sa grande piété, et de son vif amour pour Dieu dans une grande paix. Quelque heure apres on trouva que la reyne s'afoiblissoit, et que la violence du mal s'augmentoit. Je pris avis de Mr. Garven, s'il jugeoit qu'il fut temps de luy faire recevoir les derniers sacremens. Il en fut d'avis, je n'eus nulle peine à en informer la reyne, qui n'en fut pas plus emue que si on luy avoit dit d'aller entendre la messe dans les temps de sa santé. Je fis avertir Monsieur le prieur, curé de la parroisse, pendant que j'estois attaché à preparer la reyne à la reception des divins sacremens. L'extreme onction luy fait premierement donnée par M. le curé, et en suite le st. viatique. Avant que de le recevoir, elle fit demander pardon à toute l'assistante des peines qu'elle avoit pu faire a qui que ce soit, donc monsieur le curé fit le recit public. Depuis ce temps la, ou tout fut achevé à onze heures et demie du vendredy, jusqu'au lendemain sept heures et demie du samedi la reyne ne voulut plus s'entretenir qu'avec Dieu. Elle demanda les prieres des agonisans sur les deux heures apres minuit. Comme on les faisoit au pieds de son lit, elle ordonna qu'on s'approchat pour les mieux entendre et y répondre. Les prieres ont esté faites deux fois par messieurs les aumosniers de la reyne, auxquels je repondois. Mon occupation fut depuis onze heures [et] demie du soir vendredy jusqu'à sept heures et demie samedi de me tenir auprès de la reyne, et de me presenter de temps en temps à elle pour luy fournir des sentimens de piété. Certainement elle n'en avoit pas besoin, car Dieu luy inspiroit luy mesme les

plus dévots sentimens. Je ne vous en cite qu'un, qui est celui cy. Que nostre religion, me dit elle, est consolante, ce n'est que d'elle qu'on peut recevoir quelque consolation. N'en est ce pas une bien grande de pouvoir dire, *Dilectus meus mihi*, et *ego illi* et cela non pas un jour ni une année mais pour toute l'éternité? Elle me pria de luy donner encore l'absolution avant qu'elle passât, et une demie heure avant sa fin elle me demanda cette absolution qui luy fut donnée. Elle demanda à gagner l'indulgence plénier attachée à sa medaille. Elle voulut avoir le crucifix entre ses mains et sous ses yeux, et tout cela partagé entre les prieres que l'on faisoit aupres d'elle, et les sentimens qu'elle prenoit ou d'elle mesme, ou de ce que je luy suggerois. Tout cela s'est passé avec toute la presence de son esprit, pendant que le corps se détruisoit par l'oppression de la poitrine ou tout le mal a abouti et par l'inflammation qui s'y est faite, mais avec quelle douce patience a elle tout souffert pendant la durée de huit heures après les sacremens receus, ayant toujours non seulement l'esprit mais la parole libre jusques à un quart d'heure avant sa mort, et mesmes dans ce quart d'heure, elle me donna des signes qu'elle entendoit tout ce que je luy disois sans pouvoir former des paroles pour y repondre. Ainsi, ainsi cette sainte reyne s'est elle endormie au Seigneur, auquel elle s'est allé parfaitement unir a sept heures et demie de samedi matin 7^e may 1718. J'avois oublié qu'à quatre heures du matin elle demanda que la messe fut dite dans sa chambre à quoy elle s'unit par toute l'affection de son coeur.

“ 2nd Article. Voicy ce qui vous regarde personnellement dans les sentimens de la reyne, vous avés connu son coeur tendrement maternel, qui s'est toujours conservé tel jusqu'à sa mort, vous n'ignorés pas aussi les peines qu'elle a ressenties sur les derniers ordres qu'elle avoit receus de V[otre] M[ajesté]. Très persuadée de toute vostre affection elle m'a ordonné de vous mander que tout ce qui luy estoit venu de vostre part, quoyque contraire à ses pensées et à ses inclinations, n'avoit fait aucune impression contraire à son affection et qu'elle ne vous scavoit aucun mauvais gré, mais qu'elle vous prioit de luy pardonner toutes les peines qu'elle auroit pu vous faire par les petites contestations, sur quoy elle m'a ordonné en termes exprès de vous dire de sa part les choses les plus tendres, et de vous assurer qu'esperant la misericorde de Dieu elle prioit le Seigneur dans le ciel pour le succes de vos affaires presentes, j'ay cru mesmes avoir entendu qu'elle a nommé particulièrement l'affaire des Suedois. D'ailleurs, en recevant le st. viatique, ayant demandé qu'on priât pour elle, elle ajouta pour le roi, mon fils, afin qu'il perde mille vies plutost que de souffrir la moindre alteration de sa foy, ce qui fut repeté tout haut par M. le curé, lorsque de la part de la reyne il dit, que S[a] M[ajesté] demandoit pardon de toutes les peines qu'elle avoit pu faire à qui que ce soit. En suite elle s'est fait apporter un petit crucifix, qu'elle a mis entre les mains de

madame de Molza avec ordre de vous l'envoyer de sa part, ce qu'elle luy a encore reiteré une autrefois, afin que son ordre sur ce sujet soit fidellement executé.

"Voila, Sire, les derniers et tendres temoignages de cette bonne mere à vostre egard. J'en ay connu tout le fond et je scay que l'ayant donné tout à Dieu, qui le possedoit entierement, vous seul y aviés toute la part qui peut estre donnée à l'estre crée.

"Je ne vous informe pas de plusieurs autres choses donc Monsieur Dillon s'est chargé. Nous avons fait ensemble une question si on feroit une oraison funebre à la reyne, de quoy l'un et l'autre n'estant gueres d'avis, nous attendrons vostre decision. Pour moy je ne puis ni ne dois m'en charger, ayant esté son confesseur, mais j'ay pensé que, comme au nom des religieuses de la Visitation de Chaillot, j'ay fait paroistre un ecrit sur la mort de la princesse vostre soeur, je pourrois dans la mesme forme faire un ecrit plus ample touchant les grandes vertus de la reyne, qui seroit donné par les religieuses de la Visitation de Chaillot. Mr. Dillon a aprouvé mon projet, V[ostre] M[ajesté] en decidera selon sa volonté et sagesse.

"J'ay encore une remarque à faire, c'est que la scelle, comme vous l'apprendra Mr. Dillon, ayant esté mis sur tous les papiers qui aparemment vous seront renvoyés, il s'y trouvera des meditations, des prieres, des retraittes et autres pieux exercices de ma façon, ou tout l'interieur de la reyne estant marqué selon les connoissances qu'elle m'en donnoit, il ne seroit pas à propos qu'aucun le lût, parceque les defauts et les imperfections luy sont représentées à elle mesme, ce qui demande un secret incommunicable.

"Je suis chargé par la reyne d'aller faire une sollicitation pour le payment prompt des arrerages dûs de sa pension, à fin qu'on puisse satisfaire aux salaires de ses domestiques, ce qu'elle a marqué avoir bien fortement à coeur et donc je m'aquitteray bien vivement.

"Pour la liste des autres pensions je scay que tout vous sera mandé n'estant pas de mon ministere de m'en mesler, comme je ne l'ay jamais fait de tout le temporel."

(Renewing to him the most respectful and tender sentiments of his heart and offering his services in whatever he may deem him capable of.) They will have informed you of the opening of her body, by which it appeared that she could not have lived much longer, from the decay of the lungs and the great abscess in her side, left by her last illness, which she often felt. 12 pages.

SIR H. STIRLING to the DUKE OF ORMONDE.

1718, *April* 28 [-*May* 9].—I have just received yours of 3 *May*, and am extremely concerned you have not got any of mine since 31 *March*. I wrote 4, 11, 14, and 21 of this month. I am extremely sorry any of them should have

miscarried and should be no less so to think I had fallen under your suspicion, as if I were capable of so great a neglect, when I know I had promised and that you expected otherwise from me. But I hope you will have some of them before this reaches you, especially the last, with which were enclosed the *passes*. You will easily believe it's with regret I sent *them*, since I had far rather wished you had found *things taking such a turn as that your stay* might have been more agreeable as well as more profitable towards the *business you intended*, but, as I told you that there was nothing in these parts *that would make hopes for a change*, so I now repeat it, not *but that the Czar* has the same sentiments of and for the *King* as formerly, but, as there has not only *no minister from Sweden been as yet in Finland*, so the last accounts from thence assure us that, when *they* were on *their journey to the place*, *they were recalled upon Ducker's return from England*. Whether this happened from an *agreement with England* or only to have them *instructed in the conditions offered* in order to bring the Czar to the *best terms*, is not yet known, but I'm afraid of the first and that, if Görtz was sincere in what he said to *Jerningham*, the opposite party to his designs has got the better of him, for I cannot imagine, if he had *had the direction of affairs*, that he would go that way to work, with such visible contempt of the Czar that, though his *minister has been waiting for him those four months*, yet he has scarce once taken notice of him, and, if that is the case, the face of affairs is quite changed, and consequently nothing to be depended on of what he either promised or said. I wish I may be mistaken.

I delivered the two from the *King* and *Mar* to *Dr. Erskine*, as you desired, but, as his *cipher* was not at hand, he has not yet perused them. As to *Jerningham's journey*, he thinks it will be to no purpose, both because, as things stand, no resolution can be taken, and that, if they have a mind to insist on the conditions he says Görtz seemed to think necessary for *Sweden*, they are such as *the Czar will never grant*. But, lest his presence should afterwards be necessary, he had better stay where *he is*, which will be less taken notice of, which is impossible to be avoided here, seeing there is neither *lodging nor any other conveniency to be had in this place*. If this reaches you, I hope you will be convinced that, as there has been nothing to have been expected from this place, so I have not given occasion to such inexpressible inconveniencies as *Jerningham* charges me with in his to *Dr. Erskine* and that you will impute it at least to my misfortune and not my fault. 2 pages. Copy by Ezekiel Hamilton.

WILLIAM GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May [10]. Paris.—I wrote to you two days ago with the express sent by General Dillon to acquaint the King of the Queen's death and thereby sent all the letters I had then received.

The Queen's death will make a terrible desolation at St. Germain's and amongst all our people that are subsisted, so I doubt not you will think soon of some effectual remedy, else a great many will starve and be forced on some desperate measures. Enclosed is a letter I had from C. K[innaid], which I think he designed for you. Lieutenant Dugat, who was in Glenbucket's regiment, is lately come over, who begs to be subsisted, so, if there be a fund for others, he pleads for and expects your protection and by everybody's character of him, they say he merits it.

JOHN WALKINSHAW OF BARROWFIELD to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 10. Paris.—I delayed answering your letter in answer to mine received some time ago till Mr. Freebairn's return, and, since money is scarce and my numerous family and poor services deserve no better than to be put on a common list, I shall incline rather to oppress an undone family at home than to be troublesome to the King. I wrote in a cantish style some time ago to Col. Middleton to meet me at Dieppe and had two letters delivered him. My design was to know how far the two brothers (Argyle and Ilay), his patrons and my friends, resented the bad treatment they have met with. The enclosed is his answer and excuse for not meeting with me. You know him trusted. The words, money and creditors, you will understand to be his patrons. If you think this affair worth managing, I shall follow instructions. At the same time Middleton must not be named to any person that either has been or shall be employed in this affair.

The Commissioners of Enquiry are now in Scotland and are soon to open their Court. Their powers are so extravagant, uncommon and contrary to all our laws, that it strikes terror to our country and to all parties wrath and indignation against the present settlement. If any scheme be laid down, I am convinced no time is to be delayed of putting it in execution. It is the greatest misfortune to the King and our cause his being obliged to be so remote from his business and nothing can remedy that but his being nearer the centre of his business or your being somewhere in this part of the world with a *plein pouvoir*, where the King's friends may have access from time to time to offer schemes and reasons fit to be laid down for his service, those now here employed being plainly incapable to do the service necessary and so invisible to all but some Irish of mean understandings that, if he had capacity, no manner of business could be done with him. You will pardon what I have writ. If measures be timely concerted in the right place, considering the present situation of our affairs and the multitudes of friends, I think the King's affairs not in the least difficult.

I was at St. Germain's all the time of the Queen's illness. They were not in the least alarmed till Friday night,

notwithstanding that she had a continued fever from 5 on Monday morning. I never did see so much stupidity as I saw there. I am heartily weary of the expense of this place and design to-morrow to retire to some country place in Normandy. If you have any commands for me, Mr. Arbuthnot or Mr. Gordon will take care to convey them safe. *The words read Col. Middleton are erased. Enclosed,*

COL. MIDDLETON to J. WALKINSHAW.

I had your two letters. The concern for those we owe money to is in the end our business as much as theirs, and my friends wish as well to us as you would desire and will take their own way to ease us. I cannot possibly make the trip to the Bath that I am desired for many reasons arising here, which you could not apprehend where you are; but I believe the end of it is answered effectually and it is exactly the same thing. It is very bad at present that one cannot write either amours or business but, if opened, it's ascribed to politics. Whoever serves this so, the Lord help their heads. I wish to God our principal creditors had been as charitable and easy as they are now. I would fain wish they would help us with the rest. All that can at present be expected of them is to give no obstruction to our settling with the rest of our creditors. March 30—April 10. London.

ALEXANDER DUGUD to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 10. Paris.—Having served as lieutenant under Glenbucket's command, after the fatal dissolution of the army I was obliged to fly, and was loth to be burdensome to the King, while a little fund of my own lasted. That being now quite exhausted, I am obliged to throw myself on the King's bounty and under your protection, which I do with the more confidence that my uncle, Dr. Abercromby, was honoured with your patronage, which you have generously continued to his poor widow. I hope you will pardon my application being somewhat unseasonable, when the King must be afflicted for the death of his Royal mother, since nothing less than absolute necessity could force me to it.

GEORGE HOME OF WHITFIELD to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 10. Rouen.—The mournful emergent of the Queen's death occasions the trouble and freedom of this line, which I hope you will forgive.

While her Majesty was alive, the distressed subjects had a constant supply from her, and a ready recourse to her bounty. But, Providence having deprived us of so charitable a mistress, God knows what now will be the fate and misfortunes of us poor forlorn creatures. His Majesty is not in a condition to afford any relief. The subjects dare not return, and, if they could, it were only to be insulted, harassed and starved,

since their fortunes are seized and at present putting to a public sale. To steal or rob we cannot and to abide on this side in a miserable condition is an uneasy lingering death. The greatest part know not which way to procure a morsel of bread, and those, who, it's like, can make some shift for a support, must be scattered into all the corners of the wind.

This is the dismal situation of our affairs. The wound is yet green and not much felt, but who knows to what an incurable ulcer this may arrive, unless his Majesty's wisdom and your sound counsel do not speedily apply some remedy. We are reduced to a very hard dilemma. To continue longer in these parts were to render the King's friends on this side, who are neither few nor inconsiderable, altogether unserviceable through poverty and to hazard another attempt against the usurper might be deemed a rashness. To wait for a general call from the people will require a great measure of justice and a long time safely to accomplish it, and to expect assistance from foreign princes is a thing very uncertain, this being only obtained when princes have certain and sure views in advancing of their own interests.

Since in all human probability we have nothing before our eyes but downright ruin and misery, what should hinder us from trying once more the fortune of the desperado? Our forefathers were much more reduced than we are at present and yet they by their courage and hardiness mastered their bondage and settled themselves in a freedom.

If Providence should again baffle our attempts, we then die like men and not as cowards and beggars on the common roads in foreign countries. Our consciences will acquit us by performing our duties and our memories will continue sweet to posterity, even though we did fail. May not methods be taken to raise commotions in all the three kingdoms the more to distract our enemies? His Majesty might be secretly conveyed into some private place, not at too great a distance, and there remain till numbers were got together suitable for the defence of his person and then he might take his fate with us and amongst the Scots as his truest friends. If serious reflection were made on the present ferment and humour in the nations, I apprehend that no person is able to make a conjecture on either the good or bad success of such an effort, and if he did, it would tend to the best.

If his Majesty inclines that his return should happen by the good will of his people, endeavours would be used to have his residence fixed nigher to his dominions, but who amongst the princes or Hanse towns will hazard to receive him is hard to determine. The good offices of a Protestant prince are much more acceptable to England than those of the Roman Catholics, and there is no doubt that, if the English were sounded, they would assure that the way to facilitate his return were to cast himself under the protection of the Swede or some other Protestant prince or state and not to continue longer

under that of the Catholics. Many amongst them retained a strong jealousy of her Majesty's influencing the King in matters of religion, in case he were restored; nay, I have heard them resolve that the Queen should never again enter the dominions. This groundless fear is now removed by her death. I pray God to comfort his Majesty under the loss of the best of mothers and us in being deprived of a good and most generous Queen. How far it might agree with his Majesty's inclinations that the Regent should be sounded about the supporting of his subjects for a time, you are the most competent judge. Though he be in an alliance with the usurper, yet, if he be willing, the money which is given need not by any outward appearance seem to come from his hands. There are princes of the blood and other great men, who would not scruple to father such a *pia fraus*. The King's friends will wait impatiently the signifying of his pleasure and intentions anent the disposal of themselves. 4 pages.

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, May 11. Vienna.—I have received yours of 21 April, by which I understand that all my letters have arrived and that you have communicated them to the King and the Duke of Mar. I have reported to Monsr. Stiernhock what you informed me of. He has learnt with satisfaction that all his letters have arrived and that his Majesty is pleased with them. He has told me to assure his Majesty of his faithful attention to everything that can contribute to his interests. He cannot write this post but will do it fully the next. He is still without letters from the King of Sweden but intelligence from other places gives him ground for hoping for a good end to the peace negotiations between him and the Czar, notwithstanding George's intrigues. I have certain news that the Czar returned to Petersburg 4 April N.S. By my continued correspondence with one or other of the Czar's ministers, I shall be able to advise you positively of the issue of the Congress of Aland. The letter I sent Mr. Erskine will be just in time, for he will be returning there with the Czar. (About the mode of transmitting his letters.)

People speak of it as a certain thing, as may be seen by the enclosed paper, that the proposals for an accommodation between the Emperor and King Philip are approved by the Emperor. Nevertheless, since up to the present they have not been ratified or signed on either side, the Emperor tries to gain time before binding himself by the said peace, and, if in the meantime he comes to terms with the Turks, far from renouncing the crown of Spain, he will try to join himself with the English and Holland in order to carry on the war with King Philip. It is the Spanish ministers here that inspire him with such sentiments, but the German ministers are for peace with Spain. The differences between this Court and that of Muscovy with regard to the deposition of the

Czarowitch increase more and more. The Emperor contends that the Czar has broken his word, which he gave him while the Czarowitch was in his hereditary states, and perhaps all this may take fire in time. 5 pages. *French, much of it in cipher, deciphered.*

JAMES III to LIEUT.-GENERAL DOMINICK SHELTON.

1718, May 12. Urbino.—As little as I am able to write, I cannot but tell you how glad I am you are safely arrived in Paris, and how pleased I am with your successful endeavours there. I hope you will have as good luck in your own affairs and that they will not keep you long in your parts. All that relates to me is in the supreme degree of obscurity and uncertainty, but that, I think, cannot last long.

I should be glad to have under Dr. Ingleton's own hand that paragraph you transcribe about my letter to Leslie. I shall not enter into any detail, and indeed it is needless, for, since *Queen Mary* and *Dillon* are pleased on one side and friends in England are extremely so both with *the King* and *Mar*, all little *tracasseries* now deserve but contempt and forgetfulness. It being impossible for me to let *Inese* know I am satisfied with him, and being resolved on t'other side to stir no more in that matter even for *Inese's* sake, I have no other party to take but that of silence. I am heartily glad *Queen Mary* is in so good health and have sent her abundance of cedrats with the Grand Duke's Florence wine. *Copy by Nairne.*

JAMES OGILVIE OF BOYN to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 12. Paris.—Expressing his most particular share of the general grief for the irreparable loss of the Queen and his concern at such a sudden and severe affliction to his Majesty.—My true zeal for the King's service and my sincere attachment to you oblige me to think it my duty to acquaint you of anything coming to my knowledge that may have the least bad consequence, though never so well meant, and, though I am convinced that even those that take a little freedom in speaking of the present management of the King's affairs have no design of making division amongst his loyal subjects, but that it may proceed from a little self love and interest on a small picque that they are not entrusted with the secrets of his affairs, however, this unreasonable way of thinking may produce bad effects by the improvement our enemies may make of it. This matter being too long and too troublesome for a letter, I have given a full account of all that has come to my knowledge to Mr. Freebairn, who can inform you from point to point. I hope you will not condemn this proceeding. 3 pages.

The MARQUESS OF TULLIBARDINE to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, May 12.—Acknowledging his of 1 April, received the 8th instant, and expressing his satisfaction at the King's good

health and offering him his most humble duty.—I have not yet seen the wild lad, my brother, for he stays three or four leagues distance, but he has desired me to give you his service.

CAPT. JOHN OGILVIE to [the DUKE OF MAR].

1718, May 12. Dunkirk.—After my letter parted, something comes into my head I could wish you to know. I have been very earnest to penetrate into the mind of Capt. Maghie and have used the same endeavour with his cousin Macmamara and find there is a great intimacy between Brigadier Hook and them. I find by them that *Mar* proposed to have drawn Hook into *the King's* service, but Hook would not accept and the reason he gives is this. The way that was desired of him to serve did not please him and, on all the transactions that he ever acted in for *the King's* service, he was so keked (? checked) by the Queen and *Lord Middleton* and he could have done several pieces of service to *the King*, but it was always marred by *Lord Middleton*, and this he can make appear by a too true demonstration. Therefore he is resolved never to have any manner of dealings with that court directly nor indirectly. They tell me he knows me, and that he knows on what footing I stand with *Lord Middleton* and that he is also well informed that *Capt. Ogilvie* is entirely devoted to *Mar*, therefore he is content to open his mind entirely to him that he may represent it to *the King* and *Mar* only. If *the King* will honour him with a few lines from himself, ordering him to serve him, and will assure him he shall have to do with nobody but *the King* and *Mar*, on those conditions he will embark in *the King's* service and he has prayed that I may be persuaded to come up to *Paris*, but I will take no such step without *Mar's* orders. I am told Hook is very capable to serve *the King*, being very well with *the Regent* and perfectly well known to all the foreign ministers, and that he is a penetrating, cunning, fast-headed man, but I think him a subtle, crafty, ambitious, intriguing man and that he may perhaps be very ready to undermine his superiors by his undertakings and ascribing much to his own merit.

Menzies told me that about half a year ago came over one *Edwards*. He had a great many written instructions and made it his business to be intriguing mightily with some work-people that are friends to *the King's* interest, but it was found that all his instructions proceeded from letters he had received from Sir W. Ellis, who, they judge, is not let into great matters himself, but they say he eats and converses with a certain work-creature, that writes some of *the King's* letters, when they are in the language of the country where they are at present. I could not devise this, unless it had been told me, for I shall never write or tell you a story without giving you my author for it.

In the next place I refer you to the last three lines of a letter I received from *Menzies*. I could have torn off the last part of

it and sent it you, but I shall never have any secret from you, and, to convince you it's so, I send a letter I received from *Anne Oglethorpe*, wherein she would have me impose on *Lord Oxford* by keeping my being in *England* a secret from him. You may be sure I was not there without sending him several letters and messages he would soon judge did not come by the post, but I know she advertised him herself, but I must write so to you that you might believe she did not show your letter to *Lord Oxford*, but I know she sent it to him by Mrs. *Ogilvie*, who knows *Mar's* hand a little too well to be mistaken, but, though all had been as she would have me believe, I should think myself a very ungenerous scoundrel to be capable of any thing I would make a secret of from one that trusts me with his honour, life and fortune. You see what fine promises she makes me, but I know them well to be only French compliments, but I am too old a bird to be caught with chaff. I have neither forgiven nor forgotten the little mean intrigues contrived betwixt her and *Menzies* to hinder poor Mrs. *Ogilvie* from paying her respects to *Lady Mar*, for on Mrs. *Ogilvie's* arrival *Menzies* was sent in a great hurry to forbid her to go near *Lady Mar*. She was not willing to obey, therefore *Anne Oglethorpe* assured her that *Lord Oxford* had sent Mr. *Cæsar* from the country on purpose to forbid her to go, on which Mrs. *Ogilvie* wrote to me and I sent you the letter, but I wrote back and ordered her, notwithstanding *Lord Oxford's* orders or any body else's, to wait on *Lady Mar*, on which she wrote to *Lady Mar* to know if it would be any harm to *Lady Mar*, if she waited on her. *Lady Mar* sent her word it would not, on which Mrs. *Ogilvie* went frequently, so when *Lord Oxford* came to town Mrs. *Ogilvie* found he had never sent any such thing, but on the contrary was mighty inquisitive how *Lord Erskine* did as to his health. The next thing was little *Hamilton* was very troublesome to *Lady Mar* and a great clamour was made about him, and how ungenerous it was of *Lady Mar* to let him starve. This was highly magnified by *Menzies* and *Anne Oglethorpe* so the *Duchess of Ormonde* was acquainted with it, so she sent some gold immediately to *Hamilton*. This was magnified to the skies by the new two friends and the young knight (Sir R. Everard) and all their crew. One *Charlton*, a busy chaplain to *Lord Arran*, brought the gold to *Menzies*. As I told you, they would have fain persuaded me that I was dropped also by *Mar*, but I convinced them that that would not take with me; but, when they saw that *Inese* was laid aside, it entirely struck a terror into the whole party, for, when they found that strong tower was levelled, it made them all think there was no kicking against pricks.

I shall say nothing till it shall please God to send you a happy sight of *Lady Mar*, who will avouch all I have written. I pray you pardon me for writing all this, for I have no design in it than that my friend may know who are his faithful friends.

It's true it's necessary for *Mar* to manage *Anne Oglethorpe* and make her believe he has great confidence in her, but *verbum sapienti*.

Mr. Gough sent a son of his to Spain with a 30-gun ship and cargo, but the Spaniards have taken him into their service to transport troops. His son writes him word that the major-general of the armado is a Scotsman. I fancy his name is Fordyce. Mr. Gough prays you to recommend his son to this major-general. Mr. Gough had written to *Inese* praying him to write to you to beg this favour, but *Inese* never answered him. The young man is he that offered himself and his frigate for *the King's* service. (Again pressing his request for an equerry's place.) I send you here the Marquess of Huntly's retreat from the battle of Sheriffmuir; it will make you laugh.

This port of Dunkirk has got a free trade; that is, all sorts of goods are permitted to come into it. The little sluice is finished, but they are perfecting the canal quite down to the sea, and to keep it as large as ever it was, when the great sluice was in being. Great quantities of powder and cannon ball are coming here every day and they say the cannon that were carried to Calais are to return. What truth is in this I know not, but the two English commissioners are very angry, that is, Armstrong and Leslie. They are every day taking up people at London and putting them in prison. Since Cowper was removed from being Chancellor, they say his house was searched. A gentleman here let me see a letter from London of it, but I have much ado to credit it.

Just as I finished my letter I received the fatal news of the Queen's death, but notwithstanding I was willing to send my letter just as I had written it, that my friend may see how matters stand and take his measures accordingly.

It will be both for *the King's* and *Mar's* interest that the neck of sending over messengers after the packets be broke, for some men do not care to write what they have a mind to have believed, lest letters may rise in judgment, but there is not that danger in verbal messages, when sent by one's own creature. To be plain it's Mr. Kelly I mean. I never saw him, nor can I have any prejudice at him, only I know what he advanced in *England* to the disadvantage of those that I both love and esteem, and I know every word he advanced to be false. It's nothing to me who may be sent, provided they behave discreetly and do justice to the character of men of worth, for I never intend to see *England*, unless commanded by *the King* or *Mar*.

Had it not been for poor Father Græme, the whole packets had been in great danger, for *Kelly* was positive to have them in this packet-boat with himself, which was a risk indeed, but the poor father opposed it so vehemently that he went in the packet-boat by himself. 8 pages. *Enclosed*,

J. MENZIES to CAPT. OGILVIE.

We were very glad to know you parted so prosperously. I hope by this time you are to S. Genevieve. I beg you ten thousand pardons for the blunder about the enclosed, for I can blunder sometimes in a hurry, as well as any man of Ulster can do deliberately. The night I put in the other letters that were in the same packet with the enclosed, it is plain that it slipped and was left in the waistcoat pocket where I found it last Saturday, not having used that black waistcoat these three months.

We have no news here these few days, only we cannot determine whether to go to the Baltic or Mediterranean, nor are our ten ships yet manned.

There is a villain going about here to ensnare people, pretending extraordinary trusts he has had from Morris (? Mar). He lived at Bayonne. April 7[-18].

ANNE OGLETHORPE to CAPT. OGILVIE.

I have received yours and rejoice much at your and your friend's safe landing. I take it for a lucky omen for your further business.

I have not sent nor shown yours to Lord Oxford; some things having happened that I think it more for both your interests he should still be ignorant of our friend's journey and think it absolutely for your service to leave it there. I fancy you will rely on my judgment in this. I advise you to desire Mar in his answer to Lord Oxford not to mention the journey. Tell Capt. Ogilvie I desire him to find out a good convent in Lo[wer] Normandy or any cheap province. There are some that will feed them and clothe them for 10l. a year apiece. Let him lose no time to find one, for I have reason to hope I shall be able to compass having all these girls sent.

COLIN CAMPBELL OF GLENDARULE to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, May [? 12].—Thanking him for his letter of 1 April and protesting he was far from taking any umbrage at his not writing, as he knows him too well to imagine him capable of forgetting his friends and desiring him to give his service to various friends.—Yours came seasonably to make your compliments to Clanranald and Brigadier Campbell, for both of them were here.

The Marquess writes to you this post and designed it to go under my cover but, without thinking, enclosed it to Mr. Gordon. 2 pages.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Friday, May 13.—This is only to cover the enclosed from Maréchal de Villars, Maréchal de Matignon and the

Duke of Lauzun. The latter makes high profession of zeal and friendship for every thing that regards *the King* and his service and indeed so do the others. I don't question but *the King* will return a kind answer. Their endeavours for his service may be of some use, and especially the first.

W. GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 13. Paris.—Forwarding the encloseds.

CHARLES FORBES to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 13. Paris.—I am so scarce of money, that I have not so much as to buy a suit of mourning on this occasion. I have been this twelvemonth kept off with cheats of the French law and at last am forced to leave my process to Arbuthnot's management. I have been very little obliged to him and Mr. Gordon for bringing me in this trouble only to serve them, so I hope you will order me some.

Mr. Freebairn will acquaint you with all our news more fully than I can write. I desired Boyn to write you freely what our discontented courtiers are daily spreading here, laying all the blame on you that nothing more effectual is done for a restoration. Among other things they say the Duke of Argyle might be gained, if proper methods were used and that Barrowfield offered to go to London to have sounded him on that head, if the King would have allowed him, but that you have given the King so bad an opinion of him, that he will use no endeavours that way, and that the King's own subjects might do the affair without foreign assistance, which projects they are to lay before his Majesty. I take Mr. Leslie, who is one of their chief projectors, to be much of Salton's (?) temper, though not of so good sense. Though most of what they say is not much to be noticed, I thought it my duty to acquaint you. For my part I believe there never was so favourable a disposition among the people, but I doubt without a foreign force if it were possible to raise the country, but, if 3,000 men could be got, I am persuaded it could be effectually done.

FATHER GAILLARD to JAMES III.

1718, May 13. St. Germain en Laye.—Representing to him the condition of Father Maxwell and his extreme need of having some subsistence by his Majesty's favour.—He has served the late King and Queen and his Majesty as chaplain for thirty years, and is old and incapable of performing any service, if he is sent to some of the colleges of his province in Flanders, being always devoted to their Majesties' service and being capable only of being an expense to the colleges where he may be sent. As it is apparent that some persons will be kept here in the apartments, if he is assisted by his Majesty, he will then pass his days in prayers and in peace. *French.*

The DUKE OF ORMONDE to JAMES III.

1718, May 13.—Last night *Ormonde* received the *King's* of 30 March with the account of *Wogan's* journey. *The King* will have before this received the copies of *Sir H. Stirling's* that *Ormonde* sent him, which inform him that there is nothing to be done in the marriage affair, therefore *Ormonde* hopes that the *King* will not lose any time in getting one of those young princesses that *Wogan* mentions. *Ormonde* has nothing new to acquaint the *King* with. He designs to begin his journey this evening and to go by the way of *Prussia*. *Sir H. Stirling's*, which *Dillon* will transmit, shows the reason of my taking this route.

Jerningham goes for *Petersburg* but cannot get an answer to several of his to *Dr. Erskine* nor from *Sir H. Stirling*.

The DUKE OF ORMONDE to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, May 13.—I had no letter from *Dillon* last post. His last was of 12 April. (Informing him of his intended departure and of his route, as in the last.)

CAPT. GEORGE CAMOCKE to JAMES III.

1718, May 14. Paris.—Her late Majesty told me that your Majesty consented to my serving the King of Spain as Rear-Admiral of his fleet. I humbly beseech you to grant me a commission as Admiral of the White Squadron of your fleet, to bear date at the time I served under the Duke of *Ormonde* on our unfortunate attempt. It will be a means for the King of Spain to give me a better rank in his fleet than what I now have. I would not presume to ask this grace, were it not my rank according to seniority. No rank nor advantage shall prevail on me to serve any prince, whenever I shall receive your commands.

CAPT. H. STRAITON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 3[–14]. L[eit]h.—The 12th of last month I troubled you with a very long letter and with it answers to all contained in yours of 3, 4, and 8 Jan., which I judge are all safe at *Sir H. Paterson's* hands by this time, to which I can now add very little. Yours of 6 March and 12 April both came some days ago, and you have here enclosed *Father Carnegie's* answer to yours and the other letter is from *R. M[urray]*. *C. Kinnaird* is at London and I am in doubt whether I shall hazard or not sending yours to him, for he told me at parting he would be here again about the middle of this month.

What I am ordered to pay to a gentlewoman by yours of 12 April, I shall do, as soon as I possibly can, and I will be under a necessity to draw on the banker you mentioned for that sum and some more, for *Sir H. Maclean* will need board

and other necessities. I think you are right about the gentlewoman's name, though I cannot be very positive, but I am confident her husband's was the same with the *Duke of Montrose*. Her son now represents a worthy person and I heartily wish *the Duke of Montrose* were every way like him.

What you write concerning Mr. *Inese*, I had already some account of from himself and *the King's* commands are and shall be always sacred to me; and I shall not communicate anything relating to his affairs to any he is pleased to lay aside, but I expect it will not give offence that I serve a particular friend and his family in their personal private concerns.

I am truly sorry you should have any occasion to complain of *Menzies* or anybody else. Be his faults or mistakes what they will, I think I have had no accession to either, for I was very little acquainted with him, when he went from this twenty odd years ago, and since that I have never seen him, and, though I was desired to recommend him as a factor, I declined it. I never had, to the best of my remembrance, any sort of correspondence with him till some time after *Mar* came last here, and, whilst he was here, I sent all the other's letters to him, and one of the most material I sent to *Mar* after he was on the other side of the water, and since then I have not had I think above four letters from him and those of very little importance except one that brought a packet from you last summer.

I think I shall have little occasion to write to *Dillon*, till I have directions from you. I hope I need not trouble you often with letters that way through the common post, for they will go much safer by sea to *Sir H. Paterson* and I can find some occasions to him every three or four weeks and he can have the same occasions to me, so, when you have anything to send that's bulky or of much import and requires not haste, I wish you may always send both to *Sir H. Paterson*, for not a few letters are opened at the post offices here and elsewhere almost every post. $1\frac{1}{2}$ page.

ROBERT MURRAY to the DUKE OF MAR.

[1718, May.]—After so long silence and so much distress I cannot express how much yours of 7 Jan. raised my drooping spirits to find myself in the same degree of your favour. I shall do what's in my power to merit the continuance of it. Nothing could be more agreeable to me than to know of the perfect health of the friend you are with. I'm very proud of the honour he does me.

I saw my friend William lately, who returns your compliments. He's so well recovered of his long indisposition, that he now takes his ordinary divertisement of hunting at his country house, but the effects of his illness have made him much more crazy in his constitution.

I almost forgot to tell you that the old factor paid 50*l.* to an order of *the King* on his having advice for so doing. It was the urgent necessity of the receiver made him make the demand and he hopes that will plead his excuse. He wishes the occasion of such things may be of short continuance, but hopes not to be forgot, if 'tis his misfortune to continue under his present straits.

Though your commands have ever been observed by me with the greatest exactness I was capable of, my present unlucky situation makes the return of my desire to be with you as frequent as the days I live and my heart would die within me, if I did not persuade myself that either some pleasing scene will open to bring us soon together here or that you will employ me where you are on the first proper occasion. *Enclosed in the last letter.*

MRS. B. STRICKLAND to JAMES III.

1718, May 15.—My unspeakable grief will, I hope, obtain your pardon for my writing to your Majesty, for, now I have in the Queen lost all the protection in this world, I must humbly beg you will continue to me what the Queen for several years gave me out of her private money, which was 1,000 *livres* a year, she being sensible it was impossible for me to live on what I had ever since Mr. Strickland's death. The night her Majesty died, she called me to her and said, how sorry she was not to be able to recompense my faithful services, but that she was sure your Majesty would be kind to me and mine. I have the fine damask table cloth and the dozen of napkins belonging to it, which you gave the Queen. She bade me keep them for her, so I shall wait for your orders about them.

Sir Roger presents his most humble duty to you; he has not yet done anything in his business, but has some hopes.

FANNY OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 15.—I wrote you by the courier, that Mr. D[illon] sent you, an account of what measures had been taken relating to the continuation of the p[ensio]n, and I must tell you that the person I told you in my last that my sis[ter] had sent for and who was to speak that very day to *the Regent* gives us leave now to name him. It's *Duke of Chaune* (i.e. Chaulnes) son to *Duke Chevreuse*. He has the liberty to say what he pleases to *the Regent* and is one of those now in favour. He promised to say all that was thought proper. *M. de Mezières* gave him his lesson, for that's a little necessary with him with the best inclination in the world. It's needless to repeat it you, but the whole was that it was *the Regent's* interest, for by the little *King's money* he gained our *King's* friendship, and it would make him believe that *the treaty* past was what he was necessitated to, that, if he missed this occasion

which cost him directly nothing, it would look like a personal aversion to *the King*, would be of the worst consequence, if ever he ceased to be unhappy and would make all the Catholic *princes* cry out shame, as well as even his own *country*. This and a great deal more of the same nature was the conversation that *the Duke of Chaulnes* was to talk on, which he did that evening. He found *the Regent* very cold. He said his heart bled to see the situation, but what could he do ? the *treaty* tied his hands.

I don't know if M. le Duc [de Bourbon] and several more that M. de Mezières had put in your interests had spoke to him, but the next day *Chaulnes* came again to the charge and told him all that was proper. They reasoned mightily together. *Chaulnes* did not talk to him as *the King's* friend but his, and showed him 'twas his interest. The end of the conversation was : I'll give you my word and honour I'll continue the list of *St. Germain's*, I'll send for it. You know that's not our business at all, that that and nothing was the same thing, that old women and children were unhappy and wanted assistance, but 'twas not them that was most to be pitied and that whatever he intended to give must be directly to *the King*, to be distributed as he thought fit among his *court*, and that else he would not look on it as an obligation, that he personally had more occasion for it than *St. Germain's*, and, as it was to please him 'twas done, it must be him directly that touched it. In short, he again promised that he would give. He said, he saw plainly it was fit, but did not name the sum. He said, however, he would see the list, that ways must be found to give to *the King*, which was not easy because of the *treaty*, and that he would talk again to him about it. M. de Mezières bids me tell you that *the Regent* is certainly now in the resolution to do handsomely by *the King*, but that he does not answer he will continue so, because you know he's not always the same. *The Regent* told *Chaulnes* that he knew that Mr. D[illon] was to meddle no more in your business, that there was no great loss, that a gentleman was coming (naming him) who was to take his place, that measures must be taken when he had anything to say to him, because he durst not see him publicly, being he was one of those that were in *the late affair* and that he had but keep himself private to prevent *Stair minding* him.

Yesterday M. de Noailles came to see M. de Mezières. He told him that *the Regent* had bid him order Mr. D[illon] to be with him to-morrow morning and to bring the list of *St. Germain's*, as it will be the first time they have talked directly or indirectly of that affair, Mr. D[illon] waiting for *the King's* orders. We fear that something may be proposed, which may spoil our designs and what is done already. I believe you can't but approve what M. de Mezières has done ; I wish it may please *the King* and prove successful. M. de Mezières thinks it very proper, in case you like the measures he has taken

and have a mind to have him continue by the same way, that *the King* should write a civil letter to *Chaulnes* to tell him he's informed how he has acted in this affair and that he's obliged to him and finds he has the same zeal for him that his father had, for you know his father was the man that meddled in the *descent* the first time. A civility to him from *the King* is necessary, in case you have not other more certain measures and his service is useless to you, but the reason that *M. de Mezières* made both him and other people act near *the Regent* is that delays in those affairs are dangerous, and that, if he had not been spoken to before your courier comes back, a great deal of time is lost. As the people that spoke have done it for themselves, *the King's* name is no ways engaged and you're the master to take what other measures you think fit, but particular care must be taken to give the turn that what is to be given may be entirely in the disposition of *the King*.

René [Macdonell] three or four days ago asked *M. de Mezières'* advice to go with Mr. Camocke as a volunteer this summer in Spain. He approved his notion mightily, he being entirely idle here, and only ruining himself disagreeably, for I'm sure nobody has lived so melancholy a life as he has this 18 months. We don't doubt but you'll like better his going anywhere than staying here any longer. He'll be always ready to serve the master, whenever he's happy enough to have his service agreeable to him.

The news here is that the Queen has in her will left all the arrears of her jointure to the Regent. If it's true, it's a masterpiece, and the friend (*M. de Mezières*) flatters himself that in that case he'll see you here, for, if it's true, it must be given with *éclat*, for fear it should be kept in silence. The friend tells everybody we see that, if it's true, it's a noble *fidei commissum*, to put that strongly in their heads. In case you or *the King* writes to *Chaulnes*, send us the letter.

I would fain have you send us word, if we may give your strong box to Mr. Gordon, for I find nobody that will charge themselves with it. I wrote to the Duchess, but she made me no answer. They say positively that Spain will accept the treaty. *The Regent* told the person that talked to him so much of you all that, if you had any hopes now, it came from *Spain*.

JAMES III to CARDINAL SACRIPANTI.

1718, May 15. Urbino.—I learn by my cousin, la Connestable Colonna, that her son, le Connestable Colonna, has some reason to complain, because the honours of Prince of Soglio, which he enjoyed, have lately been discontinued to him.

You know my interest in that illustrious house, and I therefore earnestly beg you to recommend in my name to his Holiness the just pretensions of that prince and to support them with your best offices. *French. Entry Book 1, p. 235.*

DR. J. INGLETON to JAMES III.

1718, May 16. St. Germain.—“This mournful occasion and the tender zeal and concern I have for your Majesty will, I hope, excuse the liberty I take in pouring forth the affections of a heart wholly penetrated for the great affliction, wherewith it has pleased God to visit you. 'Tis doubtless the greatest sacrifice your Majesty had to make, but I hope the father of mercies, and God of all consolation will support you in this as well as other trials, and make it serve as a proof that you truly love him, in being resigned to his will. *Ad Dominum cum tribularer clamavi, et exaudivit me.* Our affectionate zeal and love for the Queen makes us, 'tis true, lament without bounds and yet even this should methinks rather fill us with interior comfort and joy, for her exemplar and unparalleled life and death leave no doubt of her happiness and why should we grieve that a person so dear to us has changed a miserable afflicting state for one that is infinitely and eternally happy? We therefore mourn, not for the Queen, but for ourselves. Her death was the punishment of our sins, but for her it was a passage to everlasting glory. She was worthy of heaven, but we were unworthy of her and she might truly say with St. Paul, *mihi vivere Christus est et mori lucrum.* I have now had the honour to serve her Majesty near twenty-five years, and the unchangeable piety and example I have been witness of will, I hope, never depart from my thoughts, above all, the last scene wherein she showed such perfect resignation and so ardent a desire to be with her Creator.

“The funeral was performed with all the solemnity and order imaginable. The convoy set forth about seven in the evening. I had again the mournful office of carrying the heart in my hands. The whole country about seemed assembled for a great part of the way. We arrived at Chaillot a little before twelve. We found the gates of the convent open and the whole community in the cloister with lights and tears to receive us. The body and heart were set down there, while I spoke my short harangue to present them, which was the fifth time I have been so unhappy as to speak upon the like occasion.

“The Superior made a very modest and religious answer, often interrupted with sobs and tears. From thence we proceeded to the quire, where we found a mausolée erected and adorned with the greatest pomp and decency I have ever seen. Upon this the body and heart were deposited while a numerous assembly of priests sung the *Libera*.

“This, Sir, will I fear only serve to renew your grief, and yet methinks 'tis some ease to talk and write upon this doleful subject.”

RENÉ MACDONELL to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 16. Paris.—Mr. Camocke is appointed by the King of Spain *Chef d'Escadre* and has orders to go immediately to Barcelona to command one of the squadrons

there. I am resolved to go and volunteer it with him this campaign. All my friends here have advised me to it. I must beg of you on this melancholy occasion to find some way for asking his Majesty's permission for me to wander this summer. $2\frac{1}{2}$ pages.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Tuesday, May 17.—My last letter from *Mar* is of 19 April. *The King of Spain* has rejected the proposal made him by *the Elector of Hanover* and *the Regent* in relation to the late scheme of union. I am assured, however, and by a very good hand that *the King of Spain* has proposed a new method for the same effect, which, as you may easily imagine, is more advantageous and honourable to him and *the King of Sicily* than the first. Most people believe that *the Emperor* and *the Elector of Hanover* will not acquiesce to it, and that this unexpected change will occasion war in *Italy*. In this case *the King* may reasonably expect that *the King of Spain* will give him all the sharp he can, it being pretty plain that his own interest will induce him to take *the King* by the hand if a formal rupture happens between him and *the Elector of Hanover*. In some time we'll be better informed ; till then no settled judgment can be made on this.

I enclose *Ormonde's* last to me of 24 April with two notes since received from *Butler* and *Jerningham*, dated the 28th and 29th. I'll say nothing to friends with *England* of what *Ormonde* mentions about the money, having still some hopes that *the Czar* will not oblige him to depart so suddenly.

Enclosed are *Menzies'* last two letters to me with the prints. I don't question you are informed of the injurious reports spread in *England* about *Queen Mary* and *Dillon* which occasioned some uneasiness to friends there. Whatever gave rise to it I can't determine, but malicious persons will still act their part, and, so *the King's* interest does not suffer by it, *Dillon's* share of the matter will give him little or no disturbance.

You'll also find a packet from a Duchess with enclosed letters for *the King*, one from Mr. Camocke, who parted yesterday for *Barcelona*, and another from *Abbé de Roquette*.

I drew out of the post office two packets from *the King* to *Queen Mary* that came last Friday and shall do the same till *the King's* orders come. I will not open them without directions, but thought fit to secure them in my own hands to prevent all accidents. The Court here is in mourning for *Queen Mary* and 'tis said they will do the same in *England*. $2\frac{1}{2}$ pages.

JOHN CARYLL to JAMES III.

1718, May 17. Paris.—I humbly beg leave to address myself to your Majesty on the loss of the best Queen and

the best mistress, which no subject can have more reason to lament than myself after the many marks of bounty she showed me while I was her servant. Her regard to the memory of Lord Caryll, who left me nothing besides his death-bed recommendation to her Majesty, which he counted on as a fortune to me, induced her to have a particular consideration for me, often assuring me I should never want, while she had anything for herself, besides the often repeated promises of recommending me to be placed in your family, whenever a proper time should offer.

Soon after Lord Caryll's death you granted me a private audience and promised me that, whenever the Queen should fail, you would provide for me. Now that it has pleased God to take her away, I am forced to have recourse to your royal bounty, after having spent the best part of my youth in her service and what fortune I had of my own, the small salary I received not being sufficient to maintain a gentleman, that you will be pleased to order me such subsistence as I can live on, till it may please you to admit me into your family.

In whatever station I am, I shall endeavour to show the same zeal for your service, as I did during almost 17 years that I served the Queen, who, I had great reason to believe, was thoroughly satisfied with me, and I hope I may deserve from your Majesty a continuance of the royal favour she honoured me with. *Over 3 pages.*

JOHN CARYLL to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 17. Paris.—Enclosing the last, flattering himself on the promise his Grace made him at Avignon of his protection that the contents thereof will be favourably answered, and stating his circumstances, as in the last, and that he had never yet lived under the rate of 4,000 *livres per annum* and hoping that his Majesty will not allow him less than what his Grooms of the Bedchamber have.

The DUKE OF BERWICK to JAMES III.

1718, May 17. Bordeaux.—“Nobody is more sensibly touched with the Queen's death nor takes a greater share in your Majesty's most just affliction than I do. My hearty wishes and poor prayers shall never be wanting for your Majesty's prosperity nor shall I ever omit any occasion of giving you real proofs of my most dutiful respects and of my concern for your Majesty's welfare.”

The DUCHESS OF BERWICK to JAMES III.

1718, May 17. Bordeaux.—Begging him to receive the assurance of the deepest concern for his great loss, which nobody can feel more sensibly than she in regard of the share she shall ever take in all that relates to him, and next in

gratitude for the obligations she owes that great Queen, whose memory and goodness to her shall ever be precious.

COL. F. BULKELEY to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 17. Bordeaux.—Joining with his Grace in lamenting the death of the Queen and begging him to find some opportunity to mention him to the King on this melancholy occasion and to assure him of his constant zeal and devotion to his service, and recommending to the King's goodness and his Grace's protection an old servant of the late Queen's, who, he is sure, was always a most affectionate one, his mother, who since the death of her royal mistress has nothing to depend on, but his Majesty's favour, which, he makes bold to say, she deserves by her perfect respect and duty for the King's person and service.

T. BRUCE to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, May 17. Brussels.—By a letter from the Duke of Mar I was directed to give up corresponding with Father Innes and to address myself to you. Father Innes wrote to me to the same purpose and told me he had put into your hands a key by which he and I used to correspond. I have observed lately, though not to my surprise, that the funds were somewhat slow, out of which some honest gentlemen were subsisted here and, as our great loss by the Queen's death will rather increase than lessen that difficulty, I presume it may give a proper occasion for reforming some part of the expenses here, for which reason by advice of some friends here I offer my opinion with respect to some who are subsisted here and who may be restricted in their allowances or rather entirely reformed off the list. I enclose their names with the reasons which seem to distinguish them from others here, who are in such circumstances that they cannot go home. All or most of them have run themselves in debt, having now the second month running in arrear, and therefore, if it is thought fit to reform them, it would seem necessary they be qualified to pay these debts and to transport themselves home, where they may have bread, or to some other place, where they may have service. After they had agreed to this some months ago and signed a paper to that end, they were diverted from it by Mr. Maclean, who, I believe, is now at Paris. (About a means of avoiding invidious distinctions between those reformed and those continued on the list.)

I cannot give you any news ; nothing comes to our hands but from the public Gazettes, unless you would take it as a piece of diversion to know somewhat of the inclinations and humours of the people here with respect to the present situation, which I have had some occasion to observe.
Enclosed,

The SAID LIST.

1. *Thomas Scott, nephew to Col. Scott, was at Preston. It is said he has a living of his own. He was not in prison and is in no danger of going home. He has substantial relations at home. He was at home lately and came back again.*
2. *Mr. Mackenzie never was in the King's service nor in prison. Says he designed to serve the King.*
3. *Mr. Fleiming was for some years a footman and was groom to Capt. Lockhart at Preston. Never in prison.*
4. *Mr. Cameron was never in the King's service. Was a pensioner in Chelsea Hospital. His services not known here.*
5. *and 6. Mr. Brown was a maltster in Dundee, and Mr. Maclean, now at Paris, a servant to a periwig maker. They were in the army at Perth and may find subsistence by their trades anywhere.*
7. *James Ross was at Perth and is in no danger. He was bred a surgeon at sea and may find employment.*
8. *Mr. Horsey was at Perth and is in no danger. He is of the Pays de Liège and has relations there.*

JOHN PATERSON to THOMAS SANDERSON.

1718, May 17.—Acknowledging with pleasure his letter of 28 March [–8 April], though the subject was not the most agreeable.—I had heard something before of the story you write about myself. I have God and a good conscience before me, so that it did not interrupt my quiet one moment. If a man must have enemies, and it is not easy for one in my way altogether to avoid it, 'tis some comfort to find, that, though they don't want malice enough, they are not overstocked with wit. If they had as much common sense as they seem to have ill-nature, sure they might have contrived their matters better than this. I have been constantly with my master, ever since I left your neighbourhood, and am happy enough to have from him and from my other master, whom you call your old acquaintance, all the favour even you could wish for. I have vanity enough to think that neither ever entertained an ill thought of me, which, I believe, I could prevail with one of them to confirm to you in his own hand, were that necessary. While I can maintain myself on this foot with them, it will be in nobody's power to disturb my tranquillity. I cannot imagine who could have been the authors of this story, nor am I very solicitous about it, but I think I can say with confidence I have not deserved it at their hands, but I forgive them, though still, if you can give me any light into it, I wish you would.

I am indeed out of countenance that our two good friends should have wrote to me first, and know very well how much I have been always obliged to the *statu quo's* good wishes. You know he ever had mine. Such as they are, he has them

with all my heart. Pray make him my kind compliments and deliver him the enclosed and the other to his friend, who wrote along with you.

Though you would not take the liberty to offer your humble duty to your old acquaintance, I did it for you, and he accepted it very kindly. He is as well in every respect as you wish him.

I am extremely obliged to the honest gentlemen of our old club for thinking of me. (Desiring him to give his services to various people.) $4\frac{1}{2}$ pages.

JOHN PATERSON to ALEXANDER PATERSON.

1718, May 17.—Thanking him for his letter of 28 March [—8 April].—I am very thankful to you for not believing what you had heard of me. It is a malicious story enough, but cursedly ill-contrived. One may say of the authors of it they have been so much fools as well as knaves, that 'tis hard to judge whether they are most one or t'other. However, it will not be amiss that you bring me to life again in your neighbourhood, so that, when I come your way, people may not take me for a ghost. I assure you I am really alive and in good health.

The gentleman you mention in yours, who wrote the postscript to mine, is very much your humble servant, and desires me to make his kind compliments to your b[rother] and you.

The wine of this country is none of the best, but we make shift sometimes to remember our friends at home and he and you are not forgot. *Over 2 pages.*

MEMOIR.

1718, May 17. Urbino.—The King's friends in England, thinking it must be of service to him to be truly informed of its present state, especially with regard to their trade, coin and public credit, thought it their duty to send one to lay the following particulars before him :

“It is most certain that the commerce the subjects of Great Britain enjoy by virtue of a good understanding between them and his Catholic Majesty is of infinite advantage to the kingdom in general and extremely profitable to the merchants in that trade.

“It is therefore natural to believe that the trading part of the kingdom, particularly the South Sea Company, were extremely alarmed at the first appearances of any misunderstanding with Spain, the fears of which affected considerably the public credit, which is the basis of the present Government, and produced a remonstrance from the merchants upon the steps that were taken in order to send a fleet into the Mediterranean. The South Sea Company went so far as to acquaint the ministry that they had a ship ready to sail worth above 80,000*l.* sterling, and demanded to know whether things were in such a state that they might venture to send her.

“ They received for answer that their fears were groundless, and were desired to pursue their trade, and as to the fleet Mr. Stanhope told them it was for maintaining the peace they so much desired, by preventing a war in Italy, in the consequences of which all Europe might be involved, that in order to this they would act reasonably and with regard to justice, and might probably have occasion rather to be of the King of Spain's side than otherwise ; besides they were given privately to understand that the parties concerned were so much afraid of the power of England, when they saw it was to be exerted, that they had submitted their differences to the arbitration of the Elector of Hanover, and that all this affair between the Emperor and his Catholic Majesty would soon receive a final determination, which would be supported by the united power of France and England. Thus for some time they composed a storm which had before sunk the public credit, and would have struck at the very foundation of the Government, as it certainly will, as soon as a war shall be declared with Spain, the truth of which proposition will appear from what follows.

“ The great scarcity of silver coin in England, and the distress the people are under upon that account, is a fact so public that it is not to be doubted but all Europe is informed of it, but as to the causes of this calamity which is a growing one, and which, if there be not a stop put to it, must end in the subversion of the present Government, they may not possibly be so obvious, especially to foreigners.

“ However advantageous the trade with the subjects of Spain has been to England since the last peace, yet England has apparently lost by their trade with several others, the most considerable nations in Europe.

“ The Dutch during the war as well as since the peace, have drawn a considerable sum of money yearly as a balance upon that account.

“ The English Parliament rejected a trade with France to have been opened upon the foot of the Treaty of Commerce concluded between the two kingdoms at Utrecht, upon pretence that after a nice computation, the balance of trade, if carried on according to the Articles of that treaty, would be against England and that they would be obliged to answer it, by carrying over yearly so much silver or gold. Ever since the peace the people of Great Britain have taken from France great quantities of wines and brandies &c. without having leave to import any of their manufactures into that kingdom, so that, in place of having a small sum of money only to send yearly to answer a balance of trade against them, which they supposed would have been the case according to the Articles of the Treaty of Commerce, they have been obliged to send money for everything they have received from France, by which no doubt considerable sums have gone out of the kingdom of England.

“The English had formerly a beneficial trade with Sweden, or at least they sent enough of their manufactures, corn, leather, salt, &c. to answer the commodities of the growth and produce of Sweden, which they brought from thence, and which they cannot possibly be without, such as iron, &c. Now they have prohibited commerce with Sweden and take Swedish commodities from the Dutch and from Hamburg, with this remarkable difference that the prime cost is above a third more, and must be answered with silver or gold, (the balance of trade with Holland having been before greatly against England) in place of exporting the goods of their own growth, produce and manufacture, which, as was demonstrated to the Parliament, has last year and will for the future, occasion a yearly exportation of silver or gold to the value of 150,000*l.* sterling, besides the loss the kingdom sustains of delivering this part of their navigation into the hands of foreigners.

“When a stranger is King and has so great a revenue as 700,000*l.* sterling *per annum* for his own use, when numbers of Germans are daily making their fortunes by selling employments, civil and military, and in short every thing that is in the gift of their Master, as they will not think those fortunes secure, but in their own country, it cannot be doubted but great sums have been exported upon this account.

“These are so many visible canals by which the English silver has flowed into foreign countries, but by them the nation could not have been so suddenly drained and brought to the melancholy state it is in. There is therefore another particular not yet mentioned which has contributed much more to the exportation of gold and silver from England than all those put together, as to which it may be proper to know:—

“That the specie at this time in England is not computed to be above ten millions sterling.

“That the Government in England owe sixty-five million sterling, five of which have been contracted since the peace, for their annual support, for the expense of raising an army the year of the King’s attempt upon Scotland, and sending a considerable fleet yearly to the Baltic Sea to do nothing, and all this besides what has been raised within the year from the taxes annually granted upon land and malt.

“That the interest given by the English being much greater than what was to be got any where else, foreigners were thereby tempted during the war to place great sums in the English funds, in so much that it is computed that sixteen millions of the sixty-five abovementioned are owing to people in Holland, Genoa, &c. and to the French, who have of late purchased considerably of the public stocks.

“That to answer the yearly interest of this money there has been a very vast sum exported.

“That the merchants who were to send it from England chose to export silver rather than gold, because they found

a greater advantage in exporting than the other, but now that the silver coin is entirely gone and that there is still the same causes for exporting money the gold is at this time going as fast out of England as the silver did for some time past.

“That both houses of Parliament having had this matter often under their consideration did at last adjourn it without being able to do any thing to remedy so great an evil, which is every day growing; because, besides the ill state of the trade of this nation in general, it was impossible to cure it, without at once removing the chief cause of exporting silver and gold, by breaking in upon the public funds, which would overturn the only support of this Government, and therefore will never be attempted while their power subsists.

“That in the course in which this matter is, it is impossible but England must be soon drained as much of gold as they are of silver, though they should enjoy peace at home and abroad, and have nothing left but imaginary riches stamped by the credit and authority of this Government, upon paper, which must therefore owe its value to the opinion the people have of the security of a Government, which in that kingdom is in such hard circumstances as all Europe are well informed of.

“That, though paper credit, such as Bank notes, Exchequer bills, and the Government securities for the sixty-five millions above mentioned, do pass in the City of London and will pass while the kingdom is in peace, yet real specie is necessary for the service of the country, where none of these things will be received, either by the country gentlemen or the country people, who wish the destruction of the Government, and will therefore never take their paper in payments.

“That, supposing every thing to remain in peace, whenever by the exportation above stated there shall not be a sufficient quantity of real specie left for this circulation, the whole nation must be in confusion, which is unavoidable, and some pretend to compute the time in which this must certainly happen, supposing that the kingdom should remain in peace as has been said. The Government see this, but the only real cure is to them worse than the disease, because their destruction would follow more suddenly upon it.

“If England should declare war against Spain, it is certain, that, as the value of the public funds have fallen above eight or nine *per cent* upon some remote fears of it, so upon such a declaration they would fall at least twenty more, which, though they should not apprehend that this war might in the consequences of it tend to the King’s restoration, would be sufficient to dispose many both at home and abroad to desire to have their estates in money by them rather than in paper.

“If the foreigners should enter first into this thought, and in place of their yearly interest desire their stocks to be disposed

of, and the principal to be sent to them, there is more owing to them than all the real specie of the nation can answer, if it was not hoarded up by particular people for fear of starving in such an event, which already begins to be the case.

"If all the particular people of England, to whom the rest of the sixty-five millions are owing, should enter into the same desire of getting money for their paper, it is obvious how impossible it would be for them to get money for paper to the value, while there is but ten of sixty-five millions in the kingdoms, of which at least a third would be hoarded up for particular private men, which would soon make the public funds fall very low, while every body would be desirous to sell, and few to buy at any rate, and by consequence put a stop to all sort of commerce both within and without the kingdom.

"But, if there should be the least declaration of an intention to serve the King, all the government securities would be no better than so much blank paper, till that matter was over, and people who at this time have the appearance of vast estates, would in a moment be reduced to starving, nothing could then pass but real specie, of which there is not at this time in the kingdom half of what is necessary to answer the common occasions of the people even to go to market for beef and bread &c. which must immediately produce an absolute confusion in the kingdom, and by consequence the utter ruin of the present Government, for it would then pass their power to keep the people in peace, nor would they have wherewithall to pay their army or to take any one step towards it.

"The facts are so true of themselves, and the inferences from them so just, that wise men in England are amazed when they are told that either France or Spain are afraid of them, because they are sensible that either one or the other can from what is above said in a moment overturn the government there, when they find it agreeable to their interest or inclination to do so, and that without any risk on their own part." 6½ pages. *English, with a French translation.*

The STATE of the COIN and CREDIT of the Kingdom.

[1718, May ?]—Observations on the debt, stated to be 55 millions, and the drain of gold and silver exported to pay the interest on the part of the debt held abroad, resembling generally the preceding paper.

JAMES III to POPE CLEMENT XI.

1718, May 19. Urbino.—Informing him of the cruel loss he has sustained and imploring the assistance of his prayers for the soul of the Queen and for himself. *French. Copy.*

JAMES III to PHILIP V.

1718, May 19.—Informing him of the loss of his mother, of which he received the news yesterday. *Cardinal Aquaviva*

will kindly supply the details, which his grief and some recurrence of tertian fever prevent him from doing himself. *There are also copies of this and the last letter in Entry Book 1, pp. 272, 273.*

MATTHEW KENNEDY, LL.D. to THOMAS SHERIDAN.

1718, May 19. St. Germain.—The loss of our good mistress gives us all a great deal of inquietude, not knowing what shall become of us, though it is hoped that the salaries and pensions shall be conserved under the direction of the survivor. The pension you hint is paid to 1 July last and the little rent to 1 Jan. last, and there is upon the balance till then due to me 1 *livre 10 sols 6 deniers*. The last payment I made yourself was for October and November, 1716, so your sisters have touched since for December, 1716, and for 6 months to 1 July, 1717.

OWEN O'ROURKE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 19. Couvonges.—I cannot be silent on the death of our dear Queen, one of the best and most accomplished princesses that Europe has seen of many ages. It is a subject of sorrow for all the King's good subjects, but an irreparable loss for some hundreds of helpless people, that subsisted by her charity and goodness, and are left now in the utmost confusion and misery, unless the Regent takes them into his particular protection, which I think he ought to do for the honour of his government and to show at least a politic acknowledgement for the services of so many that lost their lives in the French interest, whose widows and orphans have an acquired right of being preserved from starving, and I hope some course may taken in that feeling case, that may secure the poor bread they enjoyed hitherto. What gives me the deepest concern is the King's unavoidable grief. His tender affection for her is none of his least virtues, but I am afraid it may in this occasion prove obnoxious to his mind and consequently to his health. As he is exposed to the rudest shocks of fate, I hope God will afford him constancy and resignation equal to the trials He puts him to. I know he cannot look on the Queen's decease, but as the beginning of her happiness. Almost her whole life was but a long series of tribulation and crosses of all sorts. Her piety made a continual sacrifice to God of all that is sensible to man upon earth and crowns her long sufferings in this miserable world by her glorious entry into a kingdom where no revolution is to be apprehended. His Majesty owes himself entirely to so many thousands of good subjects both at home and abroad, that breathe nothing so much as his restoration, and ought to preserve himself carefully to fulfil their longing expectations. I know, besides what may affect his tenderness, he will have a real loss in the Queen's death as to his interest; his correspondence with his friends will

become more difficult and God knows how the article of subsistence will go.

It is hard to form any right judgment of the affairs of Europe at present.

It is evident that the Regent and George, as well as the Dutch, will leave no stone unturned to prevent a war, which is easily seen to be contrary to their several interests and indeed it is likely they may secure that great point, notwithstanding the great and unexpected preparations of the Spaniards, who, as it appears, may come at their ends without a war. We are now at the critical juncture, that must unriddle these State mysteries.

I do not doubt his Royal Highness has writ to the King on his mother's death. I shall be at Lunéville by the beginning of next month, having lately had a very unexpected difference with our neighbours here that must be settled before I part.
Over 3 pages.

J. MENZIES to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, Thursday, May 8[–19].—The prints will give you an account of our talk and current sentiments. The *Post Boy* is more particular and respectful as to the Queen Dowager than was thought any of them would be. The Dutch memorial in the *Daily Courant* is not doubted to be genuine, and it shows them to be nettled. They need not wonder who informed the Czar of what is there mentioned, for the public authentic newspapers of this country told all the world that it was at our desire the Dutch designed to fit out so great a squadron.

We have had many expresses these few days, but the news neither from the South nor the North nor the Alps does not please us. The Sicilian minister has given in a very strong memorial against taking Sicily from his master and without his consent.

We shall and must have some new changes shortly in our ministry, and, which side soever of the Whigs' prevails, they must take in some of the Tories to enlarge the bottom.

The Duke of Marlborough has been ill at Tonbridge but not dead, as has been reported. Expresses come frequently from Scotland from the Justice Clerk and a kind of ministry that's there concerning several of the rebels landing there from abroad, and they will run the utmost risk to themselves and their cause.

HUGH THOMAS to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 20. Paris.—Enlarging on the merits of Lord Mar and the heroic conduct of James in exposing his life to all dangers in the most tempestuous season of the year to deliver his people from oppression and tyranny or to die at their head.—When your Grace appeared publicly to assert your King and country's cause, I was not wanting privately to prepare the minds of the people by publishing his Majesty's declarations

and other papers through the whole kingdom, a work, which though many desired, all were excusing themselves from, so that no man else would attempt it, and without this method to gain the hearts of his people, had he recovered his kingdoms, he could not long have held them. In this God blessed me with success beyond imagination, so that, notwithstanding his retreat, his cause now works itself and by the same divine goodness will do so till his enemies are overthrown by the oppressive means they take to secure themselves. This, I believe, Capt. Booth has in part informed you of, as well as of some other private services, by whom I sent his Majesty gratis some years ago the earliest intelligences I was able to learn, till Mr. Inese countermanded the orders I had from his Majesty after his return from Scotland by Mr. Nairne to continue my advice to Capt. Booth, desiring me to direct them to himself, which I constantly did till my coming here.

I have thought fit to publish the enclosed proposals for printing one of the best histories of those obscure times ever yet written, in which my main design is to represent in as strong terms as I can the series of the divine Providence in the government of the world, his justice after long forbearance in the overthrow of wicked princes and states with his goodness and mercy towards the injured by such distant truths as no government can take offence at, though the history ends exactly parallel with the present dangers in the overthrow of the nation by those old enemies of Britain, the Saxons, of which country Hanover is but a small province, which examples may even convert some of the present governors themselves, when bitter invectives can only inflame them and must consequently rather damage than advance his Majesty's interest by bringing both their authors and readers into danger.

That the most ignorant may not fail to give it a right application, I intend to add his Majesty's paternal descent through the most obscure ages, which perhaps is one of the most ancient and best proved in the world, as well as his lineal descent by right of inheritance to the thrones of all the royal families that ever reigned in Great Britain with all the collateral branches from James I now in foreign parts, of which the English nation in general have been kept in utter ignorance, no man daring to publish anything but the House of Hanover. As the author dedicated it to James I presently after his coming to the crown of Great Britain, he has taken no small pains with the history of Scotland, to render it the more acceptable to that King, and indeed has given it the best defence I have seen.

To make all the princes of Europe, especially those of France, reflect on the injuries of those times as well as the people of Britain, I had a mind by his Majesty's leave to dedicate it to the King of Sicily or some prince of his issue as his Majesty's nearest relation and to raise the spirit of that prince to exert his Majesty's cause from being so honoured in our

kingdoms on that alliance, which, I pray God forbid, may one day be their own advantage, if I could be recommended when my work is finished and approved, nor would it do his Majesty any small service in foreign parts, if I had any of the princes of France amongst the names of my subscribers. I humbly beg your patronage and recommendations to his Majesty and the honour of your answer. 3 pages.

SIR HUGH PATERSON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 20. *Rotterdam*.—I wrote to you the 15th when I sent you two from *Lady Mar* and *Sir H. Stirling*. I now send with this three packets for *Mar*, sent me by a friend from *Capt. H. Straiton*. One of them is from *Mar's* namesake *C. Erskine's* brother and *Capt. Straiton* tells me the others are returns to those I sent him from *the King* and *Mar* some while ago. He says he has wrote fully to *Mar* of several things and hopes to hear from him with his first convenience. He desires me particularly to remind *Mar* that it will be very proper to write a short line the first opportunity to *the Earl of Wigton* and the lady he mentions who are both very ready and willing to serve him and may be useful; and it will not be amiss that *Mar* write likewise to both of them. I have heard from other hands of *the Earl of Wigton's* willingness to contribute every way in his power what may be of any service to the Company. *Capt. Straiton* advises that *the Duke of Montrose* be applied to. I know not what to say to this and *Mar* has had formerly so much discourse with that person on the subject that he will best know how to do it. His behaviour of late shows indeed he is no way satisfied with the present measures and he has shown several favours of late to *the King's* friends. I am only afraid he wants resolution though to enter into my right measure. What would you think if *Mar* should write him a friendly letter on the foot of the old friendship betwixt them, in which he may lay his own interest and the present state of his country before him, which he seems to have at heart, and it's certain he has very little to say at present with the present managers and has not interest to get the least favour from them for anybody, and they say he is in no kind of friendship with his old friend and manager *Glenagies*. The namesake of his, whom *Capt. Straiton* mentions, is most proper to deliver him any letters or messages, and I know he has some weight with him, and I am sure will use his endeavours with him. If it's judged proper anything be sent to the chief, *Mar* may write likewise to the namesake and *Capt. Straiton* will deliver all to him.

I hear *Tullibardine's* father is fallen very ill in his way from *London* to *Scotland*, and some accounts say he lies dangerously ill. That change would make all go very well there, for I am persuaded *Tullibardine's* brother (Lord James Murray) would do everything that could be desired,

Capt. Straiton judges it proper that something may be likewise said to the chief person of *the clans*, who is at home, and, you know, got componed with his creditors and there is a knight of that name and of the same family (*Sir Donald MacDonald*) now at home, who perhaps may expect likewise some such compliment. He has two very honest men to his brothers, who, *Mar* knows, did good service to *the King* on a late occasion, and however superfluous this may be thought, it may do good, but I hope can do no ill and it lets those people see they are not forgot, which goes a great way with them. I have heard nothing of *Appin's* behaviour, since he went to *Scotland*, though I wrote to inquire about it.

I can say no more as to *the peace* affair with *the Czar* and *the King of Sweden* than what I wrote the 15th, for I came here just after to meet the person that brought the three packets. If I learn any further accounts of it on my return to *the Hague*, you shall know it. But nine ships of war are gone from *England* towards *Copenhagen* and *Sir H. Stirling* tells me that *the Czar* has 31 men-of-war ready and in a good condition and none is yet like to go there from this, so I suppose, when *the Czar* knows this, he will be more easy as to some apprehensions he seemed to be under. *Ormonde* has had a list sent him of those that have the direction of these ships, some of whom, it's thought, are not ill-wishers to *the King* and may perhaps be of use, should the trade go on that way. Of all this *Ormonde* was to be more particularly informed by one of those three persons I told you in my last were to pass that way for *Petersburg* in order to enter into *the Czar's* service, and who went there only on the view of being useful to *the King*.

We have now the afflicting news confirmed of the good Queen's death. By a letter I have seen from one that was present during her sickness till her death I find that the physicians that attended her are much blamed for their conduct, and, since I mention this, I must tell you that many of the K[ing]'s friends both here and at home seem concerned that he has not a more skilled physician and of a better character about his person than the one they hear is at present with him. I remember very well, when the Princess died, that some of those then present complained very much in their letters to E[n]gland, of the conduct of the physicians that attended her and that he that's now with the K[in]g was particularly blamed about it. I hope he shall have very little occasion for the advice of any of them, but, should it please God to make it otherwise, it would be no small grief and uneasiness to his friends to think he should want the attendance of a prudent skilled physician, which I must take the liberty of saying Dr. Macgie is far from being thought. I have been often pressed by many to represent this, which I omitted doing till now, therefore, if it's thought officious I hope it will be excused, since it proceeds from no other motive than a true zeal for the K[in]g's welfare.

All friends here and at home are well. The new Act of Inquiry is like to breed a great deal of confusion in Scotland. Lord Minto is a dying and it's said Mr. Wedderburn, Sir Peter's brother, is to succeed him by Lord Roxburghe's interest. Lord Buchan, it's said, is to be Commissioner to the Kirk, which will please him much. I have acquainted *Dillon* by this post of these three packets, who perhaps may know better than *W. Gordon* how to send you them soon. 4 pages.

SIR H. PATERSON to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, May 20.—Expressing his affliction at the Queen's death and entreating him to get forwarded to *Mar* the four packets he is sending this post to *W. Gordon*.—

The King of Sweden's friend at *the Hague* assures *Sir H. Paterson* that *Görtz* set forth the 20th past from *Stockholm* for *Aland* to meet with *the Czar's* friends and that *Gyllenborg* was soon to follow. I had a letter last post from *Dr. Erskine's* friend with *Petersburg*, who assures that *the Czar* continues still inclined to serve *the King* and that the uneasiness he was under on account of *Ormonde's* residence proceeded from his uncertainty of ending *the treaty* with *the King of Sweden*, for, till that was sure, he did not incline to give *the Elector of Hanover* any handle, which he wanted much.

Very soon we shall now be able to see what success *the treaty* will have, to which *the Czar* has all the inclination to put an end. *Ormonde* expected soon to hear from *Petersburg*, on which he will take his measures. I hope *Jerningham* will be allowed to go to meet *Görtz*, by which things may be brought to some point or other.

Cadogan has been here some days in order to carry on the new bargain designed against *the King of Spain*, which I suppose you have heard of.

EZEKIEL HAMILTON to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, May 20.—The 10th *R. Butler* and *J. O'Brien* left this place to go to *Danzig*. *Daniel O'Brien*, *Kennedy* and I will follow when *Kennedy*, who is sick, is able to go. *Jerningham* opened *Sir H. Stirling's* letter, which came after *Ormonde* was gone, believing there might be instructions in it for him. I enclose a copy. Care is taken that your letters may not be lost. Your last to *Ormonde* was of 12 April. This morning *Daniel O'Brien* received a letter from *Mr. O'Berne*. He says that *Dr. Erskine* has writ to *Jerningham* to halt at *Narva* till he receives further letters. *Sir H. Stirling* mentions two letters of 4 and 11 April, which were never received.

BRIGADIER CAMPBELL to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 21. *Bordeaux*.—Our late unspeakable loss affects us all and will perhaps alter measures, yet I have gone

on in the examination of Capt. George's affair. I send you no report, till it be in form prescribed, only tell you in general he owes the crew about 140*l.* sterling. As to the master's interest in the matter he is considerably in debt, but, the executive power being wanting, he will have the less regard for our report. It shall be made with all possible secrecy from himself and others. The interest he had in *St. Germain's* is surprising.

After making two very odd choices of persons to examine into the affair, he found at last one above exception, and I have taken Mr. Lesley for my assistant. He will be obliged to stay here a fortnight and, as he was lately ill, the necessary expense incommodes him. He is in the list with *Majors*, but being a true *Colonel* I wish he was considered as such in the remittances.

(Requesting him to return the attestation of 9 March last signed by John Aberdeen, lieutenant to Capt. George, and Alexander Gordon of the Captain's integrity, that Mr. Aberdeen may see it shall never rise up in judgment against him.)

I had a letter yesterday from St. Sebastian. They write of *Barry's* being in London, and yet I can hear nothing of his appearing there. However, I am of opinion the late rumours we had in those parts had partly their rise from him.

ROBERT GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 21. Bordeaux.—My last letter was of 12 March advising of the ship's arrival from St. Domingo and how ill I had been treated there by the Governor. I am now fitting her out again for St. Domingo, and she may sail about the middle of next month. I will get the best recommendation I can to the Governor to see to get justice.

The melancholy news of the Queen's death seems to astonish many of the King's subjects here, who have no resource but what his Majesty allows them. The irregular payments keep them under a continued pinch, because they must take on trust for sixpence, when they could have as much for a groat for ready money, and I have no orders for February, March, April nor this month, and in a few days we will be in June, which will be the fifth month. It is true I drew 5,000 *livres* on W. Gordon on another account, which not being called for, I applied to the subsistence, but, if it's called for to be applied as first designed, I must pay the money again, and, if left in my hands for the subsistence, it will pay me only for February and March, whereas I have paid April and May to a great many. My last letter from Mr. Dicconson was of 10 March, desiring me to respite payment till further orders, which order is not yet come.

The affair of Capt. George and his seamen is examined, and he places to the King about 140*l.* sterling more than he paid them, but gave credit again for deduction of wages for about 50*l.* sterling, to which the seamen consent on condition

it be laid on by way of proportion, but he is so far from doing so, that he places himself at 10*l.* sterling a month from 29 June, that she parted for Scotland, to 10 Jan. thereafter, which is for six months and ten days after he left the ship (for he said he was indisposed when she went to the Highlands), which is 650 *livres* above the pension of 50 *livres* per month allowed him. I know your orders were only for 45, but Mr. Dicconson ordered 50, which is lieut.-colonel's subsistence, to be paid him, and so I have paid him till February last, though, God knows, he deserves not corporal's.

(Requesting as in the last the return of the attestation signed by Aberdeen and Gordon, George's first and second lieutenants.)

Alexander Gordon, Glenbucket's brother, parted two days ago, commander of a small ship for Scotland, and left a procuration with me to receive what wages are due to him, which are 18*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* sterling placed to the King by David George more than he has received and the deduction by way of proportion comes but to about 6½ *per cent.*, and so would be but about 3*l.* sterling for him, but it's hoped the King will order the whole 50*l.* sterling deducted for wages to be taken off from Capt. George's wages and order him to pay the seamen their full wages.

What he has wronged the seamen in will be found to be but a bagatelle in comparison of what he has embezzled of the King's money under a false pretext of provisions, which is to be examined next. 3 *pages.*

——— to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 21.—Your Grace ordered me to remind you to speak of Mac Dougal's case about the 100 *livres* he borrowed of Robert Gordon in Bordeaux. His pension is less than the rest of the clans, his brother expensive to him, and the expression of his letter is that he wants clothes and thanks God he never knew the want of them till now, his enemies being in possession of what he had at home.

Stewart expects orders to write to G. Mackenzie in any terms you direct. Applecross: his commission from you not yet ordered.

——— for PIETRO FRANCESCO BELLONI to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 21. Bologna.—In the Signor's absence forwarding him the enclosed packet and letter. *Italian.*

MONSIEUR STIERNHOCK to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 21. Vienna.—Apologizing for not giving him his titles in his letters, and sending him a cipher and an impression of the seal with which all his letters will be sealed.—

I am still without letters from the King, my master, his ministry and his chancery, but I have just received letters from a private friend of Gottenburg dated 19 April. He

writes that his Majesty had forbidden those of the ministry and chancery to write any news of public affairs across the sea, and all he could tell me was that Baron Görtz, after attending a Council held at the town of Christenhamm, on the frontiers of Norway, where the King had gone to review the troops stationed on them, had lately left for Stockholm, and it was said he would thence proceed with Count Gyllenborg and Secretary Klinkenstrom to the Isle of Aland, to treat with the Russian ministers. Count Reventlow has also received a few days ago a letter from Baron Görtz of 13 March, telling him he would soon leave for Stockholm, and that he could tell him nothing further at present, except that with God's help the King would revive gloriously, that he had 70,000 good troops fit to serve wherever he thought proper, and also a numerous fleet in a condition to put to sea, and that perhaps the Emperor would have cause to repent of his neglecting the King as he had done, and his delaying so long to send a minister to Sweden to cultivate his Majesty's friendship, which his Majesty is inclined to do, if he sees a reciprocal inclination. Baron Eichholtz, the Mecklenburg Envoy here, who is Minister of State and Grand Marshal of his master's Court, received a little while ago a communication of a letter written to Berlin by M. Osterman, minister of the same prince to the Court of Russia and brother of the Russian minister of that name, who is charged with General Brus with the negotiation of the peace with the King of Sweden. As M. Eichholtz is an old friend of mine, he has communicated the whole of it to me in confidence.

1. The Czar has again declared to the Hanoverian Resident at his Court, that he will not withdraw his troops from Mecklenburg according to the demand that Resident has made on behalf of his master, but that he will on the contrary do his best to support that prince.
2. The Czar's undertaking to communicate faithfully to the Court of London all that passes in the negotiation with the King of Sweden and not to conclude without the said Court, which undertaking was reciprocal to that of the said Court, was a mere show, to which the intention did not correspond, as the Czar was too clear-sighted not to perceive that the Hanoverian undertaking was of the same kind, and that he, Osterman, saw no hopes of a reconciliation between the Czar and Hanover.
3. The Russian ministers at Abo had sent workmen to the Isle of Aland to build a few small houses there, and they were waiting only for a courier from Baron Görtz to proceed thither, and he (Osterman) was always hoping for peace between the Czar and the King of Sweden to the exclusion of Hanover and the more so, as on the one hand he learnt by news from Sweden that Baron Görtz had always the upper hand there, and on the other the great disturbance the Czar had excited in his own country and the situation of his affairs abroad seemed to demand that peace and the King of Sweden's friendship.
4. The Czar was probably going to apply himself

seriously to finish soon the negotiation with the King of Sweden, having first settled at home the great business of the succession, the guaranty of which the Czar wished to make an article of the treaty. He had ordered a list to be sent him of the Swedish officers and soldiers prisoners, of whom there is a great number in various parts of his empire, which shows he was thinking of making arrangements for their transport to Sweden when making peace with the King of Sweden, and that they were speaking in Muscovy of a marriage between the Duke of Holstein and the Czar's niece, the sister of the Duchesses of Courland and Mecklenburg, and also of a marriage between her and the King of England.

Letters from Hamburg say that a counsellor of the Court of Hanover, named Schrader, sent by that Court with new proposals of peace with the King of Sweden, was arrived in Sweden, that Mr. Fabricien had set out to return to England with the King of Sweden's answer on the proposals conveyed by him and General Ducker, and that this answer consists of a repetition of assurances of his inclination to a reconciliation, but on condition that everything that belonged to his Swedish Majesty should be restored to him. The great obstacle hitherto to the peace negotiation between the King of Sweden and the Czar is the giving up of Reval. The King of Sweden considers that place and port as the key and gate of his kingdom on the side of Russia, and consequently its restoration is absolutely necessary for his security. You may be convinced that the King will not desist from claiming the restoration of that place with the province of Eastland, of which it is the capital. I cannot doubt that so enlightened a prince as the Czar will understand the danger he exposes himself to, if he insists too long on that article and obliges the King to come to what terms he can with Hanover to the exclusion of the Czar and then to enter without delay into the projects of the Emperor and King Augustus, in which it has been projected that the King of Prussia and the Dutch should join, projects not only to reduce the Czar to the condition from which he extricated himself by this successful war, but also to take away from him something of his own in favour of Sweden and Poland and to overthrow the newly established succession to his empire by exciting a movement among his subjects. I assure you that what I have just stated about the projects against the Czar is absolutely true. After this I leave it to you to judge of the danger that threatens the Czar, if he does not immediately agree with the King of Sweden so as to make that enemy a sincere and trustworthy friend. I wish with all my heart for that event, so fortunate for both these monarchs, and I hope it is near at hand. There is no time to lose. *Aut nunc aut nunquam*. I write this that you may immediately make use of it with your friend at the Court of Muscovy to facilitate and hasten the conclusion of that great work. I have preached the above to

Messieurs Eichholtz and Weselowski, and they have promised me to write the above effectually. I doubt not their representations, if well supported by Mr. Erskine, will have great weight with the Czar. I would hope the business will be done already, before Mr. Erskine can make these representations.

After writing what precedes, M. Reventlow told me he had been informed from Hamburg that there was news there that one of the proposals of Hanover was to have the King of Sweden paid a million sterling to be employed principally in carrying on war vigorously against the Czar on condition that the King should cede to him the Duchies of Bremen and Verden, either absolutely or till the King of Sweden should be in a position to repay that sum.

If the peace between the King of Sweden and the Czar be made while the Emperor is occupied elsewhere, and a close friendship is formed between them, I would hope that these two monarchs reconciled and allied to one another, above all if the King of Prussia is included, will dissipate his prepossessions against the Czar and in favour of the House of Hanover. If not, we must try to manage our affairs in spite of the Emperor. It appears, however, it is to be desired for our security that he continue occupied for some further time, at least till the above-mentioned foundation is well laid and strengthened. If the King of England could contribute by his influence at the Courts of Madrid and Turin (supposing what is said of the understanding between him and these two Courts is true) to keep the Emperor occupied on the side of Italy, and thereby I presume also on that of the East, since, as I presume, apparently the Turks will be encouraged, if they see the settlement of the affairs of Spain and Italy long delayed, it appears to me that would be for the interest of his Britannic Majesty.

I began to write this long letter fifteen days ago, but have put off sending it from one ordinary to another on account both of my other occupations and the pieces of news that have come one after another.

A letter has at last arrived from Sweden by the English frigate that returned to Lübeck with Mr. Fabricien, which is from Baron Lillienstet, minister of the King of Sweden for the German department. He refers me to the instructions to be received from the King on his return from his journey to Christenhamm. I perceive by its contents that the King has no intention of making a sacrifice, at least a considerable one, in Germany, whether of the Duchies of Bremen and Verden or of Pomerania, and that he claims that the Emperor should at last fulfil his imperial office for the complete restoration of his Majesty in the Empire. Nothing has been written me from Sweden on the negotiation between the Czar and the King of Sweden. It seems to me, however, that by this letter I have a glimpse of an inclination for a reconciliation with the Czar, thereby to pave the way for the

complete restoration of his Majesty in Germany, as also with regard to Poland. Count Reventlow assures me he has had no letter from Baron Görtz by this opportunity, and that his last from him was that of which I have already given you the contents.

M. Weselowski has had a letter from Petersburg of 15 April from his brother, Prince Menzikof's secretary, informing him that having been present, when first the Czar on his return to that city dined with that Prince, and while at table received a letter from General Brus, he heard that the Czar having shown his annoyance at its contents, had said "Well, since the King of Sweden wishes for war, we must make it." This is a proof that Baron Görtz then wrote to the General in a haughty tone that the King of Sweden will be inspired by the justice of his cause, his great heart, the eagerness with which the Elector of Hanover was seeking for peace with him, and the hope of having a better market with him than he had as yet offered, and that his Majesty was persuaded it was more the Czar's interest than his to be eager for peace, since to all human appearances the fatal period of the Czar was approaching, if he did not soon supply the facilities necessary for a reconciliation and a trustworthy alliance with the King of Sweden.

The Mecklenburg envoy here tells me that, notwithstanding the above mentioned news and the obstacles that have been till now in that negotiation, he hopes it will succeed, and adds that his master is doing his best, since his preservation or his destruction depends on it. M. Wesenski also told me, after the news I have just been speaking of, that, if the King of Sweden seriously intends to come to terms soon with the Czar and to ally himself with him sincerely and above all to guarantee the succession of the Czarowitch, Peter, he is of opinion the Czar will yield on the point of Reval and also will join with him with regard to Polish affairs to secure both of them against the consequences to be feared from the perpetuation of the Polish throne in the House of Saxony, united as it is with that of Austria. The Mecklenburg envoy and M. Wesenski also give me strong assurances that they know for certain the great esteem the Czar has for the King of Sweden's person and his desire to be reconciled to him and to form a sincere friendship with him.

The contents of the last letters from Hamburg have just been communicated to me. M. Fabricien is gone to Hanover for an interview with his father, the Hanoverian minister of State, and thence to Bremen for an interview with Count Veiseling, a Swedish Senator, and thence is to return to England to give an account of his negotiation. The answer he received from the King of Sweden is not known, but it seems that it was dilatory and without giving hopes either of ceding or pledging the Duchies of Bremen and Verden. Baron Görtz was on the point of going with a suite of 300

persons on his embassy to treat about peace with Muscovy. There was much talk in Sweden of peace with the Czar and of transporting troops across the sea. General Ducker was named Field Marshal and Governor of Livonia. There was also talk notwithstanding of peace with the Elector of Hanover. I am informed from other sources that that prince, seeing the King of Sweden's firmness, ought to make up his mind to content himself with the acquisition of three good baillages of Verden adjoining his own country, even perhaps giving the King of Sweden some money for them, if he sees that the negotiation between the King of Sweden and the Czar is making much progress and that he has no other means of parrying the blow.

M. Lillienstet writes me nothing about my correspondence with your Excellency, but, as I am informed that all my letters to the King up to the beginning of March have been received and read, I take silence as a note that it is not disapproved of.

I can hardly believe that what I have just read in the *Gazettes* is true, namely that the Czar has ordered the English Jacobites at the Court of the Duchess of Courland to withdraw. I should wish to have some lights about it to be able the better to judge of the plans of the Russian Court. *French. Original of 50 pages mostly in cipher, with a decipher of 10½ pages.*

EXTRACTS FROM VIENNA NEWSPAPERS.

1718, May 21.—(Giving an account of the terms of the treaty projected between the Emperor, the Regent, England and Holland and the considerations inducing the Emperor to come into it.)

Count Windischgratz, President of the Aulic Council, who among the Imperial ministers has the greatest affection for the House of Hanover, a little while ago summoned Baron Huldenberg, the Hanoverian envoy, to repeat with much insistence the exhortations formerly made to his master to bring to bear without delay all possible facilities for reconciliation with the King of Sweden to prevent the Czar's anticipating him with that prince, since, if the Czar did so, that event might be very dangerous both for him and the Emperor. The King of Poland has begged the Emperor to do his best with King George, to have him included in the separate treaty he is negotiating with the King of Sweden, to which King George has answered that from his regard for the Emperor he would not conclude without the King of Poland. The Court of London, after long quibbles with the Emperor about the arrears of the subsidies due in accordance with the alliance between the Emperor Leopold and Queen Anne for the support of the Imperial troops in Spain during the last war, has determined, in order to gain the Emperor's friendship, to pay 140,000*l.* sterling of these arrears, which amount to 300,000*l.*, in three instalments, the first being expected here next month.

(News of the negotiations with the Turks at Passarowitz.) The Emperor designs after the peace to make Belgrade a good trading town for the commerce of the Levant, and, if possible, not to make peace with the Turks without getting one of their ports on the Adriatic the better to establish that commerce. It seems it will be difficult for his Majesty to make this acquisition and that it will be opposed both by the Venetians on account of the dominion they claim over that sea and by the English on account of their Levant trade. Prince Eugene leaves for the army in a few days. It is said the Imperialists will open the campaign by occupying Widdin and Nicopoli near the Danube, which on the one side facilitates an entry into Wallachia and on the other a way to penetrate further into the Ottoman provinces, and that General Merci goes immediately, to march with a corps of 20,000 men to occupy these places. I am informed that Milord Wortley Montagu does not come here, as was said, but returns from Constantinople to England by sea.

(Public opinion in Austria about the projected treaty and reluctance that the House of Bourbon should have in Italy such considerable possessions as Tuscany, Parma, &c., and expectation that the Emperor would delay signing the treaty till he saw if he could come to terms with the Turks.)

The Imperial Court exclaims against the rigour of the punishments of those who were implicated in the business of the Czar's eldest son, and calls them cruel and barbarous. The Resident, Weselowski, and his assistant, the Mecklenburg envoy, say that the art of reigning in the empire of Russia necessarily demands such a rigorous procedure in cases of the least disturbance and opposition to the wishes of the master, and that clemency in such cases, far from being useful to him, would not only diminish respect towards him and submission to his wishes, but would excite others to follow the example of those who have not been rigorously punished and to form conspiracies against the form of government established in that empire, which consists of a power so unlimited and absolute, that the least disinclination to what the sovereign wishes is equivalent to the crime of rebellion and high treason. The Russian Resident presses the Emperor for a prompt decision that the Imperial Resident at Petersburg, who is suspected of having had some part in the advice given to Prince Alexis to retire into the Emperor's country, be recalled. I am informed that M. Weselowski has spoken very strongly about it to the ministers of the Emperor, and that they have replied in the same manner. The Emperor still refuses to recall the said Resident. It seems, however, from the present fear of the Czar, in case he makes peace with the King of Sweden, he will recall him, if the Czar does not give making up the demand. The Imperial ministers complain to M. Weselowski that the Czar in his manifesto published about

his son, has spoken of threats to the Emperor to induce him not to keep that prince in his dominions.

I know from a good hand that the King of Prussia communicated to the Czar what King George lately proposed to him, in order to detach him from the Czar, and to join with him in making peace with the King of Sweden, excluding the Czar. All those allies of the North are curious allies. Never was a league worse cemented than that is at present, and to all appearances it is on the point of being broken on one side or another.

The Duke of Mecklenburg has just written a haughty letter to the Emperor, in which he justifies himself about the confiscation of the goods of those of the nobility of his country, whom he calls rebels, and says he relies on his just cause and the forces God has given him to sustain it. His minister at this Court declares that with the Russians he has at present 12,000 men on foot. 13 pages. *French. Enclosed in the last letter.*

JAMES HAMILTON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 10[-21]. London.—Having a good occasion to *Holland* I acquainted *Lady Mar* of it, who desired me to send the enclosed by the safest method. I also wrote to *Menzies* to know if he had any commands. He sent what you will find in this. *Stair* has wrote here that *James Murray* is gone to *Italy* and is to be in partnership with *Mar*. Few believe 'twill come to that. Your squire (Hamilton himself) is in the old situation and has no way of subsisting but what comes from *Menzies*.

JAMES III to the MOST CATHOLIC KING.

1718, May 21. Memoir.—He conceives it may be of service to the Most Catholic King to be informed of some particulars with regard to the present state of England and therefore thinks himself obliged to submit to his consideration such accounts as he has lately received from thence with what follows.

This appears to him the more necessary because he apprehends things are now come to such a pass, that the M.C.K. for the future cannot have any measures to keep with the present Government in England, and, as he observes with pleasure that their interests seem to be now linked together, he hopes he may be of some service to his M.C.M. in so nice a conjuncture.

The present Government in England is the Emperor's chief support and the Elector has undertaken to act this part, however inconsistent it may appear with treaties subsisting between England and Spain, in consideration of the Emperor's having promised to maintain him in the possession of his new acquired dominions in Germany, a thing

much dearer to him and his German ministers than the interest or honour of England.

It is certain that the English ministry, after succeeding in their late negotiations at the Court of Vienna, made little doubt they should be able to impose on his M.C.M. such terms with regard to the affairs of Italy as they thought fit and therefore they have ever since been at pains to publish that there was no probability of a rupture with Spain, and that all disputes as to Italy were accommodated, by which they composed a ferment which began to rise amongst the trusting people of the kingdom, which, considering the present state of their coin, of their public credit and the insecure settlement of the Hanover family there from other circumstances, might otherwise have shook the very foundations of the present Government.

However, if his M.C.M. persists in his enterprise on Italy, notwithstanding their menaces, there is no room to doubt but they will venture to send a fleet to act against him in the Mediterranean, on which his Britannic Majesty thinks a war must inevitably ensue.

As this war to be carried on by the Elector is entirely in defence of a German cause, by which the honour, interest and trade of the English nation is to be sacrificed to the private views of the Elector, his Britannic Majesty submits it to the consideration of the M.C.K. whether it may not be proper in any declaration or manifesto on his part to make a distinction between the King and people of England and the present German Government there, protesting a sincere disposition to live in friendship with the first but declaring war against the usurper and his adherents.

Considering the present state of affairs in England, it is little to be doubted but a declaration so adapted to the humours, thoughts and wishes of the people would of itself ruin the public credit and consequently the present Government. But most certain it is that it would inflame people of all ranks to such a degree that, on the least appearance from abroad in favour of his Britannic Majesty either from the South or the North, they would embrace the opportunity to do justice to themselves and their rightful sovereign.

His Britannic Majesty is also under a necessity to represent the danger he apprehends he is in from the present posture of affairs.

He observes the Emperor and the Elector absolutely united in interest together, and is also sensible that it is by his means that his M.C.M. can best propose to withdraw the support of England from the Emperor and does not doubt the Emperor may judge of this in the same manner. He therefore does not think it improbable but the German troops in Italy may receive orders to seize him or surround him where he is in such manner that he shall no longer be master of his own motions, by which method the Elector might in some degree be quieted in the possession of England and the Emperor by consequence be assured of the continuance of their assistance against Spain.

He therefore, after acquainting the M.C.K. with a particular which if put in execution would be entire ruin to him and of great prejudice to the interests of his M.C.M., hopes it may in both respects deserve his attention and cannot but propose as the only certain way to prevent it, that he would allow him a retreat in some part of his dominions, where he may be at full liberty to pursue such measures as shall be thought proper for their mutual advantage and security. *Nearly 4 pages. Draft with French translation.*

The COUNT OF CASTELBLANCO to [? DAVID NAIRNE].

1718, May 21(?). Montpellier.—Expressing his sorrow at the Queen's death and requesting him on a fit occasion to offer his condolences to the King and to assure him of his inviolable attachment. *French. Torn.*

COL. J. PARKER to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 22. Montargis.—I presume you had the Cardinal's answer he sent me. The Queen's death has given us great despair, especially to me and my family, who long since had perished with hunger. 'Tis said the Regent has sent to know his Majesty's pleasure and many are in hopes of his consideration. I hope you will represent my case, which is more than miserable. Imagine what 50 *livres* a month could do in a family quite naked and now no credit left. If my pension due four years were paid, I owe the greatest part. I undertook a small farm, and got 100 arpins sowed, but six days after the Queen's death all was seized for my rent and the corn I borrowed to sow. I hope those who counselled the King at Bar not to make use of many his tried and faithful subjects, who offered their duty, have no more power. I humbly offer my service. 'Tis absolutely sure I cannot resist longer in France, and nature pushes to risk all rather than suffer an ignominious death in a gaol here. When I escaped out of the Tower, the means proposed were so improbable that nothing but being sure to die by the hand of the hangman prevailed on me to venture. I hope you will favour me with your protection and not leave me to the *reglement* of St. Germain's, where I have now no friend.

The EARL OF MIDDLETON to JAMES III.

1718, May 23.—“I should have been afraid of appearing in your Majesty's presence, if I had not been encouraged by your most gracious letter, which would have comforted me for anything but the irreparable loss under which we groan, but this thought is too selfish, for she is certainly happy and the number of your advocates increased, who plead the justice of your cause continually before the throne of the Omnipotent.

. . . . “If six and thirty years service to three kings may merit anything, I make it all over to the old woman and her children. I have nothing else to leave them. Your Majesty

has promised them your favour and protection. I depend on it and shall die quietly in praying for your prosperity." *Enclosed,*

The COUNTESS OF MIDDLETON to JAMES III.

It would be very much to be admired and, I am sure, not to be imitated by the old woman, if your Majesty under the innumerable trials should not express the being sensible of them. The last I will not dare to speak of, only I hope Cardinal Gualterio will be at Urbino before Mr. Dillon's courier. May 23.

GEORGE MACKENZIE to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, May 23. Paris.—Explaining that he had deferred writing to him for some months because those on that side of the Alps had been so often made believe that those in Italy were to come nearer them, that he expected every week to see him and their other friends and, as all there are now talking of disposing of themselves some way or other, asking him to let him know what he should do to get out of this indolent state, since they are obliged to shift their expectations of seeing home for some time.—If I were as gay as you have seen me, I could divert myself with the paragraph wherein you are so kind as to offer to succeed me with my poor Peggie, but she's likely to have so ill pennyworth of both that I cannot well be merry on that subject. $1\frac{1}{2}$ page.

CHARLES FORMAN MACMAHON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 23. Versailles.—In a journey the other day to Chalons sur Saone I met an Englishman in the diligence, and, not liking his countenance, was curious to discover him as much as I could. I found him to be a stiff Hanoverian, and, the better to carry my point, I put on the same shape. We soon became very intimate, and he told me he was going to Geneva and Turin, and in a little time somewhat further. He is a Presbyterian minister, and, in case he should draw near Urbino, he may be easily known. (Description of him.) He left London about three weeks ago, and was bred in Sir William Trumball's family. I strongly suspect him to be sent on some errand. He told me a piece of secret news, which I do not know what to make of, that there is absolutely a design to shake off entirely the spiritual power of the Pope here, for which purpose a plan is already sent privately to the Archbishop of Canterbury by several of the Sorbonne, who are now writing a book on that subject, which will be published very soon, and that there is an Irish priest very eminent in the Sorbonne, who is deeply concerned in the matter. I would fain have learnt his name, but he protested he had forgot it. He likewise told me that Mr. Beaver, who is Lord Stair's chaplain, and, as he says very intimate with the persons in this design, was his author for all this.

The reason of my going to Chalons was that Mr. Camocke, having been lately made Rear-Admiral of Spain and commander in chief of the Barcelona squadron, wrote to me the day he left Paris to follow him and accept of being his secretary,

if I thought it worth while. My narrow circumstances obliged me to accept, and I immediately set out with Capt. MacDonnell, but, finding myself very much out of order near Chalons, I did not think it proper to proceed further till I should hear from him from Barcelona. In the meantime I am returned here to put my family in a little better order than the haste with which I left them would permit. 4 pages.

THE DUKE OF LIRIA to JAMES III.

1718, May 23. Madrid.—Condoling with him on the Queen's death, wishing that the happy day of his restoration may soon come and declaring that he is ready to sacrifice his life, whenever his Majesty shall command him.

NOTE.

1718, May 23.—Of money to be given to different people on account of their mourning.

SIR H. STIRLING to SIR HUGH PATERSON.

1718, May 12[–23].—I received yours of the 2nd last post and acknowledge the receipt of several since 11 Feb. I have heard several times from *Jerningham*, who has been with *Ormonde* for some time, but he is so full of speculations without the least solidity to found upon, that to me it seems next to an impossibility that his schemes should take effect, for, if *Görtz* has been in earnest with him, which by the bye I hardly believe, that *the King of Sweden* insists on the restitution of *Reval* and *Viburg*, he may as well demand *Petersburg* and so leave *the Czar* nothing, which no man can expect he will grant, and yet *Jerningham* talks of this as a thing he wonders *the Czar* can refuse. However, it's certain those points will be the principal hindrances of the *peace*, which is so far from being ended that it's scarce well begun, for as *Ninian's* (keyed here as *King of Sweden*, elsewhere in the cipher it means the *Czar*) agents were stopped on the road and recalled to consider of *the Elector of Hanover's* proposals, so you may believe nothing has been hitherto done that looks like a conclusion. But at last they are actually arrived, with what intentions God knows. I would fain hope that, since *Görtz* was apprised of *the Czar's* intentions before his going to *Sweden* and that they still seem to retain a great inclination for a *treaty* notwithstanding *the Elector of Hanover's* offers, the latter are not so advantageous as the former, and that *the peace* may be at last brought to a conclusion.

You ought to be in no concern on account of *Ormonde*, since I think his removal can be attended with no bad effect, for, as you see by *Jerningham's* accounts, he could not expect to be received in *Sweden* till matters are adjusted, and, when that happens, he will be more useful in another place, so

the Czar did advise it and not order it, not out of any good will to *the Elector of Hanover* or coolness to *the King*, but only to remove all suspicion that, in case of *the peace* succeeding, the other affair might be the better carried on, which *the Czar* would do with all the willingness you could wish. For these reasons *Ormonde* is gone and I cannot believe it will have any ill influence in *England's* family to *the King's* disadvantage, nor do I believe *the King* will be uneasy, when he knows these and some other reasons *Mar* will impart to him, whom I have acquainted with them by a canal more expeditious than your way and by which *Dr. Erskine* has had accounts from him. You see by this that hitherto nothing was to be done and consequently I could not give you nor anybody any accounts from these parts that could be depended on, but, as it's probable now matters will draw to a conclusion speedily, so I shall not fail to be communicative, when anything offers that can be depended on. I am extremely glad to find *England's* family in so good a situation and it's not improbable that may have contributed to lessen the merit of *the Elector of Hanover's* offers. It's false what *the English ministry* gives out that *the Czar* had promised to remove *Ormonde*, for he always affirmed that he knew nothing of the matter and that their information was false. The same is as little true as to *Sir H. Stirling*, though I found out t'other day that *the Elector of Hanover's* agent applied to have *Sir H. Stirling* and another, whose name I have not yet got, but I believe is *Capt. Thomas Gordon*, removed, pretending that, while *the Czar* entertained such servants in his family, it could not be wondered that *the English ministry's* master and he were not good friends. *O'Bern* is now here in order to get his *cong  *, that he may visit *France*, and *Jerningham* is on the road to *Petersburg*. 3 pages. Copy by *Sir H. Paterson*.

THE DUKE OF MAR to MONSIEUR STIERNHOCK.

1718, May 24. Urbino.—Explaining his delay in replying to his letters, caused first by his absence and then on his return by the news of the Queen's death, which put all at Urbino under so just a concern that for some days they could not think of doing anything, giving the dates of the 10 letters received from him, the last dated 26 April, and expressing how sensible both he and his master are of his hearty endeavours to be serviceable.—In answer to your desire to know whether I have any correspondence with any of the ministers of your Court, I have not any correspondence with any of them, and so you'll take your measures accordingly with regard to the correspondence betwixt us. The continuing of it will be agreeable to me, but it is just I should have a regard to the interest of one who has expressed so much zeal and affection for my master as you have, so, if you apprehend any inconveniency to yourself from corresponding with me, you need not doubt my dispensing with it very frankly on

your account, but still I hope a time will come, when it will not be necessary for any minister of the King of Sweden to be afraid of corresponding with those employed by my master. As to our correspondence hitherto, nobody knows of it for me, and as for the risk you'll consult your own conveniency in it.

I am very well satisfied with M. de Busi's services and am very sorry I could not be of use in procuring the commission he desired of being agent for my master, who does not see any advantage can arise either to himself or M. de Busi from such a commission, but rather the reverse.

I have lately had very full and particular accounts from England and such as I think I can depend on, and there was never any government anywhere on a more precarious and unhappy footing than theirs is at present without the least appearance of its growing better, but quite otherwise. They are owing about 65 millions sterling on the public credit, and about 16 millions of it to foreigners, and have not above 10 millions of specie in the whole kingdom, so that, should the least disturbance happen from abroad to alarm people and make them demand their principal, their credit must at once tumble down to nothing and their Government dissolve in course, which is so evident that their public funds lower every day on the least report of a likelihood of a foreign war.

I cannot help being amazed, how little the other Courts of Europe seem to know of the present situation of that of England. They make indeed a mighty noise with their fleets and have been bullying half the world for some years past, though their circumstances are such, which they are very sensible of themselves, that they tremble at the very remotest appearance of an open rupture with any foreign power, the consequences of which, they know, would infallibly produce their utter ruin, which, you may depend on, is the only reason they have been making offers to your master and not out of any regard to him, which will appear the first opportunity they can find, if he does not put it out of their power, but I think he has had occasion to know how little dependence he can ever make on them from more instances than one.

By all our accounts here the Kings of Spain and Sicily have no thoughts of coming in to the accommodation proposed by the Duke of Hanover &c., and the former is going on vigorously with his preparations.

My master had been a little indisposed for a few days, before he had the news of the Queen's death, and had some symptoms of an ague, so that account came very unseasonably for that and many other reasons. His indisposition was but slight, occasioned, as far as we can judge by the sudden change from excessive heat to very cold, which had the same effect on more of us, but I hope a few doses of the bark will carry it off and that it will be *sans consequence*.

I am glad there is still a good appearance of an accommodation betwixt the King of Sweden and the Czar, though I am sorry it does not advance faster. I think myself obliged to tell you that your master being so remiss in sending his people to the place of congress is the reason, as I am well informed, of the Czar's having made those late advances to the Duke of Hanover, but, when he finds the King of Sweden likely to accommodate matters with him, I am persuaded what he has done that way will signify nothing.

I am sorry to hear from Paris that Baron Sparre has had an attack of an apoplexy followed by a palsy, but I would hope it is not true. $6\frac{1}{2}$ pages. *Draft.*

JOHN PATERSON to CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI.

1718, May 24. Urbino.—Acknowledging various letters of his.—Lord Mar has, I believe, wrote pretty full to M. Stiernhock in the enclosed, which you'll please deliver. He told me he mentioned to M. Stiernhock that affair of yours, and I presume that gentleman will communicate to you that part of my lord's letter which regards yourself, which will save you the trouble of an unnecessary repetition here. You'll easily judge that by Lord Mar's absence and the afflicting accounts since his return of the Queen's death, his Grace can have but very little spare time, and that consequently I cannot be altogether idle, so I must beg you to forgive me if I don't write as fully as you might expect. I hope the letter you forwarded for Dr. Erskine would arrive at Petersburg in due time, and will be glad to know if you have any account of its being safely delivered. Since you have the opportunities you mention of being informed of what is doing at the Congress at Aland, I hope you will give us the best accounts of these matters you can. *Nearly 2 pages.*

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 24. Vienna.—Here is a large packet from M. Stiernhock, to the contents of which I refer. We have been for some weeks without letters from you and hope to hear you have received several of ours. I have heard of the Queen's death and pray to God that He may receive her in Paradise and preserve his Majesty an infinite time. I beg you to present him with my most humble condolences.

This Court is at present in great apprehension on account of King Philip's great fleet in the Mediterranean. The Emperor is therefore urging on an accommodation with the King of Sicily through the ministers of that King, who are here *incognito*, but there are still difficulties in the way of an accommodation and as yet nothing is concluded about the marriage of an Archduchess with the Prince of Piedmont. Prince Eugene is much in favour of such an accommodation, but a good many of the German ministers are against it.

The plenipotentiaries are at the place of congress, but, the Turks having shown their *plein pouvoir*, it was found insufficient, for nothing is said in it of treating with the Venetians, without whom the Emperor does not wish to enter into any treaty. It must be seen how this will turn out; in the meantime to give more vigour to the said negotiations, Prince Eugene will start from here in three days to put himself at the head of the Imperial army to act on the offensive during the said negotiations, for it is supposed that the Turks are acting only to gain time and to see the diversion King Philip will make against the Emperor. People speak as a certainty of an alliance between England, France and the Emperor to stop King Philip's projects, but nothing is said of the Dutch. The treaties for the peace of the North are going on, but the Elector of Hanover is moving heaven and earth to be included in them. The Czar is at present with all his Court at Petersburg. The differences between him and the Emperor increase more and more. *French.* 6 pages. *Mostly in cipher deciphered.*

POPE CLEMENT XI to JAMES III.

1718, May 25. Sancta Maria Maggiore, Rome.—Condoling with him on the death of his mother. *Italian.* 2½ pages.

GIROLAMO BELLONI to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 25. Rome.—Forwarding a small box directed to his Excellency from the Abbé Ramelli. *Italian.*

COL. J. PARKER to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 25. Montargis.—Mr. Dicconson let me know that the Queen had recommended her servants to the Regent and that it was promised the arrears of the pension should be paid that's due, all which had no relation to me, so I am left on the *pavé*. You will, I am persuaded, represent my case to the King and honour me with his commands. I have suffered all that's possible for nature to resist. Nothing has been neglected to solicit the French pension, and once I had a very satiric answer, that the King my master ought to take care of me, for I was always employed by him in England &c. I gave my answer, which admitted no reply, for, though no league could be obtained in form, before we were sent to Ireland, yet I think a league in the presence of God was a more solemn formality than any other, but no promise is good in this country, if not before a notary. To the best of my power I have ever served and been upright in my loyalty and sacrificed all to the King's will and pleasure. Permit me to give one of many instances. Because the King and his minister had approved to send me to England in '92, I lost my rank in France and my commanding the King's regiment of horse and, being in equal commission with Mr. Dorington and

Sheldon, in the bed of honour I must have fallen or have been their equal this day. The late King gave me some apparent testimonies of his love and bounty, and to starve or be hanged is a hard choice. 2 pages.

SIR J. FORRESTER to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 25. Ca[h]ors.—Begging his protection with the King for his wife and five poor children, who since this dismal loss are on the brink of want at St. Germain, it being impossible for him on his wretched revenue in that service to support them. He has proved his loyalty by an eight and twenty years' trial, by a great part of his blood and by exposing willingly his life in more than one manner for his Majesty's service without ever desiring either pension, though eldest colonel under his commission, or promise of future recompense. *Two duplicates.*

ALESSANDRO LITTA, BISHOP OF CREMONA, to DAVID NAIRNE.

1718, May 25. Rome.—I received your letter yesterday evening and shall send it by the first ordinary, which leaves on Saturday, to the Marquess of Craon. Meanwhile, following your directions, the courier is kept here, waiting for the answer you mention, when it shall please you to send it, and when the King is in a condition to give it. For greater security, as I may be leaving Rome from day to day, you may send it to M. St. Urbain, Secretary of the Agency of his Royal Highness of Lorraine, to whom I shall give orders to dispatch the courier, who lodges with him, as soon as he receives it. I have had a lively feeling of the loss Christendom has sustained in the person of the late Queen, and feel a lively share in the sorrow which that must justly cause the King, and I do not fail to offer my prayers for both of them. *French.*

M. STIERNHOCK to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 25. Vienna.—Since my letter to you by the last ordinary I saw yesterday a letter from Rostock of 14 May from a minister of State of the Duke of Mecklenburg, by birth a gentleman of Swedish Pomerania, to his Resident here; in which he writes in the following words: The negotiation between King George and the King of Sweden makes no progress, but there is much appearance of a happy issue of that with the Czar, and I have little doubt of it.

I have just been told for certain that King Philip refuses an accommodation with the Emperor according to the plan of the Regent and King George. I stated in my last that the Emperor is pressed to sign the treaty proposed to him by these two princes, that is, by orders to M. Pentenrieder to sign it and then to ratify it, for it is not here that the treaty is concluded but at London, where it has been concerted by the ministers of that Court and the Abbé Dubois. I remember

that Messrs. St. Saphorin and Schaub say that they have the Emperor's word that he will have the treaty signed and will then ratify it, and that a courier they sent to London three days ago carried that word to their Court. I am not, however, yet convinced that M. Pentenrieder has already received orders about the signature entirely according to the project of the Courts of France and London. It is, however, apparent that the Emperor is soon proceeding to the conclusion of a treaty in conformity with the project, but whether he is resolved to hold to it is another question.

You have been doubtless sent from England a satire against the Elector of Hanover under the names of Sultan Galga, Cham of Tartary. This piece has just appeared here also. I am sending it to-day to the King of Sweden, addressing it to one, who will certainly read it to him from beginning to end. I do so, being uncertain if it has been sent him another way. Such pieces, containing both truth and wit, as in my poor opinion this does, are proper to make some impression. It would be good, as it seems to me, if several such pieces could be published at the present crisis against the Elector and in favour of the King of Sweden, of a nature to move those at Courts, who are open to good reasons and to whom these reasons have not been sufficiently represented.

The last letters from Passarowitz and Belgrade, which are of the 15th and 16th, inform us that the Imperial and Turkish ambassadors had exchanged compliments, that the conferences between them had not yet begun, but would be so immediately, but that the Imperialists foresaw that the Turks would not be ready to conclude on the conditions proposed by the Emperor, that some hussars had deserted from an escort given to an Aga, who was returning from Passarowitz to Turkey, in order to join Ragotski, that the Turks and Tartars in superior numbers had had a skirmish with 400 Imperialists stationed on the frontier, in which the latter had the worse of it, and that General Merci was just marching with six cavalry regiments and 30 battalions to occupy Widdin and Nicopoli.

Sending his condolences to the King on the Queen's death.
7 pages. *French. Partly in cipher deciphered.*

NOTE.

[1718?] May 25.—Of a *pistole* given to Bevans.

FATHER GRÆME to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 26. Calais.—I can't forbear acquainting you with a piece of news from Paris which seems to interest *Mar* so much and *the King* no less. We have accounts then that there's a certain set of restless mutinous people there, who are doing all they can to ruin *Mar*, without considering that *the King* will be the greatest sufferer, if they should effectuate their malicious designs. L[or]d M[arischal] and B[rigadie]r

H[oo]k are said to be at the head of them and G[enera]l H[amilto]n with old Mr. L[esle]y and his son are reported for certain to have joined with the rest of that malignant crew in sending an express to *the King*. What that message was I know not, but I hope you do before now. It seems odd that B[rigadie]r H[oo]k, who, if I be not mistaken, was endeavouring to get in with you, should have thus turned tail all of a sudden, but I never had a good opinion of him, and for that reason I desired Robin Freebairn, when he was here, to tell you not to trust him, whatever *Capt. Ogilvie* might write in his favour.

We hear from England that the Court is very uneasy and that by all appearance their schemes wont take abroad. What makes this seem more probable is, that they begin now to set all hands at work for equipping the fleet designed for the Mediterranean and have added three men-of-war to it; besides, the press for seamen is greater than ever and all imaginable expedition is made for setting out, but that's not all, for we are told warrants are issued for securing several suspected persons. Capt. Leonard, who went from this and was taken up in London, has made his escape. Lord S[eafor]t[h] sent Murchison, one of his men, to Scotland last week, about what business I know not, but he let fall a word in talking with me which makes me fear his Lord's sincerity in relation to *Mar*, for, after giving me a detail of the nobility and gentlemen now in Paris, he added: And a great many others of *Mar's* creatures. Whether he expressed himself thus out of any disrespect or merely for want of the language, I shall not judge, though I am apt to fear the worst.

Young Mr. Lockhart of Carnewath is here just now, waiting for Simon Frazer's coming from Bordeaux, to continue his travels. He tells me Methven repents now heartily of what he did and is resolved to make amends on the first occasion, but the proof of the pudding is the eating. However, I should not care to have to do with a man of his character, cousin as he is of mine. His brother, Peter Smyth, though somewhat awkward in his demeanour and too apt to jest upon religion, is by much the better man. Mr. *Ogilvie* comes next week to live in a country house not far from this. 3 pages.

THOMAS BRUCE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 26. Brussels.—I have not written since 4 April, having no accounts here except from the public *Gazettes*. A very great tumult has fallen out here and, though it is composed without any blood or wounds worth mentioning, I am afraid it may lay down bad precedents for the Emperor's affairs here and may give but an indifferent impression to the world of the state of his power and interest in these parts. I gave you some hints some time ago of the differences between his ministers here and the people. The latter pretend to have a great many privileges of old standing. The sovereigns of

Brabant always swear at their inaugurations to maintain these privileges, and the Emperor took the same old oath at his inauguration here last winter by M. de Prié, his proxy. But during the late wars, the powers, who became in their turns masters of these countries, contrived some new oaths, which pass over some of these privileges. The Emperor has been demanding subsidies, and in Brabant, where these privileges take place, they have hitherto refused over all the cities, alleging they cannot proceed to act in granting subsidies &c., till they have taken the oaths. The ministers have offered them the new oaths and they will have the old. Many fruitless expedients have been hitherto offered, but rejected on different views of the people, some of which are said not to be so well-affected as it were to be wished to his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, though they pretend otherwise.

On Tuesday morning, the 24th, the *doyens* to the number of about 140 were called together by the Burgomaster, who, they say, had engaged one of them to agree to the new oath, hoping by his example to bring over some more, but he found his mistake, none having complied but that one. The rest withdrew, the Burgomaster retired to M. de Prié and the *doyen* escaped narrowly by a back passage. The boys, ruffians and women went immediately in search of him and plundered his house, and thence to the Burgomaster's. They broke his windows, and, when they were going to break open his doors, the troops came on them and desired them to forbear. They would not, and the troops, being forbid to fire, were forced to retire, having been first insulted by these boys with some volleys of stones, and immediately the house was broken open and plundered of all its goods, plate, money and jewels to a great value. These impudent young rogues carried these sort of goods openly through the ranks of the troops in procession. Meantime the whole of the troops to the number of 5,000 were on foot and continued patrolling all the rest of the day and all the night without any offence of either side, whilst the burghers, who as yet had made no appearance, gave orders to all their people to assemble in arms next morning at their *places d'armes*, which I think are seven. Next morning about five, whilst these burghers were assembling, the boys came on a guard of about 300 near the Fish Market, and obliged them to retire up the town towards the Court, and about six that part of the burghers, who have their *place d'armes* in the *Place de Monoie*, sent a detachment to order Westerloo's regiment of horse to remove from thence. They at first refused, but, on the approach of a greater body they also retired to the Court. Another party of the burghers about the same time dislodged about 2,000 troops from the Sablon, so that by nine the whole town from the Sablon downwards was posted by the burghers and from that upwards toward the south ramparts by the regular troops, but still no act of hostility on either side except some small affronts

by throwing stones at some of the officers in passing. About 11 some of the more forward and perhaps ill-affected people began to talk of attacking the troops, but about two M. de Prié sent a message to the Town House that he would give them the old oath at six. This composed the matter, but, being still jealous of some trick, they drew all their men together to the market place and its avenues, and at six, when the oath was given them as they desired, they marched off in great order and triumph with the discharge of some cannon they had got and six volleys of small shot. Some people speak of vast numbers, but I took occasion to reckon them, both in their respective posts and in passing through the market place, and I believe they were near 30,000 in arms. The men were very good and indifferently armed. The Burgomaster's name is Becker. It is he who hindered the people of Brussels from revolting to the Elector of Bavaria, when he came before the town. He is a favourite of the Emperor's on that account, but, such is the wicked disposition of some people, that he is hated by others on the same account.

By what I have heard of these privileges they are very great and were given them on some eminent services of their predecessors to the Duke of Brabant, and, though the matter of them may be very justly and properly dispensed to them by a Sovereign in his ordinary course of administration, yet in extraordinary cases some articles of them seem to be too high a standard for a claim in the hands of the people, and it is for this reason I have observed as above, the present forced compliance may lay down bad precedents for the Emperor's affairs here in some points, which may very soon occur, such as the execution of the late Barrier treaty &c., especially if the tempers of the people are so unlucky, as I have been told by one Baterton (Bruce himself), who gave me the enclosed. I hope he is mistaken, but yesterday passing too and fro amongst the people I heard some very unbecoming mutinous expressions.

We hear that Lord Cadogan makes his public entry 28 May (O.S.), the King's birthday. They say he presses the Dutch very hard to make their equipments, and is gone to Amsterdam on that account, but I do not hear from the best hands that that affair is in any better state, than what I wrote you long ago.

I have not heard a word from Ch. K[innaird] since he left this, and I find by a letter from home that 81 [? the Bishop of Rochester] is ill-pleased with him for not having seen him whilst he was there. When I received Mr. Inese's last letter, I desired him to send me an address for Mr. Dillon, which he has forgot to do, which obliged me to address mine of the 17th under Mr. Gordon's cover, having represented to him a proposition to save some charges to the King here. 3 pages. Enclosed,

State of the ten provinces with regard to their opinions touching the right of sovereigns there and their inclinations

touching what they think concerns the well-being and conveniency of their country.

In a country which has so often changed masters the point of right seems to be forgot and gives way to the several possessions acquired by the various partitions made of it. Though possession becomes thus the standard of obedience to the commoner sort, the more learned look further and have views with respect to right. This is more peculiarly remarkable amongst the clergy of all sorts, who openly enough declare their opinion in favour of the Spanish monarchy. Not a few of the people of distinction and interest are known to be affected that way, but, being more under the eye of the Government and enjoying offices and benefits by it, they are not so open, though it is generally believed that, should an occasion offer, they would willingly appear on behalf of what they now think is right. The populace are very easily persuaded and reminded of what they thought to be right a few years ago. The present administration here contributes not a little to refresh their memories, for by some late steps, which touch what they call their liberties, they have been very much provoked and it leads them to wish for another, the remembrance of which seems more agreeable to them. They pretend likewise that their trade has not the advantages it had under a Spanish Government in two respects, namely, that the Spanish Government never took money out of their country and frequently sent them money, whereas this takes all and gives none. The Spanish Government afforded them a beneficial trade with Spain, whilst this affords them none.

There are besides two other misfortunes which more universally affect these countries and which sour the tempers of all kinds of people, namely, the entire loss of their trade from the Dutch prohibitions and imposts on the Scheld and the late Barrier treaty, from which they expect no relief while their sovereign is in alliance with the Dutch. Not a man in all these countries but is pinched and affected by one or other of these circumstances and consequently all join in an universal wish for a change, as they find themselves touched in right, liberty or trade.

Towards the end of the last war, whilst England and Holland had the provisional government, the Duke of Marlborough, being disappointed of his views to be Governor-General of these countries, and having alarmed the Dutch with the patent he had then got from the Emperor for it, both to retrieve his credit with the Dutch and to engage them to assist him in some lofty designs he then had in view in England and against France, set on foot a project for uniting those ten provinces to Holland and some people of those parts were brought into it. But the spirits of the people are so much incensed against the Dutch that

this project took no effect and was followed by the Barrier treaty.

The people generally speaking have a good opinion of the Emperor, though they think quite otherwise of his ministers at Vienna, and, were it not for that Barrier treaty and some late misunderstandings betwixt the ministry and the people, it is not unlikely that the people of the ten provinces would have, at least for some time, been easy under the present Government. But these with the other circumstances seem to have disposed the far greater part of the people of all kinds, to wish for a sovereign, a cadet of the House of Spain, who may have no possessions elsewhere and may thereby reside amongst them.

The advantages that tempt them and the means whereby they hope to come to it are chiefly these. They think he will come by a just title and will thereby relieve them of the endless broils of a disputed right. His residence will keep all their money at home and will put him on ways and means in order to the improving the trade of his own country, which was never regarded by the governors, that had no further care than to make their profit and often betrayed them to the Dutch. Having no other possessions he will not be formidable to his neighbours and will thereby prevent these continual wars, which neighbouring potentates made to humble Spain, the Empire or the Dutch. Neither the circles and princes of the Empire nor the States of Holland will oppose this, for, though they always enter into a war to hinder the French from being master of that country, they are not too fond of aggrandising the Emperor and therefore will rather be willing to have their Barrier in the hands of a single prince, who may be a sufficient ally and not too formidable a neighbour. They believe the French will not oppose it, for, though in the hands of a powerful Emperor or King of Spain, it may be an inlet into the French frontiers, yet in the hands of a single prince France will not find a formidable neighbour, and, as the Empire may find him a barrier against France, so France will find him a barrier against the Emperor. They further think that, if France has a mind to engage such a prince to depend rather on her friendship than that of any other neighbouring potentate, she may easily find means for it, by assisting him to recover from the Dutch that great branch of trade, which they have unjustly carried away, in shutting up the Scheld by their imposts. As this is just, so they believe it may be easily done by the help of France. Neither England nor any of the German princes will oppose it, as it is the same to them. It only translates so much of the trade from the Texel and Maes to the Scheld; the proportion of trade, which shall accrease to that prince, will but diminish so much off Holland, and besides,

England and all other parts, which have commerce with the ten provinces or who carry goods to or from Germany or France by that canal, will find an advantage in the abatement of the Dutch imposts on the Scheld. By the same reason France cannot suffer by it in point of trade, and will gain in respect of other interests; seeing, if France assists that prince to recover his trade, he must be obliged for his own sake to play his new power in the service of France, for the Dutch will be endeavouring to regain their trade and must court their old allies, the enemies of France, to help them, which consequently obliges the sovereign of the ten provinces to have a constant dependence on France. The free trade of the Scheld will be a sure and constant pledge in the hands of France for his good offices and she may always rest secure that a prince so obliged and protected by her will never allow any troops by land or debarkments by sea to pass through his country to infest her.

Some people here are so fond of the project of having a younger son of Spain and so full of the prospect of mutual benefit from it to France as well as themselves, that they flatter themselves that the Regent is engaged at present in some such views in concert with Spain. Nearly 2 pages. Damaged.

JOHN NORCROSS to JAMES III.

1718, May 26. Gottenburg.—Laying hold of this opportunity to give his Majesty a further assurance of his good intentions.

JAMES III to his Uncle and Aunt, the DUKE and DUCHESS OF MODENA, and to his Aunt, the PRINCESS ELEONORA D'ESTE.

1718, May 26.—Informing them of the death of the Queen Mother. *French. Entry Book 1, p. 236.*

JAMES III to his Cousin, the DUCHESS OF HANOVER.

1718, May 26.—Informing her of the death of the Queen Mother. *With postscript in James' own hand:—A slight recurrence of tertian fever prevents me from writing to you with my own hand and explaining to you more fully my sentiments towards so good a friend and relation. Ibid. p. 237.*

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Friday, May 27.—About letters sent and received.—Enclosed are my last two letters from *Jerningham* and *Sir H. Paterson*. I wrote to *Gordon* about *Mar's* packets mentioned in the latter and send his answer. I wish *Jerningham* may obtain the *Czar's* permission to join him, in order to know his

final result about *the King's* concerns. *Ormonde* is much out of humour with *Dr. Erskine's* behaviour, and in all appearance will depart from where he is, when the passports he desired are sent. I also enclose a letter and small memoir from *T. Bruce*. Please send *the King's* orders about it, either to him or me. I don't find 'tis yet known here what *the Emperor* and *the Elector of Hanover* intend to determine about *the King of Spain's* alternative scheme of union, but 'tis generally said and even believed that *Alberoni* will use all endeavours to carry on war in *Italy* and push his point to the utmost. In a little time we'll be more fully informed. I send you *Menzies'* last to me with the prints. 'Tis thought the *Post Boy* may be chastised for his account of *the King's* family.

Postscript.—May 28.—The post came yesterday from your parts, but no letter from *Mar* to *Dillon*. Mr. Gordon received last night the packets *Sir H. Paterson* addressed to him for *Mar* and will forward them this morning.

W. GORDON to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, May 27. Paris.—Informing him that of the four packets mentioned by *Sir H. Paterson* in his letter he had received only two, and that *Lord Mar* by his of the 3rd from *Rome* said he was to part on the 5th for *Urbino*.

GEORGE FLINT to CAPT. BOOTH.

1718, May 27. Calais.—I enclose in mine to my generous patron, Cardinal Sacripanti, copies of the two letters I lately sent you. Pray God direct his Majesty in the choice of his ministers and measures and we are not far from a restoration. I expected for certain to see a restoration on foot this spring, for we could not desire a fairer opportunity, which, methinks, 'tis not in the power of the King's professed enemies to defeat, who stand more by the treachery, ignorance or neglect of some about his Majesty than by their own strength. I can demonstrate that the Usurper himself could not have managed things more to his own advantage than I have seen them managed here since my arrival, circulatory letters dispersed among all the gentlemen that his Majesty's affairs were desperate, exhorting each to shift for himself and driving them back into England, some with prices on their heads into the fatal noose, at the same time that pensions were given to men of no merit, to some that fled for debt or worse, and *Francia* told me, though I give not much credit to what he says, that he had got a pension of 400 *livres* a year for a mistress of his now at *Boulogne*. Add to this the pains taken not only to keep me silent but to drive me back to England. Very sure I am that, had it come into the heads of our enemies, instead of ordering me to be close confined in *Newgate*, they would have sent me to France, since *Buckley* said to me in prison and they have said it a hundred times that I did them

more harm in a prison than all their enemies besides. I have been above 12 months at liberty without doing them any harm at all and people are amazed to see the King's champion, as I am styled throughout the three nations, so long silent at Calais. I repeat my request most earnestly to know what his Majesty orders about me.

Postscript.—When the British fleet comes into the Mediterranean, if the Spaniards will declare for the King and have a ship or two manned with English, let us print a short harangue to the sailors and at the end promise a reward and better pay to those that come into the King's service and advancement to all sea officers. Let two or three loyal subjects be in every neutral port, where 'tis probable the fleet will touch, well furnished with these harangues. Considering the fleet is manned mostly with pressed men and even many officers well-affected to the King, what success may we not expect, especially, if we promise that they shall fight under the King on the same bottom that the Irish fought in France, to be treated not as deserters but prisoners of war, if taken. I have a secret not to be trusted to the post, which added to this, makes a pleasant prospect.

I am this moment going with clouted shoes and stockings, the best I have, to Dunkirk to beg or borrow, leaving my wife penniless. Francia will pay me nothing, credit spent and nothing to be borrowed. 3 pages. *Enclosed,*

GEORGE FLINT to MR. DEMPSTER, Secretary to
the Queen.

Giving a sketch of his life and his exertions to re-animate the people and re-inflame their loyalty.—After my escape from Newgate a priest showed me in the public news that the Usurper had sent over to demand me of the Regent, wherefore I landed at Nieuport, whence I removed to Dunkirk destitute of everything and in debt till blessed with her Majesty's bounty. Being sent for to Paris, the first order I received, pretended to be from her Majesty, was to lie concealed, that all orders should come to me through Mr. Francia, and General Dillon would not see me but once to take my leave of him in presence of Messrs. Daulmay and Francia, nor have I had any answer from the General to the many I wrote him but through Mr. Francia, and the main charge given me has ever been that by their Majesties' special order I must not write. Being last December about 10 days at Gravelines with my old friend, Dr. Archibald, Mr. Francia told me at my return he had received a long letter from General Dillon saying the Court suspected I was contriving with the doctor to write and print contrary to order and that thereupon the Queen had threatened to have me confined in France closer than I was in England. At the same time he told me that his Majesty ordered to my wife,

not to me, 600 livres a year. He has also often told me I should find myself here like a man abandoned on a desert island and has often urged me to get a pardon to return to England, there to live on my own industry. Would you wonder I should have thoughts of taking his counsel? but I could not prevent this being prejudicial to his Majesty's interest and therefore rather resolved to venture starving, whence the news of my wife's pension was to me a reprieve. But her sickness and my long indigence have run me much into debt. She was twelve months in prison on the King's account, and in spite to me, after my escape they put her on the common side of Newgate laid in that kennel on the cold ground among the dregs of street whores and thieves, whence she was at last carried out, only not dead, and after long sickness in England come to me here a piercing spectacle and has ever since till lately lain sick, often quite destitute and always stunted. She came here in August when the 500 livres received of her Majesty were already almost spent and we had no pension till January and it has ever been paid by driblets of a few livres at a time, Mr. Francia not being able to pay us otherwise and scarce even that. I long since told General Dillon that Father Græme offers to pay me regularly, if the Court would give him orders. I have been long informed that some had misrepresented me to their Majesties and for prudential motives have till now delayed to represent myself. I hope you will communicate this to her Majesty.

Mr. English, who by a sort of miracle escaped out of custody in England, is come here and assures me that Mr. Leonard was last Friday transferred from a messenger's to Newgate. This proves false and Mr. Leonard escaped from the messenger's Wednesday sennight. 1718, May 3. Nearly 4 pages. Copy.

GEORGE FLINT to CAPT. BOOTH.

Enclosing a copy of the last, written when he little expected the apotheosis of that divine lady.—I needed no help but that of Heaven to recover that interest which others lost and perhaps need little else to set the three nations flaming in his Majesty's favour, which I might have done before this with the assistance of a very little money, instead of which as much pains have been taken to keep me silent as if a restoration had depended thereon. In what scheme of politics the pen is useless I know not.

You may remember that when you queried me in the pressyard about my extolling Argyle, I answered our only method was to bandy Whigs against Whigs, the weaker against the stronger, to divide and confound them. I would either make him draw his sword or praise him out of his posts, if not his head off. Sir James Campbell told

Mr. Grierson that my very papers in the hands of Argyle's enemies determined the Usurper to discard him. I ever was and am for confounding them with terrors from without and divisions and distrusts among themselves. What I principally now beg to know is, if it is really his Majesty's will and command that I continue silent, for the rest I beg to refer you to the enclosed. 2 pages. Copy.

JAMES III.

1718, May 27. Urbino.—Being informed that while waiting for our orders the seal has been placed on the effects and papers of the late Queen in her apartment in the Chateau of St. Germain on the 7th instant by the officers of justice of the said place, our intention is that the said seal be forthwith removed in presence of the Earl of Middleton, Lord Chamberlain of her said Majesty, Mr. Sheldon, our Vice-Chamberlain, Lieut.-General Dillon and Mr. Dicconson, Treasurer of the late Queen, by the said officers and without making any inventory of the effects or any particular examination of the papers, but only examining them on removing the seal to see if everything is in the same condition as when the seal was placed on it and that they make record thereof and after that leave everything in the hands of the four persons above mentioned to be disposed of according to the orders and instructions we shall send them. *French. Entry Book 1, p. 237, and Entry Book 5, p. 79. There is also a draft among the papers.*

JAMES III to MR. SHELDON and MR. DICCONSON.

1718, May 27. Urbino.—Ordering them to have transported as secretly as possible to the Convent of the Visitation at Chaillot the boxes containing her Majesty's papers, which are to be placed in their hands for that object by another order sent for that purpose, and to entrust the said boxes when locked and sealed with their seals to the Mother Superior of the said Convent to be deposited there till he shall otherwise order. *French. Entry Book 1, p. 238, and Entry Book 5, p. 79.*

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to JAMES III.

1718, Saturday, May 28, 10 a.m.—I have this moment Ormonde's of the 8th instant with an enclosed copy of Sir H. Stirling's to him of 21 April, O.S. I send you both in originals and am sorry that Ormonde does not intend to remain much longer where he is. Dr. Erskine's behaviour towards him is unaccountable, but I see little or no remedy for what's past. I am glad, however, that Jerningham continues his voyage to Petersburg and still hope that the Czar may be useful to the King, in case he comes to an agreement with the King of Sweden.

MONSR. STIERNHOCK to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 28. Vienna.—Since my last Count Reventlow has received a letter from a minister of Holstein at Hamburg informing him that M. Poussin, the French Envoy there, had showed him a letter of Count de la Mark of 29 April informing him that appearances were not favourable for peace with Hanover, but rather for that desired on both sides, that Baron Görtz and Comte Gyllenberg were on the eve of departing for the Isle of Aland, that the Hanoverian Counsellor Schrader, sent by the Elector to Sweden, had set out a little after Fabrice left to return to England, that the King was expected on his return from the frontiers of Norway at Lund towards the end of May, but that it appeared his Majesty would soon return from the side of the said kingdom to execute his grand design otherwise. There is a general report of a transportation of Swedish troops to Rostock to join those of the Duke of that name there after peace is made between the King of Sweden and the Czar and then to the Hessians. When the said letter left Hamburg, M. Vertoline was every moment expected there on his way to Petersburg. Baron Eichholtz, the Duke of Mecklenburg's Envoy here, is of opinion that, if on the arrival of the news of the projects at present being formed against the Czar by the Courts of Hanover and Saxony, by a party at Vienna and by the Dutch, peace has not yet been made, this news will finish it as far as the Czar is concerned. I expect the same from the prudence of a monarch who is so clear-sighted as regards his own interests. Though this peace is apparently being made in the Isle of Aland so far as regards essentials, yet, following the example of the peace of Utrecht, there will also be a general congress for form, and from his regard to the Emperor the King of Sweden is inclined it should be held in a town of Lower Germany, such as Hamburg or Lübeck, instead of at Danzig. I recollect that the Hanoverians speak of their negotiation with the King of Sweden as broken off for the present, but add that they wish to return to the charge and back up the negotiation by Admiral Norris' squadron and that of Holland, which they also expect in the Baltic to put pressure on the King of Sweden. That is not the means to put that monarch in the way they wish, but the Hanoverians are representing to the King of Sweden that it is to bring the Czar to reason with regard to Sweden, and to procure for that crown peace with Denmark, if the King will make up his mind to come to terms with the Elector of Hanover such as the latter desires.

Postscript.—I enclose a copy of a letter from a good hand which arrived from Passarowitz yesterday. The report of an attack by a large body of Turks and Tartars on an Imperial post of 400 men is now said to be false, but it is possible that it is desired here that this intelligence, though true, may not become public. A Saxon regiment of 1,000 horse arrived here the day before yesterday. The Emperor will see it to-morrow,

and the day after they will continue their march to the army assembled near Belgrade. The two Saxon regiments of foot of 2,300 men each do not pass by here, having taken another route. Prince Eugene is leaving every day.

Though according to appearances the Emperor would have willingly delayed the conclusion of the treaty between himself, the Regent, the King of England and the Dutch, I am nevertheless informed that, being pressed by the Regent and the King and perceiving that the Ottoman Court does not intend to come to an agreement with him according to his demands so soon that it would not be necessary for him, having regard to his security on the side of the South as well as on that of the North, to conclude the said treaty, he has ordered M. Pentenrieder to sign that treaty according to the draft thereof, upon which Secretary Schaub, who came here from London and finally from Paris with the draft treaty, left yesterday to return to his Court by way of France. I have just heard that, though the King of Spain has not positively refused an accommodation with the Emperor on the terms of the Regent's proposal, he has added clauses thereto, which may make the conclusion of peace difficult. It is said that one of these clauses is that to secure his son's succession 10,000 men should be immediately sent into Tuscany and the Parmesan territory and should remain there, particularly in the town and port of Leghorn, to which the Emperor appears disinclined to consent, though he might allow, after the conclusion of peace between him and King Philip, a small number of troops, such as two or three thousand Spaniards, to be sent into the said provinces and to remain there. I am not yet informed of the other clauses.

I have to add to the contents of the enclosed copy of a letter from Passarowitz that the reason for the dispatch of couriers from there to Vienna and Adrianople was that the Imperial ambassadors having seen the powers of the Turks, which were presented to them by the mediators, have refused to enter into conference with the Turks, because the powers were not signed by the Grand Seigneur but only by the Grand Vizier, and that they do not empower the ambassadors to treat also with the Venetian ambassador, which they both regard as an artifice to cause delay, though the Turks have said to the mediators that the signature of the Grand Signior is not customary but only that of the Grand Vizier for him and that the Imperialists have only to treat with them about the peace with Venice. *French. 16 pages. The body mostly in cipher with a decipher. Enclosed,*

COPY OF A LETTER FROM PASSAROWITZ.

We are still doing nothing here, expecting the return of the couriers sent by the Imperial ambassadors to Vienna and by the Turkish to Adrianople. However, our army is preparing to make the negotiation go on, and the troops,

which are assembling in considerable numbers under General Merci, are ready to march the end of this month. I have reason to believe we shall have a good peace, because we are in a condition to go on making a good war. French.

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 28.—To-day the Emperor received quite unexpectedly a letter from London from George with a sort of protest, namely that, as George had heard that the Emperor was on the point of coming to terms with the King of Sicily and even of giving an Archduchess in marriage to the Prince of Piedmont, if that marriage should take place, the said George would interpret it as if the said Archduchess were to marry the Pretender, from the bad consequences it would cause to the said George, who used very strong and even threatening language, saying that he would not only desist from the negotiations with the Court of Madrid, but would put off sending a fleet to the Mediterranean. This has sensibly affected the Emperor and particularly Prince Eugene, who was promoting such a marriage, and it has been necessary to suspend the said negotiation with Savoy from the need at present of England. Meanwhile the last resolutions of the Court of Madrid are expected with impatience, and it seems that the Emperor strongly desires an accommodation with them. The change of Vizier gives hopes of the negotiations with the Porte being facilitated, and the presence of Prince Eugene will contribute thereto, who left this the day before yesterday to put himself at the head of the Imperial army. The Turks this campaign are very numerous, about 250,000 men, but the Germans will have at the rendezvous near Belgrade 60,000 good soldiers, and 15,000 in the district of Temeswar and 16,000 in Transilvania without counting the garrisons. The Swedish Resident and that of Muscovy assure me that the peace between their masters is nearing conclusion with the exclusion of Hanover. The Hanoverian ministers, Fabricius and Schreder, can accomplish nothing at the said congress. *French. Partly in cipher deciphered.*

JAMES III to the EARL OF MIDDLETON, LIEUT.-GENERAL SHELDON, LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON and WILLIAM DICCONSON.

1718, May 28. Urbino.—Warrant. Having taken into our consideration that it is necessary to give directions anent the disposing and ordering of all such things as belonged to, or were in the custody of the late Queen, we hereby authorize and empower the said four persons or any three of them to call for and take into their custody "all and sundry the cabinets, boxes, papers, books, jewels, plate, clothes, coaches, horses, furniture and in general all goods and moveables whatsoever

belonging to the late Queen, and which were either in her own custody or in the hands of any of her servants, or others for her behoof, conform to and in consequence of the order we have signed apart of the date the 27th instant, and to make full and distinct inventories of the whole, and dispose of them according to these our particular directions after-mentioned.

“It is therefore our will and pleasure that the said four persons or any three of them open and inspect all the said cabinets and boxes, and that they put apart and by themselves all such papers as shall be found in any or all of them concerning religious matters ; after reading as much of them and no more than is necessary to know only in general the substance of what they contain, and immediately thereafter to depositate the same in the hands of Père Gaillard, confessor to the late Queen, to be disposed on by him as he shall find most proper.

“All papers in the King’s own handwriting, Duke of Mar’s, Mr. Nairne’s or Mr. Paterson’s, all whose handwritings are well known to them, are to be put by themselves, without reading any of them, into a box, which is carefully to be shut up, and sealed with the several seals of the said four persons or any three of them, and thereafter to be deposited in Mr. Sheldon’s and Mr. Dicconson’s hands.

“All papers concerning State affairs to be put apart and by themselves, after making an inventory of them, which they are to transmit or a copy of it to us, signed by them or any three of them, and then the said papers themselves to be sealed up as above, and deposited in the hands of Mr. Sheldon and Mr. Dicconson.

“All papers concerning money matters to be put by themselves, and inventoried as the others, and the inventory of them to be signed and transmitted to us, and the papers themselves to be sealed up as above, and then put into the hands of Mr. Sheldon and Mr. Dicconson.

“All letters to the Queen, and what copies may be of hers, to be put into a box by themselves, without reading any of them, the box to be sealed up with their seals as above, and then deposited in the hands of Mr. Sheldon and Mr. Dicconson.

“All ciphers whatsoever that shall be found amongst any of the papers to be put into Mr. Dillon’s hands.

“The said four persons or any three of them are to make exact and full inventories of all cabinets or boxes belonging to the late Queen and of what they contain, such as jewels &c. and to transmit to us the said inventories or copies of them signed by them or any three of them, and then the things themselves to be sealed up as above, and put into the hands of Mr. Sheldon and Mr. Dicconson, as the others, to be kept by them until they shall receive our orders, to be kept by them, anent the disposing of them and the other parcels.

"The coaches, horses and what else belongs to the stables to be sold by the direction of the persons above-mentioned or any three of them, with the exception of three or four of the coach horses to be given to Mr. Dillon as he pleases, to serve for his going about our affairs at Paris &c. and two saddle horses to be given to Mr. Nugent, Equerry to the late Queen. The said four persons or any three of them are to make an inventory of the whole, which they are to transmit to us as above, and also an account of what is got for them, and the money to be deposited in the hands of Mr. Dicconson.

"The Queen's wearing clothes, body and bed linen and china to be given to the Bedchamber women.

"The table linen and furniture of the kitchen to be given to Mr. Dicconson.

"The plate to be inventoried and a copy of the inventory signed as above to be sent to us, and the plate itself to be sealed up in a box as above and put into Mr. Sheldon's and Mr. Dicconson's hands.

"The toilette plate to be inventoried and put up in a box sealed as above, and deposited in the hands of Mr. Sheldon and Mr. Dicconson, and the inventory or a copy of it to be transmitted to us signed as above.

"The vestments and other things belonging to the Queen's private chapel to be given to Mr. Inness and Dr. Ingleton.

"The Queen's books to be given to Mr. Inness, Dr. Ingleton and Père Galliard.

"And lastly if there be anything else which we may have omitted here to give orders about, the persons above-mentioned are to transmit an account of it to us, so as they may receive our directions upon it." *Entry Book 5, p. 80, and two drafts, one dated 24 May.*

EXTRACT OF THE LAST NEWS FROM SWEDEN.

1718, May 28 (?). [Received at Urbino.]—Letters from that kingdom say that in a council of war it was deliberated whether it would be more advantageous to make peace with England or with Muscovy, upon which, only two Senators being present, the majority decided it would be more expedient to come to terms with England, but, this being contrary to Baron Görtz' opinion, who had reported to the King that years would be required for that, and that much more blood would be shed before it would be possible to recover what the Czar was offering and that the Senators had given their votes from mere jealousy against himself and were not content that he as a foreigner should succeed in his proposals, his Majesty on further consideration consented to the said Baron's advice, on which he was ordered to go on with his journey to the Isle of Aland to conclude with the Russian plenipotentiaries what had already been almost agreed to, and to reply to their representations with regard to the allies of his Czarish Majesty.

It was said of Monsr. Fabrice, who had endeavoured in every way to get the King to agree to the proposals of Great Britain, that he would return to England with the vessel, on which General Ducker had come, to report to his Britannic Majesty that the King of Sweden was well-inclined for peace, but that he absolutely insisted on the restitution of all the territories he had been deprived of, as he had possessed them before the war. However, General Ducker having orders to follow the King, some presume that the negotiations with England are not yet entirely broken off. It is added that his Swedish Majesty has forbidden, under pain of death, all correspondence with any country or town whatsoever up to 1 May next, which makes people imagine that it is desired to conceal some negotiations or to undertake some important expedition. The King was still in Wermeland.

Letters of a later date from Sweden have since been seen, which confirm that couriers are continually passing between Aland and Lunden. It is said that Count Gyllenborg is still in Aland, who after the conclusion of the peace is to be employed as Swedish minister to the Czarish Court *French.*

JAMES III to MARSHAL VILLEROY.

1718, May 28.—It is not now I know your zeal and affection in everything that concerns me. You have given me sufficient proofs of it on all occasions and particularly in your good offices on behalf of my late mother and myself with the Regent. Mr. Dillon has sent me your letter on my cruel loss. I assure you I feel all these marks of your good heart as I ought and I count on you to continue them at all times, when you shall have occasion to recommend my interests and those of my poor faithful subjects to the Regent, who is the only resource I have left, and to whom I owe obligations I can never forget, of which I ask you to assure him on my behalf. *French. Entry Book 1, p. 238.*

JAMES III to the DUC DE NOAILLES.

1718, May 28.—I have received your letter on my mother's death and Mr. Dillon has informed me of the zeal and attention with which you executed the Regent's orders in everything he committed to your care with regard to the Queen's funeral, the safety of her papers and everything that was to be done on so melancholy an occasion. The kindness and the generosity of the Regent have been so remarkable that I shall never forget them. I beg you to help me in thanking him for them and to continue to employ your good offices with him in my favour. You know the sad condition in which the late Queen's household is left and the terrible desolation to which that large number of my faithful subjects will be reduced, who have no subsistence except from the pension of her Majesty, if the Regent do not take pity on

them and place me in a condition to prevent them from dying of hunger. You have by his orders taken the list of them, and I would flatter myself that the resolution he will take with regard to them will be worthy of his good heart, on which I place all my confidence. Mr. Dillon will tell you how sensible I am of the expressions of your zeal and affection for me and my interests. *French. Ibid. p. 239.*

JAMES III to the MOTHER SUPERIOR OF CHAILLOT.

1718, May 28.—Knowing the love my mother always felt for you and all your house, and your corresponding love for her, I must write to you to join my condolences with yours in our common loss and to ask of you and your community the continuance of your prayers. Mr. Dicconson has orders to place in your hands some effects of the late Queen which I beg you to keep secretly till further orders. (Apologizing for not writing with his own hand.) I promise to carry out my mother's good intentions towards you and your house, when I shall be in a condition to do so, and shall always be ready to do all the good I can to a house which the Queen cherished so much and which at present possesses such a precious deposit as that of her heart with that of the late King, my father. *French. Ibid.*

JAMES III to MADAME (the DOWAGER DUCHESS OF ORLEANS).

1718, May 28.—Thanking her for the compliments on the death of his mother, which the Duchess of Lorraine sent him on her behalf. *French. Ibid. p. 240.*

JAMES III to the REGENT.

1718, May 28.—I must in the first place present you with my most sincere thanks for your orders about the funeral of the Queen and the security of her papers and for all the other marks of kindness you have shown for the deceased and for myself, of which Mr. Dillon has sent me a faithful account and also of all the obliging things you have said to him concerning myself and the present situation of my affairs. I beg you to be convinced that I feel as I ought all my obligations to you and shall never forget them. My hopes are not so ill founded that I cannot but flatter myself that I shall some day be able to be useful to you and to show you that you have not obliged an ungrateful person.

Allow me to remind you of the message you gave me by Mr. Dillon, when I left Avignon, “que dans la supposition du cas facheux, qui m' arrive aujourd'hui, vous auriez la bonté outre la pension secrete que vous m'accordates alors pour moy, de me continuer encore secretelement celle de la Reine. Il est de mon honneur aussi bien que de mon interest de ne pas abandonner les anciens domestiques de la Reine,

ni tant d' autres officiers et personnes de qualité et de distinction qui ont tout sacrifié pour moy, et dont j'espere encore avoir occasion de me servir utilement. . . . Cependant sans la continuation de vostre secours il m'est impossible de continuer a les subsister et d' une autre costé, si je les laisse perir, la consequence sera fatale pour le bien de mes affaires. Quand vous ferez reflection aux grandes obligations que j'ay depuis mon enfance même à la France et à celles que j'ay encore à vous en particulier, j'espere que vous me ferez la justice d' estre persuadé que les interets de l'une et de l' autre seront toujours les miennes par inclination autant que par reconnoissance." Do not then abandon me, I conjure you, in my present melancholy situation. I place my whole confidence in you and await from your kindness the decision of my lot and a favourable reply to this letter. I refer myself to Mr. Dillon to explain to you more fully the condition of my affairs and my sentiments towards you and beg you to place full confidence on what he shall tell you on my behalf. (Apologizing for not having written with his own hand and desiring the continuance of his friendship.) 2 pages. *French. Ibid. p. 241.*

JAMES III to the DUCHESS OF ORLEANS.

1718, May 28.—About the Queen's death and apologizing for not writing with his own hand and requesting her assistance in thanking the Regent for such efficacious orders about everything concerning the performance of the last duties to the Queen. *French. Ibid. p. 243.*

JAMES III to the DUCHESS OF BERRY.

1718, May 28.—Communicating to her the death of the Queen and apologizing for not writing with his own hand. *French. Ibid.*

JAMES III to the MOST CHRISTIAN KING.

1718, May 28.—Communicating to him the death of the Queen and desiring that his Majesty, following the example of his ancestors, would allow him some share in his valuable friendship. *French. Ibid.*

WINEFRED, COUNTESS OF NITHSDALE, to JAMES III.

1718, May 29. La Fleche.—Condoling with him on the death of the Queen.—Sickness hindering my most humble acknowledgements for the honour of your Majesty's letter till lately, by the time it reached St. Germain, the consternation there was such for our general loss, that it was not sent, which I should not have mentioned, but to excuse so unpardonable a fault, as I appeared guilty of, and I think it would be no less a one to speak of anything it contained at this melancholy juncture.

ADMIRAL GEORGE CAMOCKE to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, May 29. Barcelona.—I arrived here last Wednesday and was very graciously received by my old friend, Prince Pio. He has nothing to do with the maritime affair. It all rolls on Senor Don Patino, an Italian. He is Intendant General. The second day I came here, this gentleman approved of some orders I gave, so that now we are hand and glove, and he has given me orders to send to England for officers of all degrees for the service of the Navy and assures me that whoever I recommend from a captain to a boatswain shall be received as such. It's now 4 Sunday morning and in half an hour the Intendant takes me in his coach to the mole, there to take boat to go on board the *Royal*, which I hoist my flag on board of, as Rear Admiral of the Navy and Commander in Chief of the Barcelona squadron and Major-General of the Army. Here is the completest body of troops and the best appointed that I ever saw of foreigners. The whole number will consist of 2,000 horse, 24,000 foot and 6,000 dragoons, all well paid, not one shilling due to them. Our artillery and provisions of war are all shipped, consisting of 165 new brass cannon, 24 to 36 pounders, 24 brass mortars, 7,000,000 dollars in gold and silver, men-of-war 14, galleys 6, and 500 transports.

I have prepared instructions for this great armament, and we shall sail with 20,000 men in ten days at furthest. The Cadiz fleet of 36 sail of the line, 12 frigates and — bombships is expected daily, but your humble servant is to make the disposition for the first debarquement. It is the Cardinal's command, so I hope I shall be able to retain the good character you gave of me. Renny (R. Macdonnell) gives you thanks for your friendly advice. I have made him second lieutenant of my ship and captain of marines. In six months he will be better qualified to be a captain than any of these Jack Startles. Pray tell Prince Cellamare I delivered his present to Prince Pio.

JAMES III to the KING and QUEEN OF SICILY and to the DUKE and DUCHESS OF PARMA.

1718, May 29.—Informing them of the death of the Queen. *French. Entry Book 1, p. 246.*

JAMES III to the CARDINAL DE NOAILLES.

1718, May 29.—Replying to his letter of condolence on the death of the Queen. *French. Ibid. p. 247.*

FANNY OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 30.—Since my last I know no further news but that *the Duke* I told you of in my last has continued to act with the same vivacity as at first. He has had several conversations on the same subject with *the Regent*, who seems

entirely determined to do what we all wish. *The Regent* said the last time, I don't know if 'twould not be proper to have it pass through *the Duke of Lor[r]ain[e's]* hands or through the *Cardinal's* that meddles in your affairs in the great city. When he was last with him, he said he waited till he heard from you to finish that affair. The friend (Mezières) does not answer that *the Regent* will not change, but there is now all the reason in the world to believe he designs to do well, and no stone has been left unturned to work him up and more than one wheel has been set agoing. I hope you're satisfied with what has been done. Don't forget a letter of thanks to our *Duke*, for he deserves it, and has followed this affair more assiduously than I thought his abstraction could give him leave.

The public news is that Père Galliard and the Duke of Lauzun have asked the Regent for the continuation of the Queen's pension for St. Germain's. I long to hear from you about *Ilay*. Lord Pan[mure] comes to see us very often. He's very melancholy and has been ill. The last words of *the Regent* to *the Duke* were that he was resolved to do all and right. We only fear a change.

SIR PETER REDMOND to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 30. Paris.—I wrote you three letters since my arrival here, where I am ashamed to have delayed so long, but could not well help it. I am this minute taking the post to proceed and at Mr. D[illo]n's taking my leave of him. I expect to be the end of this week at Bordeaux, where the gentlemen are your letters are for. I shall write you thence what we resolve on and afterwards from Madrid, where I shall stay till the dog-days are over.

CAPT. JOHN OGILVIE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 30. Dunkirk.—I received a letter from F[ather] G[ræme], telling me that he saw a letter from a man of quality telling a gentleman there was a great party of Gromeltonians joined together to endeavour all they can to ruin *Mar* and that they had sent an express to *the King* with their grievances and that Mr. Hook and Lord Marischal were at the head of them and that they had got in old superannuate Mr. Leslie with them and his hot-headed son and that noble general, George Hamilton, but, if he do not prove a better statesman than he did a general, he will not advance his reputation much. I heard of this story when I was in *England* and it alarmed many of *the King's* friends, but *Lord Oxford* made most of his friends very easy and me among them, for he told them that these stories did not in the least alarm him, for *the King* had too good sense and more regard to his own interest than to interpret anything to *Mar's* disadvantage that can come from a parcel of madmen, fools and boys. But it was told that some believed that *Lord Middleton* must be at the bottom of those politicians'

doings, on which *Lord Oxford* declared he would never be concerned in any affair with *Lord Middleton*, nor would he ever advise any friend of his to have to do with *Lord Middleton*. A certain person pressed *Lord Oxford* to give his reason for it, but his answer was that he was not ready to give characters of men, but how faithful *Lord Middleton* had been to his master himself knew best, but for his part he would never have anything to do with him and added that *Capt. Ogilvie* knew the reasons partly why he would not correspond with him. I am heartily sorry he should have so expressed himself as to me, for what *Lord Oxford* told me of that should have gone to the grave with me and shall, unless *the King* commanded me, and even in that case I should have a dread on me, lest I might be suspected of revenge.

If you have the least doubt of what I write at present, you have but to inquire into all this matter the next letter you write to *Lord Oxford*, and he will avouch all I have said, for you shall never have any story from me, without my giving you my author, and whatever I advance I will sustain. I desired F[ather] G[ræme] to let me know the man of quality's name that wrote to the gentleman, but he told me he had writ you a full account of all this matter. I enclose Father G[ræme]'s letter to me and his answer on the receipt of mine. You will find by his letter I am to go and live at another place, but not at Calais but near Ambleteuse, for, since the English were all banished out of Calais, the holl (? whole) spies are come here, so that it will be almost impossible to manage our affairs here with safety. If it were *the King's* pleasure and yours to allow me to stay but a little time at *Paris*, I could very easily find out the bottom of those wise politicians by means of Maghie, who is now there with Hook, but that shall be as *the King* and you please.

I am afraid your Highland cousin has a touch of the Highland falsehood. That's natural to them, as it's to eat their meat. Mr. Patrick Smith, Methven's brother, who is now at Calais with his cousin F[ather] G[ræme] is a great confident of your Highland cousin's, and he writes his mind pretty freely to Mr. Smith, and he opens his mind sometimes freely. This I thought proper to acquaint you with, both for *the King's* interest and your own. A great deal of interest has been used to have poor Father Græme removed from Calais, but we found means to prevent that. I long extremely to hear from you and so does *Lord Oxford*, for I had a letter lately from *England* wherein he says that pressing affairs call him to the country but that he is resolved to stay till he hears from *Mar.* 3½ pages. *Enclosed,*

FATHER ARCHANGEL GRÆME to CAPT. J. OGILVIE.

(About the arrangements he had made for hiring furniture for his house and about his journey to Calais, recommending him to be there by Wednesday so as to take possession

on Thursday, the 2nd.) Brigadier Hook is not the man you take him to be and you may remember I never was for embarking of him in affairs with our friend Mar. (Giving the substance of a letter from a person of quality, as in the last letter.) I am extremely mortified at this news, not only because I see a strong party bent on Lord Mar's ruin, but also because I am afraid you wrote to him in favour of Hook by Maghie's instigation and consequently may have brought Lord Mar to put some trust in him. I am certain, if Lord Mar's enemies carry their point, the King will miss of his, and I am resolved to have no more to do with public affairs the minute my friend is discarded.—1718, May 26. Calais.

FATHER ARCHANGEL GRÆME to [CAPT. J. OGILVIE].

The first thing I took care of, after I was informed of the cabal against our friend, was to let him know of it, that he may be on his guard. I gave him also the story about the gentleman who, in speaking to me of Mar's friends at Paris, called them his creatures with my reflections upon it. I had a letter yesterday from Sandy Urquhart, bidding me tell you he does not forget you, but he has nothing to write worthy of postage. All the news he tells me is that it's affirmed that the King of Spain will accept of the peace, but that the King of Sweden has absolutely refused to accept George's proposals. I expect to see you Wednesday night, or, if you arrive after 7, on Thursday morning, for you know I can't go abroad after 7, though you may come or send to me till 8. It's but reasonable you should be provided with all necessary furniture, before you pay anything.—1718, May 29. Calais.

THOMAS BRUCE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 30. Brussels.—In my last I gave you an account of the tumult here, and also told you I was afraid it might lay down bad precedents for the Emperor's affairs here and I am afraid there is an affair now on the anvil which may prove somewhat difficult. By the old privileges the people pretend to and by the old oath which now both the Emperor and all his people here have taken, amongst other things, the Sovereign swears not to dismember or alienate any part of the territories of the ten provinces, and by the late Barrier treaty a small part is given off to the Dutch from Blankenberg to the banks of the Scheldt. Though this is no great tract, yet the people here look on it as a matter of the greatest consequence, not only as an open infraction of their rights, but because it excludes them from a tract where they were resolved to cut a canal for their trade to the Scheldt, and it puts in the power of the Dutch to drown, when they please, a great part of the neighbouring country. For these reasons

the people there talk as if they would rather take up arms than allow themselves to be made subjects of Holland, and all the other provinces seem to espouse the quarrel, conceiving it both a bad precedent for their property and a prejudice to their trade. This Barrier treaty has never been fully executed on the Emperor's part, and the Dutch have been pressing hard to have it done, and last night all of a sudden General Cadogan arrived at Antwerp and this morning early the Marquis de Prié went from this to wait on him there.

People are generally of opinion that the Dutch, being invited to enter into an alliance with England, the Emperor and France, pretend to stand off a little, thereby to oblige the Emperor to execute the whole articles of that Barrier treaty as a premium to purchase their alliance. They make likewise some observations on this sudden meeting, for, though General Cadogan on his first landing from England wrote to M. de Prié that he would meet him to treat about some matters, yet they think that, if either Cadogan or the Dutch had been resolved to deal fairly on that head and not to catch an advantage of the Emperor, they would not at this juncture have pressed M. de Prié in point of time, when they must suppose that last week's disorders will require his presence here for some small time, and therefore they think that the Dutch, knowing that some of the articles of the Barrier treaty are contrary to the privileges of the people, and finding by last week's work that the people begin to be inflamed, have out of measure pressed this affair, to have it accomplished before the fire spreads further.

LORD PITSLIGO to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 30. Vienna.—I wrote to you, I think, twice before I left Holland about the middle of April, these six weeks past being consumed in travelling this length. Less time would have served, had I not been with two persons, who had some business in towns by the way. (Reflections on the Queen's death of which he had heard the news at Ratisbon.) All the discourse here is of Prince Eugene and the Turks. I was weary of Leyden and indeed it turns to very little account to live with a number of countrymen all idle together, nor had I stayed so long, had I not been in expectation of getting over to London, from which I was absolutely dissuaded. This place appears to be pretty agreeable. However, I find a humour of travelling further begins to waken and I would gladly be in Italy. As to the charges of travelling, I remember what you wrote me in January and am infinitely obliged to your friendship and the condescension of another by whose orders you made me such offers. I accept them with reluctance, but there is no help for it. One thing that justifies my wanderings is that really the expense will be less than I have found it for some months by-gone.

GEORGE JERNINGHAM to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, May 19[-30]. *Petersburg*.—I received yours with the duplicates by way of Holland and had writ the immediate post, had yours required it or had anything occurred to me worthy of your notice, since which on the uncertainty of our affairs *Ormonde* thought I should continue my journey hither. I am informed here that *Gyllenborg* and another from *Sweden* are arrived in *Aland* and are now actually treating with the Ministers of the *Czar*. A little time will inform us of what the success of that affair will be.

On my arrival I found *Dr. Erskine* sick and not to be seen. I therefore gave him in writing the heads of my business, desiring he would on the first occasion communicate their contents to the *Czar*, that I might know how far he would assist, in case affairs came to an agreement. As soon as I have any answer, I'll trouble you again, and I desire you'll depend on my correspondence duly, as anything occurs worthy of postage, and, when I do not, conclude I have nothing to say.

In one from *Dr. Ingleton* to-day, he acquaints me that the *Queen* desires to have the correspondence of *Monsr. Grimeau* at the *Hague*. I send his address. He acquaints me besides that the *Queen* now wishes I had stayed longer in *Holland*, till I had had a second order to leave that place. I wrote to you the reasons which hindered me following the first orders and to the Doctor the motives which induced me afterwards to begin my journey, which for the future I shall direct solely to you, they coming from those persons who could only advise me what was proper to be done under the difficulties of our situation, for it was impossible that the *Queen* could give me instructions concerning those matters, and the only rule I could direct myself by was those letters, which *Prince Curakin* and the *Swedish minister* at the *Hague* had received, and both advised me to continue my journey, judging by those letters that the treaty would now go on, since the *King of Sweden* had rejected the offers of *England*. I was loth and afraid that, my being at so great a distance, the critical minute for us might have been over, if I lost any time. I came upon these considerations night and day, till I joined *Ormonde*, who, I found, wanted those lights from his parts, which might have been expected on business so serious as that was; yet, as I have already marked, he thought fit to send me on, and I am now glad that I have passed these horrid journeys, since I find myself on the place and in readiness to finish our business, provided the others agree. If they do not, I must return *re infecta*, yet this is much better than to have lost the critical moment, in case affairs had gone otherwise, which there is still an appearance may finish to satisfaction.

JAMES III to the DUKE OF LORRAINE.

1718, May 30.—Thanking him for his letter on the death of the *Queen* and for sending him by an express his opinion

and advice on the present situation of his affairs with the offer of his good offices with the Regent.—Your letter of the 12th was delivered here the 23rd and I only delayed to answer it in hopes of being able to do so with my own hand, but a tertian fever, which has not yet altogether left me, obliges me to avail myself of a trusty hand. It is certain that my honour, my interest and everything engage me not to allow so many of my faithful subjects to perish, who have lost their property, exposed their life and sacrificed everything to follow me to France, and who are still capable of doing me useful service in case of an expedition. However, if the Regent discontinues the Queen's pension, which was my resource for subsisting them, they will be obliged to disperse and die of hunger, which will have a very bad effect among my friends in England.

This has obliged me to write to the Regent without loss of time to beg him earnestly to continue me his secret assistance and I sent my letter by the express which brought the news of the Queen's death, but, since you offer so generously your good offices with him, I beg you to employ them as speedily as you can and leave to your good heart the care of representing on this subject everything that your zeal, your prudence and your friendship for me shall dictate. I shall await your reply with impatience and leave it to your discretion to send it me by Mr. Dillon or by some other means you consider the most secure. As to your good advice about marriage, I am entirely of your opinion and I am at present labouring to finish that business as quickly as possible and it is not my fault that it is not finished already. As soon as I can write with my own hand, I will inform you farther on this subject. All you say in your long and obliging letter of 14 April, which I received not long ago, about my affairs is very good sense and I am profiting as far as I can from your wise advice. As to the idea given you at Paris about my affairs in England, I should tell you in confidence that my hopes on that side are very far from being so remote as they have been represented to you. *French. Entry Book 1, p. 244.*

JAMES III to the DUCHESS OF LORRAINE.

1718, May 30.—Thanking her for her letter of condolence. *French. Ibid. p. 245.*

JAMES III to the KING OF SICILY.

1718, May 30.—Informing him of the melancholy event which has happened to him. He does not pretend to trouble the King or to require from him any formal answer, leaving it to his prudence to do as he shall judge most proper.—I beg you to tell the *Queen of Sicily* that she need feel no anxiety about her letters to *Queen Mary*, for all necessary precautions have been taken for their being in safety and being seen by

nobody. I am not yet sufficiently recovered from a tertian fever to write with my own hand. I beg you to continue to honour me with your correspondence and advice.

Postscript in the King's own hand.—Anxious as I am for the marriage, I have not yet been able to determine absolutely the means thereto. I beg you therefore to send me the list, which *the Queen of Sicily* had promised to *Queen Mary*. I hope to be able to send you immediately more precise news about a matter wherein you are so kind as to take so much interest and wherein I interest myself still more. *Noted*, as sent in cipher by the post from Rome. *French*. [*Entry Book 1, p. 256.*]

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 31. Paris.—I can't add much to what I wrote last Saturday, there being no account here yet how *the Emperor* and *the Elector of Hanover* have received *the King of Spain's* alternative scheme of union, neither do I hear any positive information of what passes at the Congress in Hungary. 'Tis whispered about at *the Regent's* house that *the Prince of Wales* will soon come into this country and remain here incog. for some time. 'Tis even said he'll reside at Versailles. What grounds there are for this rumour I know not, but presume the mystery will soon be unveiled.

I enclose an open note from Sir P. Redmond. He parted this morning for *Bordeaux* and could not go away sooner. He appears to be an active, diligent man and fit for business. Sir Francis Arthur of Madrid and he are fast friends, and I don't question but his channel may be very good to apply to the other for a loan of a considerable sum, when 'tis thought proper to make the proposal. Sir Peter will concert all necessary measures with *Tullibardine* and Campbell for procuring the goods they were about. I gave him all the instructions I could on this score and have wrote at large by him to both those gentlemen.

The post from *England* is still due, therefore I can say nothing new from that country. I had no letter from *Mar* since his of the 3rd, but daily expect Basque's return with a full account from *the King* and *Mar*. The recommendations and orders *James Murray* desired were sent to the persons mentioned in order to recover his loss.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DOMINICK SHELDON to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, May 31. Paris.—We were in so melancholy a way here when I received your letter that till now I could hardly think of anything but of our unspeakable loss and we are now waiting with impatience for the return of the courier who carried that ill news to you, for, till *Dillon* has the King's orders, he can do no more than what he has done in relation to that.

I am here running after M. Couturier, who after all the good words the Regent gave me has marked me down only for 1,000 crowns, which will make me very little richer than I

was when I left Urbino. My business here, notwithstanding my pretensions are allowed to be just, will prove a Chancery suit, if your omnipotent countryman, to whom I am yet no ways known, does not help me, and he, they say, is now at variance with M. Argenson and others about the fall and new coining of the money, but has the Regent of his side, so that the Edict is expected out soon.

I have not seen Mr. Booth since he came and his son-in-law, who is since gone for England, would not see him nor let him see his daughter. Lord Clermont is at Bourbon.

THE EARL OF PANMURE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 31. Paris.—I hope you will mind what I wrote to you the 9th. All I have to add is that Lady Stair sent me a compliment, for which I returned her thanks, and she sent me word afterwards she would be glad to see me privately at her own house, so I went and saw her. She made me many compliments and professions of kindness and said both her lord and she would be ready to do all they could for me and then told me her lord would gladly see me, so I said I was very well satisfied to see him, but he was not then at home, but I saw him some days after privately at his own house, and he also made me many compliments and professions of kindness and said he would be ready to do all in his power for me. I told him I knew nothing could be done for me at present for, being attainted, it could not be taken off but by Parliament, which is not now sitting. He owned that nothing could be done effectually at present, but that matters might be preparing, and that he would willingly concur with any of my friends. This I thought fit to let you know and desire you will acquaint the King with it, who, I know, will not be displeased with it, seeing he allowed me to apply by friends in London, and you know there is no difference betwixt that and applying here, but I desire you may speak of it to nobody else, for Lord Stair desired it might be kept private.

I heard last post from my wife, who had not then got her jointure. The difficulty they make is about an addition I gave her, being a bond of 10,000*l.* sterling. This the Commissioners of the Treasury have referred to the Attorney-General. She was with him with her lawyers and she is afraid they will cut it off, seeing the Attorney-General said it behoved first to be determined to be a good claim before the Court of Enquiry, and after that that George, if he pleased, might give a grant of it, but it's to be feared that, if it come before the Court, they will give no favourable sentence. This seems hard, for they own that the bond would be due to her, if I were naturally dead, and the bill in her favour empowers George to make such provisions for and settlements upon her as she would have been entitled to, in case I were naturally dead, and she is afraid that even the rest of her jointure will be granted only during pleasure. This must be very expensive to her, but there is no help for that. She thinks, after the

affair of her jointure is over, to make a step to Calais, where I would meet her, if she can obtain a licence from the Government. I doubt not but you would be very well pleased with your journey to Rome.

WILLIAM GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 31. Paris.—This is only for a cover to the encloseds, amongst which are the two packets Sir Hugh said he had sent formerly and a copy of a petition from Mr. Breminham, a very good chirurgeon. The original, I suppose, will be sent by Gen. Dillon. Neither Robert Arbuthnot nor Robert Gordon can receive the boxes Mr. Kinnaird is to send without declaring what's in them and having them visited by the custom house. *Enclosed,*

MICHAEL BERMINGHAM to JAMES III.

Petition stating that he was a native of London and had been for several years a surgeon both at the Hotel Dieu and the General Hospital at Paris and that the late Queen Mother had in 1714 appointed him her sworn surgeon, and praying to be appointed surgeon to his Majesty in reversion after Monsr. Beaulieu without any wages or emoluments. French.

JAMES III to PHILIP V.

1718, May.—Though my present condition hardly allows me to write, I cannot defer informing your Majesty of the sad news I have just received of the death of the Queen Mother. I am so sensible of this great loss and my health has been so indifferent for some days that all I can do to-day is to notify the event to your Majesty and the Queen, whom I regard as the best friends left to me in the world and the source from which I expect at a proper time and place my greatest consolation. I earnestly beg the continuance of your friendship. *Draft. French. Pinned to p. 237 of Entry Book 1.*

JAMES III to the QUEEN OF SPAIN.

1718, May.—Similar letter to the last. *Ibid.*

The EMPEROR to the CZAR.

[1718, May?].—Declaring his pleasure at hearing of the Czar's gratitude for his kindness to his son as expressed in his letter of 21 March last.—It was, however, with quite different feelings that he understood both from the above letter and from the Apology published by his Serenity that it was therein most wrongly stated that Prince Alexis had been induced to return to his own country by the Emperor's advice and persuasion, nay even by his threats, whereas he had left it so entirely to his own decision that, as he would not have prevented him, had he wished to return, so if he had been unwilling to do so, he would have granted an asylum to a Prince, who was his kinsman, and under his protection, till a way should be opened for his reconciliation. *Latin.*

JAMES III to ADMIRAL GEORGE CAMOCKE.

[1718, May?].—Urbino. Private instructions. 1. With regard to the important affair now entrusted to your management, you are to represent to the Court of Spain or those directly entrusted in your parts, the great benefit to the King of Spain, if he could be prevailed on to declare for us publicly and, if he would empower you in conjunction with us to make the offers mentioned in our other instructions jointly in his and our name and would allow you to assure the officers of the English fleet, with whom you may treat, of the King of Spain's sincere intentions effectually to serve us, it could hardly be doubted that most of the English fleet would declare for us and engage in his Catholic Majesty's service or at least so many as in conjunction with the Spanish fleet would render the others altogether useless, which would evidently be the happiest thing that can possibly arrive to him at this time.

2. But, if this cannot be obtained, that his Catholic Majesty would at least indirectly and underhand empower you to make use of his name, where you shall find it absolutely necessary, that he will become guaranty for the sum to be promised to Sir George Byng or the next flag officer as mentioned in our other instructions, and will put you in a condition to make good all the other promises and engagements specified in the said instructions, this being equally for our mutual advantage and at this time more immediately for his service than ours.

3. If his Catholic Majesty shall think fit, you are to enter into engagements that we shall be obliged within — years after our restoration to pay him or his successors the sums he shall advance and that in the meantime we will confirm all such engagements as you shall enter into on this account.

4. You are, as far as concerns the King of Spain's part, to make your applications to Cardinal Alberoni or such as he shall direct you to correspond with.

Lastly, you are to correspond with and receive further directions from the Secretary of State. 3 pages. *Draft.*

The COUNTESS OF NITHSDALE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 1. La Fleche.—Requesting him to remind his Majesty of the pension the late Queen allowed her, which, though but 1,200 *livres* by Mr. Dicconson, yet on the Countess acquainting her with her wants, she sent her 300 *livres* more through Mrs. Strickland, and therefore desiring him to obtain of his Majesty to add 300 *livres* to her pension, without which she cannot subsist.

PIETRO FRANCESCO BELLONI to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, June 1. Bologna.—Acknowledging his letter of the 23rd past and adding he could not send on the enclosed letter for Holland immediately as the post had left. *Italian.*

MONSR. STIERNHOCK to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 1. Vienna.—Count Reventlow has shown me a letter from Baron Görtz he received three days ago, dated 20 April (N.S.), Stockholm. The Baron was to leave in two days for the Isle of Aland, but he does not say a word of his negotiation with the Russian ministers, which probably proceeds from his knowledge of the King of Sweden's wish for silence to be kept about his affairs, when they are at a crisis as at present. He only says that, since the Emperor fears the peace between the King of Sweden and the Czar, he ought to have less shown his coolness towards the King, that notwithstanding he, Görtz, entered in some manner into the reasons alleged by M. Reventlow for *menagements* on the Emperor's part towards the King of Sweden's enemies, as long as he was occupied with the Turks and had also grounds for apprehension on the side of Italy. Monsr. Vulfrat, Minister of State of the Duke of Mecklenburg, and, as I mentioned in my last, a Pomeranian subject of the King of Sweden, has written by the last ordinary to the Czar's minister here, that the Duke had certain intelligence that the principle of the above negotiation had already been settled and that peace would soon be made in such a manner that he had no need to humble himself too much before those of the Imperial Court, who are not well inclined to the Duke. M. Vulfrat mentions at the same time that the Russian General Repnin was marching with the troops he commands in Lithuania towards Danzig and that a new Russian minister, Brigadier Le Fort, was arrived at Berlin in order to draw the union closer between the Czar and the King of Prussia, both of which Vulfrat considered a consequence of the approach of the peace.

Though you are apparently informed by other channels of what relates to the treaty between the Emperor, the Regent, the Elector of Hanover and the Dutch, I think I ought to inform you of what I have learnt from good hands.

(Then follows an account of how that negotiation had been interfered with by that with the King of Sicily and of the threatening letter of the Elector to the Emperor as in de Busi's letter of 28 May.) People add that Prince Eugene is much vexed at his ill success in this affair, which he had taken much to heart. Notwithstanding what is at present going on between the Regent and the Elector, I flatter myself that the peace excludes the Elector and that the union between the King of Sweden and the Czar will certainly change the theatre of the French Court with regard to that. It is also to be known that, if the Court of Vienna could not change with regard to the Elector, after the settlement of the affairs of Spain and Italy and after the above-mentioned event, circumstances and the temper of the Emperor may take such a turn as to render the Elector's friendship no longer necessary for the Emperor. I doubt much, if Prince Eugene is or ever will become a friend of Hanover. The ministers of King Augustus and the courtiers of the Electoral Prince of Saxony and his

partisans at the Court of Vienna show much joy at the ill success of the King of Sicily as they hope that thereby that Prince has got quit for ever of a dangerous rival. *French. Original of 9 pages mostly in cipher with a decipher.*

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 1.—There is certain news that the peace between the Czar and the King of Sweden is almost on the point of conclusion. The presence of Prince Eugene will bring the Turks to reason. This Court endeavours to give that of London no cause for mistrust owing to the need it has of engaging George with the Regent in its interests. *French. Partly in cipher deciphered.*

JAMES III to CARDINALS IMPERIALI, SACRIPANTI, ALBANI, AQUAVIVA, DE LA TREMOÏLLE, PAULUCCI, OLIVIERI, ACCIAIOLI and POLIGNAC, to DON CARLO and DON ALESSANDRO ALBANI, the PRINCESSE DE PIOMBINO, the PRINCESSE DES URSINS, MADAME LA CONNESTABLE COLONNA and the BISHOP OF TODI.

1718, June 1.—Replying to their respective letters of condolence on the death of the Queen. *French. Entry Book 1, pp. 247–252 and p. 255.*

JAMES III to POPE CLEMENT XI.

1718, June 1.—In consideration of the attachment to him of the President Salviati and the zeal with which he has always executed the Pope's orders both at Avignon and Urbino, requesting him to grant to the Salviati family the honours which the princes of the first rank at Rome enjoy at his court. *French. Ibid. p. 254.*

HEW WALLACE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 2. Leyden.—Requesting to obtain from the King liberty for him to go over to Scotland. His father being 80 years old, it's reasonable he should do his best to procure him ease from business. Being left tutor to several near relations, it will be difficult for them to extricate their business without him. Lastly, having come off in a hurry, any little money he had is near exhausted. He has no other security than several others, who have privately slipped over, and it is not improbable that the country he lives in being more awed by the usurping powers may soon oblige him to return.

MONSIGNOR LUDOVICO ANGUSSOLA to [? DAVID NAIRNE].

1718, June 2. Ascoli.—Requesting him to deliver to his Majesty the enclosed letter of condolence on the death of his mother. *Italian.*

WILLIAM ERSKINE to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, June 2. Urbino.—Receipt for 10 *pistoles* given him by the Duke of Mar's order.

J. MENZIES to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, Thursday, May 22[–June 2].—Your last of the 25th, N.S. came very safe, though our post house lately have had the humour of peeping.

Of the *Post Boys* you desired, but these three are to be had as yet in London and even them I picked up in three different places. They were all bought up at first, and, if there had been thousands more, they would have been all bought. There was a report that the author was to be called to account, and particularly who put him on it, or gave him the materials, for they reckoned some hand of Joab was in it. But they did not think fit to enter into that inquisition.

You will see by our prints what our discourse is, and by this *St. James' Post* you will have a swatch of the stuff we talk concerning St. Germain's, the Pretender &c. No man without living here can well imagine the notions we have, and yet such are always the springs of our measures and actions, so that it was indeed well said of Mr. Locke, Give me but the power of the newspapers and the ballads and pamphlets, I will give any man that will the power of the laws.

Though we are full of reasonings and speculations, we are in a critical point of darkness, both as to the South and the North, and we are afraid the Court is not dazzled with too much light. One thing is certain; we shall talk big as long as we can, and as long as we think it will terrify princes abroad.

At home we have no more changes in posts and places, though much talked of. We have had many expresses and alarms from Scotland of rebels and arms &c. landing there, and Lord Lovat has many private audiences and pretends extraordinary intelligences, by which he makes his court extremely.

The Abbé du Bois has not been at Court these ten days.

The General Assembly of the Kirk, which has lately begun to sit, are like to be very angry that the Court here has not done more for the Dissenters in England. 2 pages.

JAMES HAMILTON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 22[–June 2]. London.—This morning *C. Kinnaird* went to *Sir W. Wyndham* in the country. When he returns, he intends to write to you fully. He talked of being here in a few days, but I'm of opinion it will be some weeks. Then he says he will retire to *Scotland*, but I have reason to doubt that being his real intention. *James Murray's* situation is now the common talk, though not as at first reported but as friends knew it to be.

For some months there has been such a prevailing spirit in *England*, as if *the King* was daily to enter on trade here, but of late we have quite the reverse, and there is strange dejectedness in all his Dutch friends' countenances. We have daily strong presumptions of new difficulties and obstructions in traffic. When *M. Duprie* (? *the King of Spain*) begins their motions, 'twill open to many a very distant prospect.

The Regent is generally thought to be *the King's* greatest enemy, and that he has at all hands laboured against *his* interest. None is, or has been more artful in endeavouring to pack up matters with *King George* and *the Prince of Wales*, but God has given more grace and I'm assured 'tis as far off as ever.

Spain's attorney here still endeavours the same, and is yet industrious for cementing *the Whigs* with *the Tories*. In this I'm told *the Regent* does most artfully concur, because he cannot so well effect what he has all along aimed at, till matters are settled here and elsewhere, but how a broker of *Spain's* and one of *France's* should drive at the same thing is very odd, when most people look on their owners' interests at this juncture to be directly opposite, except *Spain's* broker has got money for that end.

'Tis confirmed what I formerly hinted of *Sir R. Everard* and *Lord Arran's* situation with *the Bishop of Rochester*, but I could not learn any particulars.

'Tis reported that ten men-of-war more are put in commission for the Mediterranean, and that 1,500 men from Ireland are to go aboard this fleet. Notwithstanding we had a long press, our ships are in great want of men, nor is it known how men will be got for these in commission. Our merchants complain heavily, it putting a stop to all commerce but stockjobbing. *Annexed,*

List of pocket-books, tweezers and watches sent Lord Mar as desired with the price of each. (This list is probably intended as a blind.)

ANNE OGLETHORPE to JAMES III.

1718, May 22[–June 2].—Condoling with him on the death of the Queen.—*Lord Orrery* and *Mr. Cæsar* desire their humble duty and compliments on the subject to be presented to you. I send *Lord Oxford's* letter.

EXTRACT FROM LETTERS FROM LONDON.

1718, May 19[–30] and 22[–June 2].—A private letter of the 18th instant from Paris informs us that a little after the death of the Queen Dowager the Duc de Noailles inspected all her papers at St. Germain's and then had the seal put upon them. He took only her will, which was not signed, and brought it immediately to the Regent, who read it and found that the Queen, in acknowledgement of all the benefits she had received from the Crown of France, gave to the King all the arrears of her jointure due from the Crown of England, and also her real property consisting of an estate in Cambridgeshire, which after the Revolution had been given by King William to Admiral Herbert, whom he created Lord Torrington.

As soon as the Regent had read the will, he sent to inform Lord Stair, who, it is said, asked for a copy to send to his master, which was granted him. This letter is circulated among the Jacobites, and makes them hope that the King of France wanting to be paid the jointure may cause some differences between the Courts of France and England and

even a war, and that they may see the Pretender return to France and with the assistance of that power try to recover his throne, but all this is chimeras and illusions, which are looked upon with pity. It is even believed that this letter may be forged by the Jacobite party to restore the drooping courage and hope of their adherents.

Last Monday two Englishmen in liquor went into the house of Mr. Petkum, the Holstein minister, and insulted one of his servants. The minister came down, hearing the noise, and, seeing his servant maltreated, threatened with his hand one of the gentlemen, who immediately struck him with his fist and knocked him down. As he was getting up, General Davenport came in and rescued him and made the English go away. It is said the minister is wounded in the face. A foreign minister having complained to the King, he has broken one of the gentlemen, who was an officer on half pay.

The King's nomination of five persons, of whom four are French and the fifth Scotch, to be gentlemen servants of the young princesses gives great jealousy to the English, that not one of their nation is among them. Some even murmur that it shows the King distrusts them.

The reconciliation, it is said, would have already been made and the Prince declared Generalissimo, if the King would have changed some ministers, which, it is said, his Royal Highness insists on strongly, especially on the dismissal of Sunderland and Cadogan, whom he regards as his enemies. *French.*

JAMES III to CARDINAL CORSINI, PRINCE VAINI and the
NUNCIO TO FRANCE.

1718, June 2.—Replying to their letters of condolence on the Queen's death. *French. Entry Book 1, p. 253.*

COL. J. PARKER to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 3. Montargis.—I persuade myself Cardinal Gualterio has forwarded you my letters, in one of which I enclosed his answer. Her Majesty's death has put us beyond misery, and what succour can we hope here, when during her life nothing was to be obtained? I have stated my case and with impatience wait his Majesty's pleasure. No subject has had such unnatural trials as I during his minority. Those treasonable counsellors, that anchored (*sic*) him at St. Germain's, true friends to Churchill &c, had power to persecute as they pleased those who could detect them. They did not spare me, but Providence armed me against their politics, hoping to murder me by despair in a Bastille by four years' confinement, and, when the shamefulness of my suffering obliged my liberty and they allowed our Master to be of age, he graciously freed me from exile and recalled me to his presence. Though I insisted on my justification, and demanded at least the knowledge of my crime, they disavowed the action and would have it fall absolutely on the Court of France, a very false assertion, as I have undeniable proofs. Being a stranger to

you I take leave to state that I have ever been firm in all principles of loyalty. What I assert I am ready to prove, and had long since done it to the public, had I not conceived it might have been a handle for our enemies to do mischief. I have in this, as on all occasions, sacrificed myself for the King's sake, but I cannot resist starving. I humbly recommend myself to your protection.

GEORGE JERNINGHAM to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 23[–June 3]. *Petersburg*.—The few days I have been here scarce afford me sufficient to give you the trouble of these lines since all “I have been able to learn is that from *Sweden* there are persons come to *treat* with those sent to *Aland* on the part of the *Czar*, who has with impatience expected their arrival. The *negotiation* is kept so private that it is almost impossible as yet to learn anything that can prudently be relied upon. *Doctor Erskine* was ill upon my coming hither and is much dispirited with sickness and other apprehensions, which he lies under from the malice of his enemies, and dares not act as usually, which obliges me to move him gently upon our concerns. I gave him in writing the heads of my business without seeing him, which I thought with safety he might communicate to the *Czar* and he approved the same; but upon his first going to *Court* he found the *Czar* so much out of humour, that he thought not fit for that time to mention our *affairs*. It is evident of what moment it is to us to know what passes at *Aland*, yet the difficulties, which your friends labour under to come to any certainty in that affair, seem as yet to make it impracticable. I desired *Dr. Erskine* in my first article to acquaint the *Czar*, that the motive which induced the *King* to send *Jerningham* this length was purely that the *Czar* might be informed of the true situation and temperament of *Sweden* from the same person whom the *King* had sent thither, desiring to that end that the *Czar* would appoint me one of the *ministers* to hear what I had further to communicate upon my coming hither. This last I insisted upon in order that our business and interest might come before the *Vice-Chancellor*, who is the person that rules all, and without him it is in vain to expect to do anything here. This has been assured to me by *Görtz*, when I was on the other side, and since by *Prince Curakin*, who knows the temperament of his own *Court* as well as any body. This I presented to *Doctor Erskine* long since, not knowing that there was any private misunderstanding between them; but upon my coming hither I find the *Vice-Chancellor* bears *Doctor Erskine* an implacable hatred, envies his prosperity and in short seeks his ruin. This disposition makes it impossible for *Doctor Erskine* to keep any kind of correspondence with him and therefore all our *affairs* hitherto have in some measure been kept a secret from him; all which proves unfortunately extremely prejudicial to the present *negotiation*. All that I can do, matters standing thus, and provided that *Doctor Erskine*

finds it not expedient to open my commission to *the Czar*, is to seek some other, who has access and not so much to risk as our friend, to petition that I may lay my business before the minister above-mentioned, for, if *Doctor Erskine* should do this at a time that the *treaty* is now *negotiating* and that things should not answer or agree to our reports afterwards, it is most certain that from the complexion which looks upon *Doctor Erskine* at this Court he would risk losing his head. Such a situation must necessarily debilitate his good will and render him very circumspect in what he does.

"I shall therefore try all means to move our business by some other canal and borrow only from *Doctor Erskine's* advice and private direction.

"I am truly uneasy to find our affairs under this disposition, since we are well informed that *Görtz* and *Gyllenborg* are the persons carrying on *the treaty* below, where I hope we shall find our account according to the promise made to *Jerningham* on the other side, if *affairs* there come to the wished-for conclusion.

"*The Czar* must first approve *Jerningham's* errand before he can possibly hope to hear what measures they are taking below and, if I can be so happy as to gain this point, I must endeavour next to advance my business so far as to prevail with *the Czar* that he will empower his *ministers* to receive *Jerningham* with the same disposition that *Görtz* has engaged to do on the part of *the King of Sweden*, and, if he will enable me to join those persons now sitting upon their business, that we with them may draw our affairs to some conclusion; if *the Czar* will not favour us so far, it will be impossible for me to attempt such an expedition.

"*The Czar* is gone down for a day or two to see his *fleet*. *Doctor Erskine* is likewise with him. Upon their return I will take all possible care to pursue my business, for I am very apprehensive that *the Czar's* short stay in these parts should not give others time enough to assist me as intended. *The Czar* has got ready *thirty men-of-war* and is very impatient to go a frolicking abroad with them, he intends within two or three weeks to put to sea, but nobody believes upon any other design than to make an appearance to intimidate his enemies."

O'Berne is soliciting his discharge here and is very uneasy to return, seeing he is useless to the end intended. 4 pages. Noted, as received at Urbino 19 July.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Saturday, June 4.—I send this by the address you directed, and my packet more at large under *Nairne's* address. Please let me know the difference of time in the reception of both. Your packets, one of 13 and 14 May, and the other of 18 and 19 May, came together this morning. I shall do all that depends on me near *the Regent* for *the King's* interest, and am impatient for his letter to *the Regent* in the manner I have already advised. I believe you were misinformed

about the posts being robbed near Genoa. In all appearance *Ormonde* will arrive in this neighbourhood before the 20th.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Saturday, June 4.—Enumerating the letters he had written since 1 April to the King and Mar.—I now send you *Ormonde's* to me of the 13th, by which you'll see he'll be soon in *France*. The little hopes *Ormonde* had of *the Czar* and *Dr. Erskine's* unaccountable behaviour towards *him* have determined *Ormonde* to depart from the place he was in. I see no remedy for this, but am glad that *Jerningham* parted 10 May to visit *the Czar* and know his final result in regard to *the King*. 'Tis affirmatively said here that *the King of Sweden* and *the Czar's* factors are together, and most people believe they will come to an agreement, in which case I have still good hopes of *Jerningham's* being useful where he is. I wrote to him at large two days ago and gave him all the accounts here that could be an encouragement to promote *the King's* interest. It will be an age before I can hear from him, which is very melancholy in our present circumstances.

I have nothing to add to what I said about *the King of Spain's* lawsuit, but the time now approaches when we shall surely know the bottom of that matter. I hear no more of *the Prince of Wales* coming into this country, which makes me presume the report was ill-grounded.

I have five packets from *the King* to *Queen Mary*, and can't tell if there be any letters for me in them, but hope I shall soon be informed by *Basque's* return. I enclose a note of my letters to you since 1 April.

Postscript.—Acknowledging Mar's two packets mentioned in the last.—I am much troubled to find *the King's* ague continues. I hope it will soon be over and beseech the Almighty to comfort him in his just affliction. *Nairne* advised me of *the King's* taking a vomit 7 May, and of his being somewhat weak two days after. No violent remedy can be good for his constitution, and it is not very usual to make an experience on persons of his rank, it being a nice point and not practised except in great extremities. The doctor ought to know best, though it be very sure his prescription will meet with little or no approbation among the physicians here. *Enclosed,*

The SAID NOTE.

WILLIAM GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 4. Paris.—Acknowledging his Grace's of the 18th and 19th, all the letters in which had been forwarded and delivered.—Your former packets that you think were robbed were all safe. I have told your message to Charles Forbes, who only waits your orders. I'm afraid Maurice Murray will not easily recover.

As to the affairs of St. Germain, and how all that is to be continued or changed I know not, but our people are only paid for February and March subsistence and a very few

for April, nor is there any fund for going farther, but I shall in a few days give in my accounts to Mr. Dicconson, and he will, no doubt, give his where it's proper.

Immediately yesternight, when I received your packets, I sent to ask General Dillon's advice, if I might write to you this way, but he was out of humour and would give none. This morning I wrote by my son and begged his excuse that I could not come myself, it being post day for Britain, but I would attend him this afternoon, however I had no favourable answer. Finding your last letters came so soon, I have ventured to send the enclosures.

The French crown is augmented of value from 5 to 6 *livres*, which will make the subsistence to those in Holland and Flanders very small.

GEORGE MACKENZIE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 4, Paris.—You will readily remember I wrote to you to Avignon of my having brought a letter from Scotland for the King from a gentleman. This letter I transmitted to his Majesty by Mr. Stewart of Innernytie. I am sorry to inform you of that gentleman's being dead, considering the firmness he always showed in anything he could serve the King in. Last post I received a letter from his son, wherein he writes of his endeavouring not to come short of his father in duty and loyalty to the King, and seems fond to know if he can expect to be any way useful to him. This I consider myself obliged to inform you of, knowing him capable of serving the King very effectually, and now it may not be improper to give him encouragement to trace his father's footsteps in his affection for the royal family, which, I can assure you, he will follow closely, especially in the confidence of your administration, which in my conversation both with the father and the son they considered of most advantage to the King.

Since your being here I have had several obliging letters from the Marquess of Seaforth, and, you may be sure, I endeavoured in my answers to sweeten his humour in that foolish paper war betwixt the Duke of Gordon and him, managed by female agents to the prejudice of the King's interest, and of late I find him more cool and reasonable. On my arrival here about ten days ago I found some persons of distinction of the King's subjects in a strange humour, as if the sullen peevishness contracted in the Highland hills remained unsweetened by the softer climate of France. I know you have been informed of what passes amongst that set, and therefore need not trouble you with it, but, being informed the Marquess had been writ to with endeavours to bring him into their idle and groundless discontents, I immediately wrote to him to take care of the snare designed for him. I have not yet got his answer, but am glad to hear he has of late written to you. Chagrin and uneasiness are the natural disease of our present circumstances, and

I must regret its taking such a root amongst a great many here, but I doubt not the King's own wisdom with your prudence and care will prevent its further progress. Their discontent seems very weakly and unreasonably founded.

Powrie, who keeps still a true firm Scots heart, is well and offers his humble duty. I beg you may think of what I am informed General Gordon wrote you concerning James Malcolm, a son of Sir John Malcolm, being put on the list for subsistence, since he needs it much. 3 pages.

LORD PITSLIGO to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 4. Vienna.—Yesternight I had yours which followed me from Holland. I wrote to you last Wednesday, having been here eight days. I find our Master remembers me but too much. When I perceived you had sent my letter to him and he had given you such an answer, I had indeed some confusion. As I reckoned myself obliged to serve him before from duty, he has likewise put me under the ties of gratitude.

I am glad my journey is approved by such good hands. I thought it would be too long to stay in Holland till I should have your answer. I told you I found some curiosity to see the fine things in Italy. Having got this length, the greatest part of the journey is over, and the difference of expense is very small betwixt travelling and staying some time in a place. However, till I hear from you, I shall take no resolution.

LORD OXFORD to JAMES III.

1718, May 26[–June 6]. Richmond (? London).—Condoling with him on the Queen's death, and adding that *the King's* circumstances and the present time require his care of his numerous family. He, that is born for the good of the world and has a soul equal to his birth and as extensive a capacity, will sacrifice even his tenderness to his friends' opportunity, as he has often before preferred their service to his own ease and security.

LORD OXFORD to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 26[–June 6]. Greenwich (? London).—Expressing his great concern at the Queen's death.—Very many here will be made easy by it and think *the King* has an advantage by it and that it will be serviceable to his trade. At least it makes many here easy.

This cruel distance is very troublesome. I am contriving a way to bring *the Regent* about. I hope that may be accomplished. I will give *the King* and *Mar* the state of it as soon as I have found a sure way to do it, but I must conjure you not to give the least glimpse of light to any mortal besides. If *Lord Oxford* were nearer, he would never venture a thought without taking *the King's* and your approbation, but our trade is such we must take the market when it comes.

J. MENZIES to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, Monday, May 26[–June 6].—For some days, whilst our Post Office thought your Regent wavering, they peeped into our letters, but at present *ils sont un peu rassurez*, and their curiosity is not so extreme. Yet we have such a hotch-potch of uncertainties that I cannot enter into any relation of them nor any speculations upon them with common sense, I mean, on your affairs abroad, for at home we have nothing new, only that, since the Duke of Marlborough and his lady came back from the waters, all embryos of our projected great reconciliations are all blasted. She has treated the foreigners, who were coming into that scene, *de haut en bas*.

The enclosed prints give our current talk. The first part of the journal is liked by many of the best, but nobody thinks it the newsmonger's own doing.

We are told from Paris that *Mar* is expected there very soon. *Sir R. Everard* is in the country, as indeed is almost all the world.

JAMES EDGAR to JAMES PATERSON.

1718, June 6.—Receipt for 6 *pistoles* received by Lord Mar's order for providing mourning.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Tuesday, June 7.—This is only to tell you that Basque arrived here at 12 last night. All your directions by him shall be punctually observed and I'll soon make a full answer to all the material points of your letters, not having time to read them before the post parts.

Mine of the 4th will inform you of *Ormonde's* departure from the place he was in, so I fear your late letters to him will be sent back to you.

There are no sure accounts here yet, at least that I can find out, of what passes at the Congress in Hungary or of the last embarkation's being parted from Barcelona. Both these points are relative to *the King of Spain's* enterprise upon *Italy* and consequently to *the King's* future hopes that way. *The King of Spain's* factor, who is my particular friend, will communicate to me all the news he receives on this score, and I daily expect an account from Mr. Camocke. I find by yours of 19 May you are much surprised about what I wrote formerly concerning *the Regent* and *the English fleet*. I must own you had great reason to be amazed at *the Regent* making so absurd a bargain, liable to so extravagant an expense. I fear, however, the fact is but too well-grounded, and 'tis taken for granted by persons well-informed here. You must also know that *the Regent* had no need of his people's concurrence in such cases.

I was much afraid *the King's* just affliction would have been a great obstacle to the re-establishment of his health.
2½ pages.

WILLIAM GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 7. Paris.—I wrote to you the 4th current by the Lombardy post and send all I have received since. Father Græme is secure at Calais for a year to come and Charles Forbes attends for your orders. The enclosed prints were sent me by Mr. Hamilton to be forwarded to you. Just now I hear the expected courier is come, but I dare not keep up this packet.

WILLIAM GORDON to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, June 7. Paris.—I wrote to his Grace this morning and have since received his and yours by the courier, and shall be careful of all the encloseds. Tell John Græme that all his letters came safe and have been forwarded to Scotland, and, if his friends do not answer them, it is because they wont.

GENERAL ROBERT ECHLIN to JAMES III.

1718, June 7. St. Pol de Leon, Brittany.—Condoling with him on the Queen's death.—As your Majesty permitted me to retire, I have been with my friend, Capt. Morgan, in Brittany these seven months, where I propose to stay till I receive your commands.

BRIGADIER CAMPBELL to [the DUKE OF MAR].

1718, June 7. Bordeaux.—I had yours of 21 March and another of 30 May from *Mr. Dillon*. I am extremely well-pleased with your continuing in the former resolution, though *Barry* proving a rogue obliged me to quit the place, but, when occasion offers, I can still go there and further.

I wrote to you a short time ago about Capt. George. I cannot give you so perfect a report of that affair as I could wish, especially of what relates to the King's interest. But I think the officers' and seamen's pretensions very well grounded and that the captain has dealt unjustly with them. You'll see this from their claims with his answers and Lynch's and Brisbane's reports. Though these gentlemen differ as widely as the captain and his crew, yet Brisbane has certainly the right. (Arguments to prove that this is so.)

It is a great question if he will obey an order to do his crew justice, but, if you judge it their due, I suppose you will signify it to him and then ways may be found to bring him to a compliance. I have insisted mostly on the seamen's dues, and think I can safely condemn the captain on that point, having fully heard all his defences, but as to the King's I cannot be so positive, because we have not had his last answer as to that point. The papers I have sent you enclosed are:—1. The substance of the claims and answers. 2. Brisbane's report. 3. Lynch's report. 4. Exact copy of the book of accounts presented to us. 5. Officers' and seamen's declarations as to the articles of the book. 6. An exact account of the wages, drawn out and

signed by John Aberdeen. 7. Is also an account of what's overcharged in outbrig and provisions on the *Speedwell* and *Bonaccord*. The sooner you send your answer as to the seamen's wages, the better, for the captain is very ill. 4 pages. *Enclosed*,

The seven documents mentioned in the above letter.

RICHARD BARRY to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 7. Leyden.—I presume Brigadier Campbell has given you an account of the disappointment in St. Sebastian occasioned by a jealousy and conflict of jurisdiction between my good friend, the Captain General, and the magistrates of that city, who are dissatisfied in respect of their privileges, and with an Italian General. The particulars are too long, and unfit to be mentioned in a letter without a cipher and good assurance of going safe to your hands, nor did I dare to write them to Brigadier Campbell, the rather, that I was engaged to the Captain General not to communicate what he designed to do for my master's service till he had given me leave, when the affair had been ripe. The said magistrates made such a noise and augmented the affair to that height, that the Captain General advised me to retire into the country till all that storm had been past. In consequence I design to continue my commerce between Amsterdam and Ireland, France &c.

I left the Captain General in the best intentions to serve my master, in which I confirmed him by representing the honour and advantage it may be to him and his family, when my master's affairs succeed, for he has many children. He's timorous to engage at present in anything that may draw reproaches on him, the Court of Madrid, the King and his minister, Alberoni, having measures to keep with England and being very cautious for fear of drawing enemies on their hands in this conjuncture of their enterprise against the Emperor. These considerations will hinder what was designed to be done at Passages and thereabouts being executed, till it may be winked at from Court. I find that such goods may be bought in this country and some may be easily had from Germany and all may be shipped for Denmark. A ship may also be bought here or even in London, which I esteem least suspicious, and she would be a free bottom, qualified to trade anywhere. I could soon get a faithful captain and a Scottish and Irish crew. With this goods and passengers may be carried to and from any place that may be thought fit and without any suspicion. Indeed it would be very convenient to have one or two ships ready for an occasion; in the interim they might be sent on short voyages, whereby to pay the charges. If it be thought fit to execute this, here are friends enough and in London to put it in practice. My endeavours shall not be wanting. It's a great advantage

I am not at all suspected in this country nor even in England, it being usual for negociants to go abroad about their commerce. I design to wait your answer in Amsterdam. (Giving his address.) In case of miscarriage it will not be known who the letter is for, being addressed as above. 2½ pages.

MONSIGNOR ERCOLE MARLIANI to DAVID NAIRNE.

1718, June 8. Fano.—Expressing his sorrow at the Queen's death. *Italian*.

ANNE OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, May 28[–June 8].—I enclose two letters from *Lord Oxford*, one for *the King*, the other for yourself, and beg you to deliver one from me to *the King*. I know not how long they may remain in my hands, the conveyance not being here. I have a tariff from *Lord Orrery* for you, which I shall send by the first sure conveyance. Accept my condolences on your late great loss. It has been a very sensible satisfaction to hear of *the King's* recovery and yours.

Postscript.—June 26[–July 7].—I open my packet, after waiting so long, to let you know I send this by *Menzies*, there having been so much of late writ against the skipper that it would not be prudent to venture sending by him. That is also the reason I do not send you the two tariffs of *Lord Oxford* and *Lord Orrery*. I send this directed to *Capt. Ogilvie* to forward. I have sent him an account of what was writ from your side against the skipper, but beg, if you know anything material that should make him suspected, to let *Capt. Ogilvie* be apprised of it.

The DUKE OF ORMONDE to JAMES III.

1718, June 10. Metz.—Condoling with him on the Queen's death.—*Ormonde* arrived here last night with *Bagenal* and the Bavarian (Butler). We have had a long fatiguing journey, but not the least ill accident. I design leaving this on Sunday morning in order to meet with *Dillon*.

The DUKE OF ORMONDE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 10. Metz.—Condoling with him on the Queen's death and hoping that the King bears the loss as he ought to do and referring him to his letter to the King.—Sure, if these broils go on, *the King* cannot stay in the country *he* is in now, but will come into a more temperate air. It will be much for *his* health, if he can.

WINEFRED, COUNTESS OF NITHSDALE, to JAMES III.

1718, June 10. La Fleche.—Necessity forces me to acquaint you with my wants, there being now none other to whom I can have recourse, and to represent that, though Mr. Dicconson paid me but 1,200 *livres* during her late Majesty's life, yet, having her orders to recur to her when I wanted, it

not being possible to subsist on that alone, she had the goodness to send me 300 *livres*, through Mrs. Strickland's hands, and your distance, making it impracticable to address you on such occasions, makes me earnestly beg you would send orders to Mr. Dicconson to add the 300 to what he paid me before, for I am even with that so bare that I can with much difficulty bring both ends together.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 11.—I wrote to you last Saturday, the 7th, and am so disordered with the greatest heat that ever was felt here and the hurry of going about these three days that I am not able to say much by this post. I delivered *the King's* letter to *the Regent* the day after the express arrived. He received the compliment very graciously and asked many questions about *the King's* health, for which he seemed to have much concern. 'Tis unnecessary to repeat all I said to him about *the King's* interest. *The Regent* ordered me to inform *the King* that he would do all that lay in his power for *his* service, and that *he* may depend on it. I replied with due submission that an answer of that sort in general terms could not be satisfactory, and pressed him in a feeling manner to consider *the King's* present situation and the distress he is in. I also represented how becoming it would be that *the Regent* himself should make answer to *the King* on this occasion, and, as to what regarded *the pension*, that *D'Uxelles*, or whoever he thought most proper of his chief people, might write to *Mar* about it, assuring that what would be done on this score should be kept a strict secret. I proposed this method as being in my opinion more binding than anything he could say to me in a particular discourse. *The Regent* said, it seemed I mistrusted his promise. I told him I never doubted of his good heart and good intentions towards *the King*, but that this matter required a sudden and positive determination which I hoped he would effectuate without delay. On the whole I find that *the Regent* intends to speak of it to the *Council of Regence* before he gives final orders. The said *Council* is now in vacancy and won't assemble till the 20th. I'll take due care to prepare friends among 'em the best I can in order to promote *the King's* interest, which is all I am able to say for the present.

The Duchess of Berry, Madame and the Duchess of Orleans received *the King's* letters very civilly and asked many kind questions about his health. I gave his letter to *Maréchal Villeroy*, who is a true friend. He charged himself with that to *the King of France*, and will do all in his power to serve *the King*. *The Duc de Noailles* is in the country at some distance, but he is expected in town to-morrow. When he comes, he shall have the letter for him. I must do *M. de Lausun* the justice to say that he seems most zealous, but, if *the King* does not write a kind letter to him in answer, there will be no living for me in this town. 2½ pages.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to [the DUKE OF MAR].

1718, Saturday, June 11.—I gave your letter to Mr. Law and told him that *the King* and *Mar* reckoned very much on his friendship and good offices in this important occasion. He spoke in a friendly manner about *the King's* concerns and promised to do all that depended on him for his service. I have informed him of a good part of the steps I made near *the Regent*, that he may be more at the fact. 'Tis most certain he has great access and credit with *the Regent* and that none can be more useful, provided he embraces *the King's* interest sincerely.

I enclose a copy of *Sir H. Stirling's* to *Ormonde*, dated 28 April O.S., and the letter sent me with it, which I suppose is from *Zeachy Hamilton*. I can't tell what party *Jerningham* will take, having no news from him, but see with much regret our affairs in those parts have an ill aspect at present.

I expect *Ormonde* in this neighbourhood before the 20th, and find *Sir R. Everard* is resolved to come to him here. I presume he'll be charged with *the Bishop of Rochester's* answer to *the King's* and *Mar's* former packets, and can't imagine what occasioned so long a delay.

Enclosed is Mr. Camocke's last letter to me. If you can find a way to correspond with him it may be useful. By what he says, I suppose him at present in *Italy*.

All your directions about *the King's* affairs at *St. Germain's* shall be punctually observed, and next post I'll thank *the King* for his present of coach horses. I hope he is quite rid of the ague and that I shall soon receive an account of his being perfectly recovered. I hope also this will find *Mar* in good health and out of all apprehensions of the disorders he complained of. I am so fatigued with writing and going about those four days that it is not in my power to say more.
3 pages.

The EARL MARISCHAL to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 11. Rouen.—My brother's regret to lose his time idly makes him entreat you to speak to the King to know if it would be agreeable to him that he should go to the Spanish service, and that in that case you would get him his Majesty's recommendation for a commission. 1,000 *livres* will be necessary for his journey. I am sorry he should be obliged to ask a favour of that kind in this time, but I am hopeful it may put him in a way of being less a trouble in the future.

I enclose a letter from Mr. Wallace, who is desirous to know the King's commands therein.

ALEXANDER MURRAY OF STENHOPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 11. Dunkirk.—My private business renders it next to impossible for me to wait on his Majesty and your Grace personally. *Capt. Ogilvie* will satisfy you of this, and I hope his good character will remove any disadvantages to which my absence and being so little known to his Majesty and

your Grace naturally subject me. Since my uncle's death, you know as well, if not better than any man, my loyalty and disinterestedness. I am ambitious to be taken under your protection and to be represented to his Majesty as one of his faithful subjects.

JOHN ALEXANDER to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 11. Rome.—I neglected not to find Padre Abbate Ramelli timeously, but it's my misfortune that Mr. Stewart has gone to Leghorn, for I wrote to him three weeks ago, which I suppose is yet in the post house, advising him what I had done with Ramelli, that he might tell you, for I thought it too much confidence in me to write to you.

When I found Ramelli, he showed me your picture already finished, which pleased me much. It is indeed a little flushy, but that is more allowable in miniature than in oil painting. However, I doubt not he and Trevisani will both be ready to help anything amiss, when you honour them with your presence. I found nothing amiss in the miniature but in the shadow side of the wig, that the curls were something hard, which I told him freely, seeing I know the virtuosi hear willingly the opinion of students on their works. I presented him with six Spanish pistoles with your compliment, not as a payment for so perfect a work, which generosity he admired much, but would by no means receive anything. He answered he was more than paid, if he could do anything to please you, and, seeing I pressed him much, he would receive nothing but the expense of the case and crystal. Your picture remains safe at Trevisani's, till I receive new orders. As to Caputi, he has ended one of the Ios and the other is well advanced. The carnation of that he has ended in an oval pleases me, but I found a little defect in the contorno of the head, of which I took the liberty to advise him, and which, if he mends it, will be well.

I have enquired likewise for your alphabets and arms, which I shall send you carefully packed with the miniatures when ended.

(Thanking him for the honour and favour he has done him with the King, praising God for his Majesty's recovery and condoling on the loss of the Queen.) I shall send my Mount Parnassus of Raphael next Saturday by the *procaccio* (carrier) to you, which I pray you to present most humbly to his Majesty, and to excuse my weak beginnings, till I be able to serve his Majesty to some purpose either by my pencil or person. 2 pages.

GIOVANNI FELICE RAMELLI, Abbot of the Canons Regular of the Lateran, to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718 [June]. Rome.—Hearing from Signor Trevisani that his Excellency desired of him his portrait in miniature, begging him to accept of the little work, so far as he has been able to succeed in it. *French.*

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, June 11.—I forward the enclosed from Monsr. Stiernhock, who is wishing for answers to several of his letters.

You will see by the enclosed extracts what is going on at the Congress of Passarowitz. A courier is expected every moment with the results of the general conference held there. We are informed from all sides that the Sultan and the Vizier are desirous of peace, especially as they see the Imperial Army is quite ready and very numerous. The Venetians, however, have no hopes of any great advantage from this peace. As the ministry here sees that King Philip is raising difficulties in accepting the proposed accommodation, they will try to make the best terms they can with the Turks, for it is certain that the Emperor will never, unless he is compelled, renounce the monarchy of Spain.

The treaties of peace between the Czar and the King of Sweden are going on in profound silence. I have many friends at the Court of Petersburg, but they are forbidden to write any thing. However, according to advices from other places, the said treaties are in a good train. The King of Sweden had even furnished the prisoners of the Czar with good clothes to enable them to return home. That King has 80,000 men on foot and a formidable fleet, and the Czar has no less. The latter intended this month to put to sea with his fleet to go to Reval, while waiting for the treaties of peace to go on. I ought soon to have an answer to the letter for Mr. Erskine.

Postscript.—This letter having been sent a little too late to the post, remained here till to-day, the 15th, when I have just received yours of 24 May with the enclosure for Monsr. Stiernhock, which I at once delivered to him. You have his answer enclosed. I shall answer yours by the next post. *Over 4 pages. French.*

MONSIEUR STIERNHOCK to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 11. Vienna.—Since my last I have learnt that, though the King of Spain has declared that he is willing to make peace with the Emperor by the mediation of the Regent and King George, renouncing his claims on the Italian States and the Low Countries which belong to the Spanish monarchy and confirming his renunciation of the Crown of France, he adds notwithstanding not only a claim of placing troops in Tuscany and Parma to secure the succession of his son by his second marriage, but of keeping Sardinia, so that it appears his intention is to amuse *le tapis* till he sees his way more clearly. However it is certain that in the treaty of alliance with the Regent, King George and the States General, for which the Emperor has given his word and which is on the point of conclusion, the Emperor renounces his claim to Spain independently of the peace with King Philip. It is

a proof of his apprehension of the dangerous consequences to himself which may follow from a delay in declaring the said renunciation.

The courier who carried, it is said, an order to the Imperial ambassadors to enter at once into conferences with the Ottoman ambassadors, notwithstanding the defects in the full powers of the latter, in order that the Emperor might know without delay what they have to say, had not arrived at Passarowitz before the letters of the 29th from there had left, which informed us that inaction continued there. Those of 3 June from the camp of Semlin, where is the general rendezvous of the Imperial army, inform us that the Turks had attacked an Imperial post on the side of Bosnia called Vaillowa, but had been repulsed, and that on the report that the Turks intended a fresh attack in considerable numbers on that post, which it was important for the Imperialists to keep, a General had been ordered to maintain it, and that there was news that a Pasha had arrived near Nisch with several thousand men and that it appeared the army would assemble in the neighbourhood of that place. I have seen a letter from the camp of Semlin from a General saying that, since the Turks were only amusing *le tapis* at Passarowitz, the Imperialists would endeavour to give them battle as soon as possible, and that he hoped to send news of a victory in July, if the Turkish army was assembled so soon, and if in the meantime the Grand Signior did not yield as the Emperor desired. Notwithstanding these appearances of war, I have seen a letter from Monsr. Dalman of the 2nd saying that the Emperor could have peace when he pleased, but the question was of having better terms than the Porte would grant and that the only way the Emperor could succeed therein was by a vigorous prosecution of the war. That means apparently that the Turks are believed to be inclined to an accommodation on the basis of *uti possidetis*, but that the Emperor desires in addition all Wallachia with the places of Wihatsch and Zwornik with a part of Bosnia and a Turkish port on the Adriatic, and that great efforts will be necessary to oblige the Turks to add these cessions to those of the places he has already.

Having written the above yesterday evening, I learnt this morning that a courier arrived at noon yesterday from Passarowitz with news of the first conference held on the 3rd. I have seen a letter from Count Virmond of the 6th, saying in general terms that this first conference took place conformably to the greatness and interest of the Emperor and that the consequences would be manifested by the next two or three conferences. It is said, moreover, since the courier's arrival that the Turkish ambassadors gave the Imperial ones hopes of peace on the basis of *uti possidetis*, and that, since the appointment of a new Grand Vizier and the sending of the Aga from him with a letter of compliments

to Prince Eugene, a Capizi Pasha, who arrived 30 May, brought to the said ambassadors a new full power signed by the Grand Signior, authorizing them to treat also about the peace with Venice with the Venetian ambassador or, as others say, with the Imperial ambassadors. Since the arrival of the courier, there is a general report here that peace is not far off. I should believe notwithstanding it is not so near but that it will be preceded by a campaign. The courier also brought news that the Aga of the Janissaries was arrived with a considerable number of Janissaries between Sofia and Nisch, and that the rest of the troops intended to form the Turkish army were also on the march. The conference was held in a magnificent tent of the Emperor's, pitched in the place where the mediating ministers encamp, the Imperial and Turkish ambassadors having two tents besides to retire to. The conference lasted three hours. The Venetian ambassador took no part in it.

Letters from Hamburg say that the English squadron consisting of ten men-of-war, arrived at the Sound 25 May. They speak of Messrs. Fabrice and Schrader being soon sent back to Sweden with new proposals.

Since the beginning of May, according to the last reports, Baron Görtz and Gyllenborg have been in Aland. I await with extreme impatience news of the happy conclusion of the great affair that is going on there. That congress cannot apparently be very protracted, as I presume matters were well prepared beforehand on both sides. 11 pages. *French. Partly in cipher, deciphered.*

COPY.

1718, June 11.—Of the paper given by *James Murray* to Mr. Anthony Balfour, as he called himself. My Lord Duke will be pleased, as soon as this written by *James Murray* shall be put into his hands, to give his orders accordingly.

JAMES III to the MARÉCHAL DE MATIGNON, the MARÉCHAL DE VILLARS, the DUC DE LAUZUN, the PRINCE DE CONTI, the PRINCESSES LOUISE ELIZABETH and MARIE THERESE DE CONTI, CARDINALS DADDA, PICO, COLONNA, BONCOMPAGNO and SCOTTO, the DUC DE PAGANICA, MONSIEUR ANGUISSOLA and the ABBE DE LA ROQUETTE.

1718, June 11.—Replying to their condolences on the Queen's death. *French. Entry Book 1, pp. 256-260.*

MRS. B. STRICKLAND to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 12.—Thanking him for his letter and begging him to present to his Majesty her most dutiful thanks for the great honour he has done her.—My son would have written long since to have given you thanks for the honour of your letter and the recommendations you gave him, but he has

been expecting every day to hear some account out of England, but my son there being ill has put a stop to his business, which we are in some hopes will end well.

COL. W. C[LEPHAN] to JOHN PATERSON.

[1718,] June 12.—For some days past I found James Edgar very melancholy. This morning I pressed him to know the reason, and found he had got only 6 pistoles to put himself in mourning, which would not do it, and, his monthly allowance being so small, he was forced to part with two of them to clear his debt to the menage. I cannot come to Court yet with the gout, else I had told the Duke of Mar the poor proud gentleman's circumstances. I wish some way could be taken to do it, for he cannot think of appearing about the Court in worse clothes than other gentlemen.

JAMES III to his Uncle, the DUKE OF MODENA.

1718, June 12.—Replying to his letter of condolence, which he has received from his Envoy Extraordinary, Count Vezzani. *French. Entry Book 1, p. 260.*

JAMES III to his Aunt, the DUCHESS OF BRUNSWICK (*i.e.* DUCHESS OF MODENA).

1718, June 12.—Replying to her letter of condolence, which he has received from Count Vezzani, and recommending to her protection the Countess Molza, who is returning to Modena, where she is not unknown, having spent almost all her life in the service first of the Duchess, his grandmother, and then of the Queen, whom she served for nearly 30 years, with an attachment which justly deserved the Queen's particular kindness to her, who recommended her to him by name. Your kind heart, I am sure, will inspire you to be favourable to her and her whole family. I am ashamed not to write to you with my own hand, but the great heat hinders my complete recovery, though the fever has left me. *French. Ibid. p. 261.*

The EARL OF PANMURE to JAMES III.

1718, June 13. Paris.—Expressing his anxiety at hearing of his Majesty's ague and hoping he is now in perfect good health.—I was very concerned to find by a letter from the Duke of Mar that I had incurred your displeasure by not showing my approbation of Mr. Inese's being laid aside, seeing the Duke writes, you thought it looked a little odd that I said not the least thing about it neither in mine to your Majesty nor in mine to the Duke, and that you thought I would have let you know that this was agreeable to me. I thought the reason of my being acquainted with this was only to prevent my application to him in any of your affairs, and it never entered into my thoughts that you expected

any approbation from me, who am a stranger to your affairs. I would not have troubled you with this letter, were it not to vindicate myself, and I did not think I should ever be obliged to do so at your hands.

The Duke also wrote to me that in my letter to him of 4 April I had said no new thing, and that you could say no more to that than what you had said to myself by word of mouth, and the Duke could add nothing to what he had often told me when he spoke to me of that affair, but I beg to remind you there was one thing in that letter I never represented to you or the Duke. (Quotes the passage from that letter about his not being trusted or employed.) This, I beg leave to say, is new and what I never represented to you or to the Duke till then.

The Duke also wrote that you were sorry I had still the same way of thinking as to those things I complain of, but I beg pardon to say that this is what I cannot help, having still the same grounds to complain and nothing done to alter my thoughts. If now or at any other time I have said or done anything to offend you, I am sorry and hope you will have the goodness to pardon it. 4 *pages*.

The EARL OF PANMURE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 13. Paris.—(The beginning is on the same topics and partly in the same words as the last.) I thank you for informing me what measures you were to take in relation to the deed in favour of your son. I have given my wife an account of it, but shall not let it be known to anybody else. I heard from her last post that the affair of her jointure is not yet determined, the Attorney-General not having made his report, and that she has ground to fear he will advise its being remitted to the Court of Enquiry in Scotland. If he reports in these terms, it will probably be a troublesome affair, and will delay her meeting me at Calais, for in that case her friends think it absolutely proper she should go to Scotland, as soon as it is remitted from the Treasury, and after that I suppose it will be necessary for her to return to London to get it exped at the Treasury. This cannot be but trouble and expense.

I spoke to Mr. Dillon about the payment of what the King allows me. Mr. Dicconson before the Queen's death paid me for May by her order. Mr. Dillon thought he would pay me for this month, and desired me to write to him about it. The answer I got was that it was not in his power, having no money, nor was he sure when he would have it, and besides, not having any assurance of the continuance of the pension beyond May, he could not pay further, till he had that from the Regent and also the King's orders in what manner to make the future payments, so I desire you will represent this to the King, for it will be very hard if the allowance be not paid, seeing that you know that, though it were paid

punctually, it would be far from serving for subsistence to me by the best management even in the mean condition I am reduced to. I also give you many thanks for recommending me to Madame Mezières and her sister. They have writ to their friends in London in favour of my wife in relation to her jointure and also to try what hopes there may be of getting anything done for me. $3\frac{1}{2}$ pages.

MRS. MARY PLOWDEN to JAMES III.

1718, June 13.—Begging him to continue her his protection and not to forget one, who, ever since his Majesty can remember, has been always most dutifully and heartily attached to him.

JAMES HAMILTON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 2[–13]. London.—Our news is very uncertain. Our papers to-day will have a peace between the Czar and the King of Sweden to be as good concluded and would insinuate that the King of Prussia was in the secret, but we of the Court give no credit to these reports; on the contrary, these two or three days our Court seems positive that the King of Sweden will accept our plan, and none but faithless Jacobites can doubt of the veracity of our successful leaders.

Lord Cadogan is shortly expected from Holland, though his entry was but last Wednesday. 'Tis said our fleet to the Mediterranean will sail in a very few days, consisting of one second-rate, 11 third-rates and 8 fourth-rates. It is to be joined in those seas by the squadron now cruising against the Sallee corsairs. Eight more men-of-war are also put in commission, that are to join this fleet, so that with us even Rome is to be stormed and some of the virtuosos of the Court have made interest with some of the commanders for many of the valuable books of the Vatican. Our stocks keep up.

G. JERNINGHAM to DANIEL O'BRIEN.

1718, June 2[–13]. Rue de l'Arbre Sec [Petersburg].—Though heartily tired with writing letters, I cannot omit answering your obliging remembrance from Danzig, which was my first news of the travellers since their departure.

I met letters at N[? arva], which desired me to stop there, but, finding no reason weighty enough to obey, I continued my journey hither, and found everything in as bad a way as one could wish. *Dr. Erskine* has met with so much malice on our account that he declines mentioning our interest at the proper place any more. I am persuaded he has not meddled with those matters for some while, which naturally occasioned such uneasinesses as you were witness to whilst in these parts. *Sir H. Stirling*, living with his relation, could take no other steps but such as *Dr. Erskine* approved of, so I found neither in a way of doing us service, which makes me not sorry for having taken the trouble of this long

journey, since our cause would have died, if not relieved with other methods. I gave my business in writing to *Dr. Erskine*, attributing the success hitherto of the whole negotiation solely to the credit of Fitzgerald (? the King) at the Court tonnere (? Sweden) that he might boldly assure *the Czar* that, if the matter came to a wished-for conclusion, it would be by our mediation and no other's. This was not sufficient to bring *Dr. Erskine* to a temper of speaking in our favour, on which I desired he would let his Secretary show me the way to the young gentleman you saw at *Ormonde's* when at the waters. He is a favourite here and courts the daughter of the Vice-Chancellor, so I laid my business before him and begged he would procure me a conference with the Vice-Chancellor, that I might lay before him what I had further to communicate on my coming hither. I have had since an occasion to write to this young gentleman on some delay he made in giving me an answer to what I desired, and to-day he has given me an account that the Vice-Chancellor is desirous to see me and will appoint me a meeting to-morrow, by which I hope to put our business into such a channel here, as may correspond with the disposition I met with on the other side the water, for by all I can learn here L'affan (? Görtz) and his companion labour to finish matters with *the Czar*, and, if this last will but offer what is reasonable, I fear not to see a happy end to this knotty affair.

2½ pages.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Tuesday, June 14.—I wrote to you the 11th, and can add nothing concerning our hopes from *the Regent*. The *Council of Regency* will assemble the 20th, and soon after we shall know what *the Regent* intends to do for *the King*.

I sent you last post Mr. Camocke's letter to me of the 29th, wherein you'll see the great preparations in *Spain*, and that it was expected all would be in a readiness to set out for *Italy* in less than ten days. I since had a letter from Sir P. Redmond of the 7th from *Bordeaux*. He was near that place with *Lord Tullibardine*, the Brigadier, and the chiefs of *the clans*. He says that after concerting with them, he will pursue his journey and omit nothing to procure the goods you know. I presume he won't fail to inform *Mar* of the measures he intends to take on this account, as he promised to do to *Dillon*. *The Duke of Berwick*, whom he was to visit, told him that he had received a letter from his son with information of *the King of Spain* having sent orders to *Barcelonne* to suspend the execution of his design on *Italy*. This letter must be of the 1st or 2nd. The advice in it has alarmed and troubled me, but I was yesterday morning with my fast friend, *the King of Spain's* factor here, who received the night before a courier from *Alberoni* with letters of the 6th, which confirm what Camocke wrote, so that all goes on as could be wished for, and my friend hopes the issue of this affair will be favourable

both to *the King of Spain's* and *the King's* interest. 'Tis not doubted here that *the English fleet* will part for the *Mediterranean* before the 1st of next month. You have Camocke's proposal and scheme for gaining some of *the fleet's* people. I hope it will be thought proper to try what can be done, and I think that the least success will prove of great consequence to *the King* and convince *the King of Spain* and *Alberoni* that his friendship deserves not only their consideration, but also mutual good offices, which may be equally advantageous to both parties. You are best judge of all this and of how it should be performed, but in all cases a concert and correspondence with Camocke seems necessary with a strong recommendation to keep the secret most strongly. *Genoa* and *Leghorn* will be two proper places to communicate with him, and I should think you can't avoid having two intelligent persons in those towns for that purpose. You may have news before this reaches you of the arrival of *the King of Spain's* people on the coast of *Italy*. You'll then be better able to take due measures.

I had yesterday a letter from *Ormonde* dated at Metz the 10th. Enclosed are two from him for *the King* and *Mar*. He'll be in this neighbourhood about the 20th, and God alone knows how long his being here can be concealed or what noise *the Regent* and *Stair* will make about his residence in these parts. 4 pages.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DOMINICK SHELDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 14. Paris.—I received yours three days ago and delivered the enclosed this afternoon to the person to whom it was directed, who received me very civilly, and promised, that, when I have received the 3,700 *livres* to complete what was due to me for 1716, for which I believe I am on the *estat* of the next distribution, he will speak to M. Couturier about my arrears, and, if what he proposes be not satisfactory, he would speak to the Regent, which was all I could desire now, for I perceive plainly that, though all our people at St. Germain and I fear in other places are starving, the Tresor Royale will part with no money, till they begin to give out the new species, which will be far inferior in intrinsic value to what is now current.

Dillon having given you an account of what he had from Barcelona, I shall only observe they make a mystery of it here and that *Lady Jersey*, who visits me frequently for what reason I know not, told that story yesterday but by halves, and only added that *Stair* had a courier from Vienna, and was to dispatch one last night for England, where they are very angry with the stubborn Spaniards for presuming to alter what the allies had proposed to them. *She* is always dining and supping with the top people, so that, thank God, I can never find *her* at home. It is a strange ambition that *she* and another here of the same kind have to be thought knowing

and consequently useful, though the fruit of all their distractions is only to hinder them from thinking of themselves.

I hope *Dillon* will be soon ready to go to execute the commission Basque brought us, which will require some time and perchance give *the King* leisure, if on second thoughts he thinks proper to choose another place for the papers.

GEORGE MACKENZIE to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, June 14. Paris.—I hope you'll forgive the trouble of delivering the enclosed to our friend, giving him an account of Gairntullie's being past hopes of recovery. If he is parted from Urbino in his way hither, you need not send it after him. All the news I can give you is a melancholy prospect of our country from the new Courts of judicature, which, being by the Act establishing them free of all obligation to follow any forms of law or equity practised in any other Court of Great Britain, are like to execute that part of their commission very exactly. Our friends at home are in terrible dread of them.

You might imagine in so agreeable a place as Paris, I should pass my time very pleasantly, but my pocket is too light for that and the looks of all our friends here too melancholy. I have been surprised to observe the discontents, grumblings and clamours of almost everybody. The worst is that, not content with insinuations, some go to pretty plain expressions against what they call the present management. I must regret there should be so many unthinking people among us as to give ground to so much noise without any other reason I know but that they know nothing that is doing and would aim at knowing all things. For my part I'll choose rather to sit in the dark than endeavour to grope my way to the hazard of breaking my face. However, I pray God stop the mouths of such by showing us a way for our deliverance. I wrote last week to the Duke and touched at this with no other design but that of wishing his prudence may prevent even the smallest wound in the King's affairs from growing into a cancer, which may prove dangerous, especially if the same humour be communicated to our friends at home. If this is thought going a little out of my sphere, I beg you'll let his Grace know it proceeds from my affection to him and from no desire of meddling. 2 pages.

WILLIAM GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 14. Paris.—I gave you an account of everything that came by the courier, except the box of flowers for Mrs. Tyldesley, which I received bruised and broke like the former. However, I delivered it as I got it. The enclosures came since my last, and I had this post a message from H. Straiton that he was to receive the 100*l.* sterling from my friend for Lady Dundee, but that he expected 200*l.* more by

your order. Our money affairs are quite failed, as there is no fund for paying April, May, or June, and I am plagued out of my life with letters from a good many that are reduced to great straits, so that, if I had it of my own, I would advance it rather than hear the complaints of misery and want, and Mr. Dicconson gives no great hopes of relief, for the Queen's family being 11 months in arrears, must be supplied with the first that is paid him. I was some months ago put in hopes by General Dillon that Robert Leslie's balance of upwards of 5,000 *livres* would be ordered me, but now I hear nothing of it. Such articles make my cash very low.

This night an English gentleman, Mr. Wright, come from Italy with Mr. Forde to Lyons, tells me that in his appearing before the Provost des Marchands of that town, Mr. Forde was taken for you, till he had cleared himself. However Mr. Wright understood by the Provost that he expected you very soon and had orders to stop you.

Very many here grumble and complain, some saying it's cruel to put away all the King's old servants, others that you will do nothing nor trust anybody but in your own way. A third sort say, you have not any longer a Court of St. Germain's to screen you, that you have neglected and wilfully lost the King of Sweden, and that, if you have any hopes from Spain, the Spanish and Irish won't be so acceptable as the Swedes; in short, a minister to please all must be more than a man.

I think Mr. Wright had it from the Archbishop that the Provost had orders to stop you and that you were daily expected. 2 *pages*.

THOMAS BRUCE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 14. Brussels.—Letters which came from Vienna last post give but a remote view of any accommodation at the Congress at Passarowitz and this year's campaign seems unavoidable.

The people here, who managed the conference at Antwerp with General Cadogan, have not taken the least notice of that affair to any person here, so we must wait some further time for satisfaction on that head.

It is generally believed here that, in the alliance now forming between the Emperor and England, his Imperial Majesty's present difficulties will oblige him to go some greater length than he did in the former treaty of May, 1716, towards declaring himself a guaranty for the Hanover succession, but it is somewhat remarkable, as I understand by *the Emperor's general* here, who is lately come from Vienna, that some people of note about the Emperor speak very affectionately even in his presence of the justice of the Pretender's cause without any check from him. He says that for some time the chief discourse there has been of the disposition of some potentates to assist him. Amongst

others one *General Hamilton* takes more freedom than others on that subject. He was some time Domestic to the Emperor, and has all along used freedoms with him. The person I mentioned heard him lately very free with the Emperor, who with a smile told him he had best take care what he said on that subject, for, said he, do you not know I am in alliance with K[ing] G[eorge], and, if he requires of me to turn you out of my service for your behaviour in this matter, what answer can I make him? He replied that, if his Majesty would allow him, he would form an answer. The Emperor gave him leave. Then, said he, I would tell him, I would not allow any man to give me laws in my own country. The Emperor made no return but another smile. However, some of King George's friends, having observed some of these freedoms, have printed a paper on that subject. It has been handed about to all people of distinction; amongst others the person, who is now here, had a copy given him, which I have read. It would seem the author knew that nobody was to contradict him, for, without offering any argument, he puts the constitution of Britain with respect to the succession in the hands of the people by the law of necessity on the Sovereign's mal-administration &c. Very naturally on reading this paper and understanding what I have told you, I could not fail remembering the use designed to be made of another, chiefly calculated for that Court, which, though now altogether useless, would then have served to anticipate any effects which this could have, and, homely as it is, would have been a good text for those inclined to speak on that head, whose education and distance from British conversation gives them but remote and uncertain views of these matters.

A Mr. Chetwood has been for some time here and in Holland, I believe a well-meaning man, but who has too great an itch to be thought a man of business. He is to a troublesome degree inquisitive in matters perhaps of no great consequence to the end he pretends to serve by it. I had written to *Mr. Campion* that he had here chased a story which was new to us here, and which would have continued so, if he, to vindicate *Mr. Campion*, had not showed about town a letter from *Mr. Campion*, denying that he had seen *Bolingbroke* for a long time. I enclose *Mr. Campion's* letter to me on that head. I have neither showed it nor spoke of it to anybody.

Prince Kurakin gave in two memorials to the States of Holland, one with respect to their designed equipment of a squadron to the Baltic, another with respect to a liberty of commerce in the Baltic exclusive of the ports belonging to the Czar.

In answer to both the States General declared that their equipment was only to protect their trade, that they have all along been neutral with respect to the war in the North,

and are still resolved to be so, that they never designed to promote a separate peace betwixt England and Sweden or to draw off the King of Denmark from the Czar's alliance. As to the point of commerce, they have a right to trade in all the ports of the Baltic, to the Czar's as well as to others, that they have not the least thought to be prejudiced in that right and hope he will assist them in it. Though Cadogan's public entry bears the countenance of some progress in his negotiations, I do not hear there is any variation in their Baltic equipment other than what I wrote of last, and it is not easily to be thought they will put themselves on another footing in the Mediterranean than what they have declared with respect to the Baltic.

The person here told amongst other articles they talk at Vienna with some diffidence in general of alliances with England, by reason that a new ministry or a new session may alter or disappoint any alliances made by the Sovereign. This is a very natural observation to any acquainted with the state of affairs in England, or who make a narrow enquiry into them, but, as that Court is not the most inquisitive in the world, it is not impossible this might have been picked out of *T. Bruce's* paper. *Falconbridge's* friend had a copy of it with him and promised to use it. *Falconbridge* was to send one to another friend at Vienna and *Mr. de Wilda* told *T. Bruce* he had sent one with some other papers on that subject to his friend there.

Yesterday *Mr. Chetwood* went from here to Holland with *Mr. Schippin*, who stayed here with us a week. *Nearly 3 pages.*
Enclosed,

MR. CAMPION to T. BRUCE.

I am pretty much persuaded that our friend you mention in your letter of the 17th in the times of scarcity of news uses his invention to supply that defect. Before he leaves you, I wish you would hint to him that, though it may not be sometimes improper to communicate to one friend such news as we receive from another, yet letters are designed for him only to whom they are addressed and are but very rarely to be communicated to others.

I know not whence the report took its rise, but what he alone had met with at Brussels had reached England, and I receive letters from thence about it. I answered it was true I had kept a constant correspondence with Lambert (? Bolingbroke) and should not have declined seeing him, had an opportunity offered, but it was near a twelvemonth since I had seen him. About ten days past he went through Charleville with some ladies on his way to Aix. On notice from him I went to meet him at Charleville. Of this I make no secret to my friends, though it is no way necessary for me to publish it. He desires to be as much incognito as he can, but, as he is

gone to a place of public resort and with servants that have lived with him some time, he is as well known as if he appeared publicly and with his own name.

The troops I mentioned have been long in the same garrison, and I don't hear of any being in motion, except where two battalions of the same regiment were in different places, and they have thought it necessary to bring them together on account of the incorporation I mentioned. The troops in general have received orders to furnish themselves with tents and kettles, but it is given out it is only to ease the country. They bring no more to be lodged in the towns, when they change quarters.

I formerly told you my thoughts about my return to England on account of the uneasy situation of my family affairs. I expect in a little time by means of two of my friends, lately gone to England, to get such information as may enable me to take my resolution on pretty sure grounds.

It is impossible we should be much longer without knowing what Mr. Fielding designs to do. I take him to be an honest man and hope the best. 1718, May 29. Sedan. 2½ pages.

WILLIAM FRASER to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 15.—I acquainted you about a twelvemonth ago by L[ord] P[itsligo], I had been informed by Mr. Delfosse, an archdeacon and chanoine of Tournay, that some chief managers in the States General were very well disposed for entering into friendship with the King, and were willing to engage they should at least do him no hurt, in case of a new attempt, by assisting his enemies in England. I found him so hearty a well-wisher to the King and saw such good proofs of his being well known to some great men here and employed by them, that I thought myself obliged to acquaint you then with what he had told me, and, having heard from L[ord] P[itsligo] you reckoned the thing might be entertained and that he was to pass by Tournay to enquire further into it, I thought that sufficient warrant, when I met my friend lately at the Hague, to enquire if the same disposition continued. I found him as hearty as formerly, and he assures me that many of the States General are mightily dissatisfied with the English ministry, that they complain much of their forcing them into measures they have no mind to and not making good what has been promised them, and that they would be very well pleased to enter into terms with the King, if they could be satisfied of his being willing to entertain a sincere friendship with them. The Baron de Velderen, who is in the States General from the States of Guelderland, is the person my friend has most interest with. By all I can learn he is a very considerable man and of very great weight in affairs. He complains heavily of the English ministry and hates Cadogan, and, as I am told by my friend, gives all manner of signs of

an earnestness to enter into measures with *the King*. He tells him there is all the probability in the world of getting the thing thorough and that it will now be a good deal easier than before by *Albemarle's death*, who had a considerable interest and was entirely on *the Elector of Hanover's* side. At first *the Baron* talked only in general, but at length he desired my friend to take his own way of letting *the King* know from him that he promises that how soon *any prince* shall undertake *the restoration*, he will do his utmost to get *the States General* to give no manner of assistance to *his enemies*, and to allow his factors to purchase in this country under borrowed names all sorts of merchandize he shall want from it, provided *the King* will give positive assurance that he will always cultivate a sincere friendship with *the States General* and promise *them just conditions of trade*. This he engages his word of honour to do, and reckons himself almost sure of succeeding, knowing it will be reckoned for *the States General's* interest. These are the precise words of the message my friend told me *the Baron* had charged him to transmit to *the King*, and he assures me that, if *the King* thought fit to send me with *powers to treat* of it, the thing might be brought to bear so far as to be of great use to *the King*. My friend is now gone to *Tournay*, but is willing, if *the King* desires it, to come to *the Hague* on some other pretext on purpose to do all he can for the advancement of it. He seems to have a great deal of concern for *the King's* affair, and I have seen such letters from *the Baron* to him as make me believe he is trusted by him, but I cannot give such characters of either as may be relied on. That you can be informed of by *B[aron] Walef*, who knows my friend, or any other way you think fit. *The Baron*, having required the *utmost secrecy* as a condition without which he cannot *treat*, I have spoke of it to nobody but *Sir H. Paterson*, and by his advice to *H. Maule*. I communicated everything from time to time to *Sir H. Paterson*, and have writ this by his papers. He will know how to convey your commands to me. 2½ pages.

MONSR. STIERNHOCK to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 15. Vienna.—Informing him of what passed at the first conference at Passarowitz.—Prince Eugene was arrived at Peterwaradern and was wishing to proceed to the army to open the campaign without delay or else to open it by General Merci with the body of 25,000 men assembled in the Banat of Temeswar and to occupy with them Widin and Nicopoli with the neighbouring Turkish territory. It is said that the Imperialists, when they have occupied these places, will try to exchange them for Wihatsch and Zwornick and a part of Bosnia more convenient for them.

The envoy of the Duke of Mecklenburg here has assured me that King George has again offered to unite closely with the Czar for the vigorous prosecution of the war against the

King of Sweden, if the Czar would break off the negotiations begun with him, but that he did not doubt that the Czar would regard as falsehoods everything suggested by King George, after he shall have received the last information of the projects of the latter and his adherents tending to his destruction.

It is pretended here that news has been received that the Aga of the Janissaries, before going to the campaign with the Janissaries, made on their behalf representations to the Grand Signior in favour of peace, alleging as reason that, knowing by experience they are abandoned in all actions by the cavalry, they foresee a continuation of disasters, if the war goes on. The deposition of the Grand Signior is spoken of here as a certainty, if his army lose another decisive battle. The Imperialists hope that the fear of it, having obliged the Grand Signior to bring about the congress and to agree in writing that he will cede all that the Emperor actually possesses, will soon oblige him to something further to hasten the conclusion of peace. It is said, however, that his deposition would not be to the Emperor's interest as regards the speedy end of the war, since according to the established custom and the temper of the Ottoman nation a Grand Signior, who ascends the throne in time of war, cannot begin his reign by making peace.

By the last news from Sweden Baron Görtz and Comte Gyllenborg left Stockholm, 3 May, for the congress in Aland with a numerous suite and the king had made for all the Russian common men, who were prisoners in Sweden, blue uniforms to send them back to their master after the peace, the conclusion of which is expected every moment. A Baron Sparre, a relation of the general of that name formerly ambassador in France, has gone to the said congress as Marshal of the Swedish embassy. The said general is recovering.

As I was finishing this, I received yours of 24 May, which I have not time to answer fully to-day. I am very sensible of the gracious marks of satisfaction from the King and from yourself. M. Busi is also much pleased at the engagement he has undertaken and sees himself it is not proper at present to grant him the request he made. He expects very soon the patent signed by the Czar and the letter of credence from the same to him as agent of that monarch at the Court of Vienna and all Germany principally for trade but also for political affairs and the interests generally of his Czarish Majesty. This has been lately decided on, upon the strong recommendation of M. Tolstoi, minister of state, who is much in favour, that M. Busi assisted in the commission of that minister to bring back the Czar's son from the Emperor's dominions.

I thank you for your information about the internal condition of Great Britain and shall make good use of it with my Master.

Postscript.—After writing the above I learnt that an express arrived here yesterday from Passarowitz sent by Mr. Sutton,

the English ambassador. I have not yet been able to ascertain what news he brought. *French.* 14 pages.

J. MENZIES to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Thursday, June 5[-16].—I thank you for yours of 29 May, which came both safe and quick, but that you mention of the 19th is not yet come. I reckon it went by way of *Sir H. Paterson*, who is in all things most careful, and *Ormonde's* friends in particular have often bid me give him their hearty thanks. I write to him very frequently, and I do everything I can to promote a harmony among all friends that are not naturally mistuned and incapable of concord, and indeed all things go more easily since we have made our applications in the chief place to *Ormonde's* brother (Lord Arran) as the most natural and deserving head of those friends rather than to any assuming usurper of that headship, to which the brother has a ten times better title to. *Lord Oxford* and he are in perfect good understanding and freedom, and many others are fond of doing him right, though his singular modesty demands it not. I doubt not you will think this a not unuseful piece of service, because a solid bottom of very good things, if rightly improved. Besides, it can give just offence to nobody, but satisfaction to every friend that has common prudence and true affection.

In this tranquillity some things are in conception, which you will fully have, when they are better formed and in particular in order to give *the Regent* better notions of the true state of *England's* affairs, of which he seems sadly ignorant, and in order too to do the same with *the King* in the most prudent and secret manner as *the King* shall think fit, but these things are only in embryo, and so I need say no further of them nor enter into any detail of other matters by this common way of the post, of which we have so frequent and just reasons here to be jealous. I am looking out for some sure occasion, and *James Hamilton* will do all he can in his way. He is in much the same situation, though there have been no alarms of late. The difference to the better is only this. I got *C. Kinnaird* to speak of him plainly to the young minister with whom he is intimately acquainted, since they were abroad together, and with whom *Sir W. Wyndham* too is in great personal friendship. *Mr. Kinnaird* found the gentleman very civil. He said he had never yet heard of any accusation or lawsuit against *James Hamilton*, that he would take pains to inform himself, but that he truly believed *James Hamilton* might go about his business, so he do it by degrees and discreetly. But, if he could have full liberty, the next question is how he shall live, having a family.

Mr. Kinnaird is in the country with *Sir W. Wyndham*, but says he will be in town next week. He told me he had minded your commands at *Scotland* and was to write to you before he went to *Sir W. Wyndham*. I begged him to repeat and

enforce what you had bid me say to *Sir W. Wyndham* in a former letter.

I write often by *Mr. Dillon's* channel as you ordered and because there may be some things which he may find ways and means to represent to *the Regent en passant*, and to lose no time.

The Queen's death was dismal news, though we had even friends here, whose prejudices still continue on the account or pretence of religion.

Lord Oxford stays on purpose in town till he can see further into matters.

Our Mediterranean fleet is set out. The ships and the number you'll see in the enclosed *Post Boy*. We make no secrets of those things.

J. MENZIES to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, Thursday, June 5[–16].—Here's more Whig and Tory newspapers, by which you can always make some judgment how our public wind blows. We have had little at home this week but horse races and his Majesty but little diverted, so he is got in again to his *La Trappe*. |

The news in the beginning of to-day's *Post Boy* is from your Paris letter *à la main*. Men of sense think that, if these news were true, we should not hear them so soon, and that therefore the Spaniards are learning from us to bully *à leur tour*.

Our fleet for the Mediterranean is at last fairly set out and the soldiers on board will supply what is wanting of seamen. The Imperial ministers were restless till it parted. We are extremely fond of our news from Sweden and Fabricius is very busy with our ministers.

Many letters from France and Italy of late have been positive as to the Pretender's marriage with a Princess of Modena.

We have a strong and current report for ten or twelve days that the Regent or Regency has by Earl Stair intimated to our Court a disposition made by the late Queen to the King of France of the debt due to her from England.

JAMES HAMILTON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 5[–16]. London.—(About the letters of 29 and 19 May as in Menzies' letter to Mar.)—*Lord Portmore* was last Saturday with *Marlborough*. After several things passing the latter advised him to draw all his effects out of the stocks, which he accordingly did that day. *Marlborough* entertained him with railing against *Cadogan* and the measures of his directors, notwithstanding few doubt of *Marlborough* being the mainspring of that club, though he still affects the reverse. *Lord Portmore* looks on his head to be as sound as he has known it for some years, though this advice is thought very odd, as our stocks are daily rising. 'Tis said there is a letter here from *Mr. Gyllenborg* importing that no iron can be sent, that

his owner is to be supplied with corn from other hands. These are his words, as *Hamilton* is informed, which does not a little trouble *the King's friends in England*, who built much on that trade and the veracity of *the King of Sweden*.

Now that the *fleet* is disposed of, should *the Regent* be inclinable, he might bring about *the restoration* effectually without running any great risk, would he but shake off those dishonourable projects laid to his charge. This kind of traffic would turn to real advantage as well as reputation, but 'tis feared it is not to be expected from one swelled with his peculiar views. *The English ministry* speak high and with great confidence of their success in all their undertakings, and indeed, for what yet appears to such as me in favour of *the King's interest*, few can doubt of what they say.

Lady Mar was ill of a cold on Sunday evening and has not been abroad since, but this night is much better.

My friend would willingly know if *the King* is inclinable for any more stockings, what colour and size would be acceptable. *Enclosed,*

List of pocket knives, tweezer cases, gold chains &c. sent to the Duke of Mar. (Probably put as a blind.)

GEORGE LOCKHART to JAMES III.

1718, June 5[-16].—In my last I referred you to my letter to *Mar* in which I gave him as full and true account as I could of your affairs. I have since made it my chief business to discover if there were any hopes of bringing about a correspondence betwixt you and *Lord Ilay* and *Argyle*, being fully persuaded that great profit would arise to you from a co-partnership with merchants of so great credit and such knowledge of trade. 'Twas easy to foresee many difficulties, in regard they are very cautious, and have hitherto bent all their thoughts towards that branch of trade in which they were educated and yet I did not think the task insuperable, in so far as it consisted with my certain knowledge that they were once tolerably well disposed towards it, and that their late losses and the bad prospect of trade before them might prevail with them to change their measures. And, some things having since my last occurred, which render the project more feasible, I thought it proper to communicate the same to you, expecting your further commands in it.

Not many days ago I conversed very freely with a gentleman of *Lord Middleton's* surname (*i.e.* Col. John Middleton), a particular friend of these two merchants and who at bottom bears no ill will towards you and came lately from *London*. I told him I was sorry "his and my two friends had been so ill used by the Custom house officers, for, if trade was to stand on the present foundation I wished them a share rather than others, because I expected to find some benefit to myself if I stood in need of their friendship, but, as matters went, I

did not see that they could ever expect to retrieve that branch of trade they had hitherto followed. My friend answered that I judged right and they were determined to quit trade entirely and to live privately on the estates they had made and, come what occasion soever of trade, after this they would concern themselves no manner of way in it but leave it entirely to others, for they had been barbarously ill-used by *the Elector of Hanover*, who was guided by a pack of worthless fellows, and *his* son, who was so senseless a coxcomb, that they were resolved to answer his bills no longer and seldom saw him. I replied I did not see how it was possible nor could I imagine how men so accustomed to business and of such importance could think of secluding themselves from being concerned in trade, that it would not answer their design, for *the Elector of Hanover* would highly resent it and be sure to prosecute them for the balance due on the Company's books and, although *the King* should get judgment against *the Elector of Hanover*, they had no fund to answer his demands upon them, and therefore I was of opinion they should still appear on the Exchange and, since they never could nor would have dealings with their present co-partners, nothing remained but that they should join stocks with *the King*. He answered that he was much of my mind, and wished that they were too, but added he, their schemes have been hitherto so opposite, it would be difficult, though perhaps not impossible, to bring it about and he foresaw that they would think they could never manage trade to advantage whilst *the King* employed *Mar* as his chief factor, who, said he, I knew was their great enemy. I told him, I did indeed know that *Mar* and they had formerly interests which interfered, but these I took to be the result of following different schemes of trade and not personal prejudices and I had often known merchants more at variance than they ever were perfectly reconciled and joined stocks, that he knew I myself in my small course of business had some differences with *Mar* and partly on *Argyle's* account, which were so far from being lasting and inveterated that there was no trader whatsoever on whose credit I could more rely and I was fully persuaded he would answer my bills very cheerfully and, since *Mar* was certainly a great encourager of trade, he would be glad to join with men experienced in and of stocks sufficient to prosecute trade and, if the coasts were clear otherwise, I made no doubt but expedients might be found to remove all the objections he had started with respect to *Mar* and, until that were done, why might not a correspondence be set on foot directly with *the King* himself without the interposition of any other? I added, that I durst answer for it he would deal fairly and on the square with them and punctually perform what he engaged by showing a regard for them both now and afterwards. My friend answered, that he did truly believe, if such an affair was to be accomplished, it would be by this method and wished I would

think on a way how to bring it about, in case a fair opportunity offered. After a good deal of more chat upon this subject he concluded that he would come some time this summer to *Edinburgh*, while *Ilay* was there, and talk with me more fully on this subject. Besides what passed in this conversation, I am fully satisfied from others, *Argyle's* friends and co-partners, that all of them in company with him are so discouraged by the many seizures of their goods that they will not trade any more on the present footing and in this I was confirmed by a conversation I had this very day with a gentleman of *Argyle's* surname and whose sister was married to *Lord Southesk's* lately deceased uncle. This gentleman *Mar* doth know is a very hearty friend of *the King's*, has been long in *London* and but lately come to *Edinburgh*, and, as he has great interests and is much in favour with his cousin *Argyle* and is a person of great veracity, the accounts he gives me may be relied upon, and he not only confirmed what my other friend had told me with respect to trade but assured me he had given his opinion and advice very frankly and fully upon this subject and that he found them both much better disposed than he had expected, and that he was very hopeful, if right measures were taken, they would give all encouragement to a reasonable project of trade. He said that *Argyle* was more cautious than *Ilay*, who I might freely speak to on this subject when I saw him, and that I would find no need of any precautions or preliminaries to introduce it. He added that, though at present they seemed resolved not to trade any more in their own name and were fully determined not to answer *the Elector of Hanover's* bills, though protested, it consisted with his knowledge they had directed their factors to accept *the King's* bills, if he should happen to draw, though they would not be seen in it themselves, and he concluded that, when *Ilay* came here, he and I should put the question fairly to him and, if it were but once begun, he had no fears of the event.

"From all this you will be pleased to consider how far there is any encouragement to hope for the best of these two gentlemen and how far it may be proper for *the King* to write a letter under his own hand to such a person as he can trust and will be acceptable to the other side, empowering him to invite them to join in company with him and to assure them of his good intentions towards them, and withal that none but the person entrusted with the commission knows anything of it and that, if they incline to enter into a co-partnership, it should be prosecuted in a manner agreeable to them. This, as I take it, will be the most probable way of introducing it."

If I get any further light, I shall advise you from time to time thereof. I have imparted the contents hereof to *the Bishop of Edinburgh* and *Capt. Straiton* and to no others, and, it being an affair which must be managed with the greatest dexterity and utmost secrecy, as the least surmise thereof would infallibly ruin it, I have communicated it directly to

yourself, as the most capable to determine what use was to be made of it and to whom imparted, and the sooner you signify your pleasure so much the better.

The bargain betwixt *Argyle* and *Breadalbane*, of which I acquainted *Mar* in my last, is entirely blown up. 2 pages. *Noted*, as received at Urbino 6 Aug. (See *The Lockhart Papers*, Vol. II., pp. 12, 13.)

JAMES III to MARIE ANNE, PRINCESS DOWAGER OF CONTI, the DUC DE BOUILLON, the PRINCESSE D'EPINOIS, CARDINALS BARBERINI and ORIGO and the ARCHBISHOP OF AVIGNON.

1718, June 16.—Replying to their letters of condolence. *French. Entry Book 1*, pp. 262-264.

JAMES III to the MOTHER SUPERIOR OF CHAILLOT.

1718, June 16.—“Vous aurez veu par une lettre que je vous ay desja escrite que je n'ignorois pas l'attachement et l'estime particulière que la reine . . . avoit pour vous et toute vostre communauté et l'affection avec laquelle l'un et l'autre y ont si bien correspondu ; ainsi, bien loin de desapprouver la lettre de condoléance que vous m'avez escrite en votre nom et au nom de toutes vos religieuses, je la regarde comme une nouvelle preuve de vostre zele et l'ay receüe avec toute la sensibilité dûe à un si triste sujet. J'ay besoin du secours de toutes vos prieres pour m'aider à supporter la grande et irreparable perte que je viens de faire avec la resignation que je dois. Continuez les moy donc, je vous prie, et joignez les avec celles que j'espere que cette ame juste offre aujourd'huy dans le ciel pour vous aussi bien que pour moy ; c'est la consolation la plus solide que sa mort nous laisse. A l'egard de son corps et de son cœur, ils sont en bonnes mains, puisqu'ils sont où la reine a souhaité qu'ils fussent, et vous ne devez point douter qu'en cela, comme en toutes autres choses, les dernières volontés d'une si digne mere ne me soient toujours sacrées et que je ne me fasse un plaisir de vous donner et à toute votre maison des marques de mon estime et de mon bienveillance, quand il plaira à la Providence de m'en donner les moiens.” *Ibid.* p. 263.

JOHN PATERSON to JAMES PATERSON.

1718, June 17. Urbino.—I was a good deal surprised at your letter of 24 March. I recommend you to read mine of 28 Dec. once more. 'Tis true I told you the Duke of Mar was not to write to your Viceroy in your behalf as you desired, but I also told you he forbore doing so, because he had reasons to think that, instead of doing you a service, it would have had quite a contrary effect.

As for your story about Sir James Wishart, I am sure either you or he misunderstood what he said, for the Duke in my hearing not only spoke of you to Sir James, but delivered a memorial of your services of my drawing.

One would think you might have left your brother as the party chiefly concerned to judge of that marriage, which you call a misfortunate one. I am sure he never thought it so, and have reason to think he never will; and I am still very proud of the share I had in it.

The Duke spoke to the King about writing in your behalf to the Viceroy and he was of opinion it was very improper even on his account, but more particularly with regard to you, and that it was the direct way to make your present master withdraw from you that favour and protection he promised, when the King spoke to him in your favour. $6\frac{1}{2}$ pages.

FANNY OGLETHORPE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 17.—I received yours of 14 May. 'Tis true we were surprised not to have heard from you since 10 March, but we imagined you had some reason for it.

I am very sorry for your account of Theo[philus]. It was not from us he knew that affair. I fear 'tis from Eng[land], but he's in the wrong as to the character you're informed he takes of envoy. I hope 'tis some busy ill-natured body that has told it you, for Mr. Cook and several, that had come from that country and had seen him, talked to us quite differently. I see no vanity in such a thing, since, methinks, any gentleman may expect it. We shall take no notice to him about it, since, if he is indiscreet enough to do any such thing, our letters will not alter him, and, if 'tis his enemies that have told it you, it's needless to vex him.

We received yours of 26 May. The friend (M. de Mezières) is extremely glad that *the King* approves of what he did. I hope he'll be more so now that you've received our other letters. You'll see the couple did their endeavours to make the easy gentleman (the Regent) be put into good humour. Next post we'll write you more, for he's now very busy.

Yesterday the Spanish ambassador told the Regent that his master ordered him to tell him that he found the treaty offered him was entirely against his interest and honour and therefore would never hear of it and would have no peace with the Emperor. This is very strong.

The *Parlement* proposed to decret *un prise de corps* against Law, but it dropped. They desired the Chambers to unite to consider of the miserable situation of the nation and to take measures about it. The *Chambre de Conte* refused and sent to give notice to the Regent, who gave them many thanks. We don't know if they'll follow their notion. It makes the present discourse of Paris, as well as the conferences between the Emperor and the Grand Turk being broke up, so there's a new campaign.

We received a letter from the Doctor (Lord Ilay), who hopes we were pleased with his last. I don't send it, because it's the beginning of a new *cipher* that he sends and he is to continue it the following posts, so I believe it's better sending it you

all together, but I see plainly you may reckon on him entirely.

The person you speak of is, I fear, a little piqued with you, and you had better write him a kind letter to put him in good humour. He desired us to write to my mother to speak to Lord Sunderland, who is her friend, to favour her in the recovery of her jointure. *Stair* makes him great civilities because of my lady. Pray don't fail to write to him, for it grates him. He thinks he's despised and forgot. He speaks with the greatest regard in the world of the Master, and like an uncle of you.

I hope you won't forget to write to our D[octo]r in case you think you'll want him. I write in great haste, for my sister to-day brought a she Christian into the world. Lord Stanhope's secretary arrived two days ago from Vienna and has seen the Regent. He brought the treaty ratified in Latin. The Regent finds three articles entirely changed, which displeases very much. One is that in Tuscany, instead of putting Spanish troops as was agreed, the Emperor puts Swiss. The friend's opinion is that this treaty will turn to smoke. You made me no answer to a letter I writ you about *Spain*. The Spanish fleet is perfectly equipped and paid three months beforehand. They were to part 15 May.

Postscript.—June 20.—An order has been sent to all the Intendants to banish the English from this kingdom. We sent our *Duke* to the [Regent] to know the truth. He but a minute to speak to him, the other's head being entirely taken up with business of the last consequence for himself, but he told him that the order was a thing he was obliged to by the late treaty, which he was pressed to execute, but it was *un coup d'espé dans l'eau*. Those were his very words. The other asked what he would have some of his acquaintance do that were in the case. He said : Just as they've always done ; that it concerned only those that had been at Preston and not the troops. As everybody was alarmed, we thought it proper to know the truth.

The *Parlement* assembled yesterday to redress the grievances of the nation and made their remonstrance to the Regent concerning the new coin, which is to pass for 6 *livres* and is not worth it. He received them civilly and told them it was too late to suspend the *arrest* he had given on the coin, which they desired, because the new money was already in the commerce. The same night he ordered the troops to be all ready and distributed powder and ball for 6 shots, which gave an alarm here and room to talk of barricades. To-day the *Parlement* to the great surprise of all passed an Act to forbid anybody on pain of death to receive or coin the new money or to pay any crowns but at the rate of 5 *livres*. The Council of Regence this afternoon passed an Act to break that of the *Parlement*. This makes a great noise but will end in wind, for the *Parlement* has not power to support what they've

done, but the case is, they must be now masters or crushed for ever, for it's a bold stroke.

We're informed Mr. Hook is named here envoy for Prussia. He has desired to be brought here to-morrow for the first time of his life.

The affair we writ to you of by the courier seems still in the same way. God knows if 'twill continue, for you know the person we have to deal with is so fickle. He told *the Duke* that he had received a letter from *the King*, which he had not answered because of the ceremony, but *the King* was as well pleased as if he had, as — had told him.

It's said Mr. Dillon is going to command under Mr. Medavy in Provence. He's been very useful to King James before he leaves his service, since, as he's told all the unhappy St. Germain's people, he has made the Regent give the pension once more.

Second postscript.—The friend is just come home from supper with M. le Duc, to whom he delivered the message you ordered him to give. He seemed pleased that *the King* intended to write to him and told him he should always receive that honour with a great deal of satisfaction. Perhaps a time may come you'll be glad to be well with him.

Lord Stair's servants have had a quarrel with M. le Duc's. After many blows they were parted and Lord Stair turned his away, because M. le Duc was in his coach when it happened.
6 pages.

The MARQUESS OF TULLIBARDINE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 17.—*Glendarule* has a letter from *Mar* of 26 May, which he showed *Tullibardine*, who is very sensible of the kind manner *Mar* remembers him. *The King's* illness gives no small uneasiness here, but I hope the season now as well as a good constitution will help *him* to get easily over a small touch of the ague, which few escape in such countries. The loss of *Queen Mary* is a most melancholy subject. I received yours by *Sir P. Redmond*, who passed this way about 8 days ago. He appears to be a very worthy gentleman and seems fit for any business besides being expert at his own. *Clanranald*, *Brigadier Campbell*, *Glendarule* and I talked fully with him about the goods formerly spoke of. He has a right notion of them, especially of the manner and places where they are to be provided. In all probability nothing in his power will be wanting to effectuate the undertaking. When the business can be brought any length, so as to set the people at work that must be employed, he'll inform *Clanranald*, who understands that affair better than any other here, that he may go as privately as possible to see the goods well prepared and made up fit for the market, so as to prevent any mistakes, since tradesmen cannot be otherwise fully acquainted with all that's necessary for them to do. Though *Brigadier Campbell* is very diligent, his being likewise sent again to those parts is

not very necessary, since the other is sufficient alone, which two could not carry on so quietly. He is truly brave and full of the greatest honour, but there's sometimes an openness in his temper which may be too communicative, which is mentioned as a thing that makes his returning to *Spain* the less necessary, especially since he himself is not very fond of it. He has had a letter from his coining acquaintance, who is come to *Flush[i]ng* from *England*. If he has not already writ you the contents, they shall be sent as soon as possible. He is at present 8 or 9 leagues distant.

There is a *Mr. Meagher*, an *Irish* merchant that lives at *St. Sebastian*, who made the discovery of *Barry's* designs. Being his correspondent he was suspected as an associate in the coining affair, which made him be taken up, and, after standing a trial, he was found innocent. *Barry* being the occasion of his imprisonment, when his letters were sent to him to forward, believing there might be something in them that would bring himself into further trouble, he broke them up and found the letters and other papers to the two *Mr. Stanhopes* who are at *England* and *Spain*, all which he immediately sent to *Brigadier Campbell*, who, he knew, had been concerned with *Barry* in a particular manner and therefore could make the best use of them. *Sir P. Redmond* thinks it a service that deserves thanks and, if *Mar* writes him a letter in the *King's* name, it may encourage him as well as others in those parts to make known what further comes in their way of this kind, which is not impossible, for that working fellow has several children and near relations besides other acquaintances all over the country, who will not be wanting to execute his projects, which, it's probable, he'll be busier with now than ever. I have yet only had an account from the young man that went to *Scotland* of his being got there, and that he had acquainted some friends how things stand as to *Mar* and *Tullibardine*, which they were very well pleased to hear. *Glendarule* and I think of moving from hence in a little time.

I almost forgot *Capt. George's* affair, which seems to have been odd enough. I believe *Brigadier Campbell* has given you a particular account of the whole, only he has not long survived the report, though he thought no shame of the business, nor to the last showed the least sign of repentance. On the contrary, it's said he made a very extraordinary exit out of this world, after being fully admonished of his dangerous condition both as to the state of his soul and body. 3 pages.

CLANRANALD to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 17. Near *Bordeaux*.—The motives of calling *Brigadier Campbell* and me from *Bayonne* must be known to you long ere now. (About *Sir P. Redmond*, as in the last letter.) He discoursed me fully on the subject of *swords* and *targes*. I gave him all the satisfaction I was able. It was

concluded that some people, who understand those manufactures, must go to *Spain* when advertised, and carry samples of the different species. Care is taken in the meantime to provide such, which is all that can be done till further advice.

The sudden and much lamented death of *Queen Mary* gives me occasion to trouble you with another affair, which, though not directly concerning myself, I cannot but look on as a duty, I mean, to recommend to your care some of my friends, whom the loss of that worthy person may have placed in a fascious situation. It's the mother and sister of the widow *Clanranald*, who live at *St. Germain's* since *Queen Mary* and her family first settled there. The attachment of this poor family to *the King's* must be known to *the King*, which, I'm hopeful, with your good offices, will be sufficient to render their circumstances as easy as the times will allow.

I hear often from the widow *Clanranald*, who is still at *Edinburgh*, and had a line from her last night advising me that a considerable number of *troops* are to be disposed of in the farms of *the Highlands*, but, according to the disposition intended of them, they can never answer the ends proposed by it, and, if *the Highlanders* had but an equal quantity of the same species, which in all events would be necessary for *them*, I should look on this as an advantage rather than as any loss to *them*. I'm further advised by her that five *ships* are appointed to inspect all the Pedlars (? Isles), least they should be found smugglers in trade. I had a letter from another friend, giving the same account, only adding that *the Duke of Atholl* and Mr. Carney have openly declared that ere many years *the Highlanders* should be entirely turned out of *their* possessions and set adrift in the wide world. I am of opinion this severity is owing to the villainy of the infernal rascal *Barry*. Since ever I understood his practices, I was apprehensive of some such thing.

I understand the widow has a mind to cross the water as soon as she can end her business in *Scotland*, for she has an inclination to see her mother, which is natural after 20 years' absence. She will be glad to see me too, and I shall not be sorry to see a person I'm so much obliged to. Yet my duty to *the King* and my deference for your commands will not allow me to think of going to the parts of *St. Germain's* or *Paris* without his or your approbation, since it was not thought advisable when I saw you last, and I know not if it may be so yet. But, if that or some other reason do not hinder it, I should be glad of permission to winter in those parts, whether my friend come or not, for my situation here will not be very agreeable in a little time, most of my friends being retired from hereabouts already and the few remaining will leave the end of next month or the beginning of August. Besides the condition of my health will render it more necessary for me to be near such friends as I have at *St. Germain's*. I beg this only if there be no occasion for my service elsewhere.

My distemper is an ague. I took it when we had the uncomfortable news of the death of good Mr. Looms. I am for some weeks pretty free of the fits. It has brought me very low. What I have most to fear is its return with the fall of the leaf.

(About *the King's* illness, as in the last letter.)

The enclosed paper was sent me by a friend in the country. I send it, supposing it might be new to you. *Over 2 pages.*

SIR H. PATERSON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 17. *Rotterdam*.—I long very much to hear from you, having had none since that mentioning your going to *Rome*.

The enclosed from *Mr. Fraser* contains a subject that I presume *the King* will think worth his consideration. Could it be brought to bear, it would be without doubt of very great consequence. *Fraser* has wrote so fully, that I need not say much more, only I shall give you the thoughts of those he mentions its being communicated to here. As you will, I believe, then agree that, could anything effectual be made of this, it would be essential service to *the King*, so it is humbly advised he should not neglect this opportunity of pushing it on his side as far as it will go. The persons have certainly a good interest with *the States General*, they being of his family, and they may think it a neglect, if nothing should be done on *the King's* part. If *the King* therefore judges it fit to proceed any further on it, it's proposed he should either send a proper person immediately to *Holland* fully empowered to manage it, or else that he would send a factory to whom here he thinks fit in the usual form. All the steps of this have been communicated to *H. Maule*, who, *Lord Mar* knows, is the most proper of any of the *King's* people here to manage such an affair. I know not if he would incline that the factory should be sent in his name, but I am very sure he will give all the assistance in his power in the management of it and that he will be very ready to do everything for the advancement of *the King's* interest. I would therefore propose, if a factory is sent, that it should be to a blank person, if such a method is usual, and be offered to *H. Maule*, to whom *the King* or *Lord Mar* by his direction may write a line, and, if he does not care to have his own name in the factory, it may be given to *Fraser*, who is a very capable young man, as *Lord Mar* knows, and he will do everything in it by *H. Maule's* direction and assistance. He is a very zealous, hearty well-wisher to *the King*, and as he has brought this the length it is, I am sure he would be at all the pains he is capable of to bring it to a good conclusion.

It is likewise humbly advised that *Lord Mar* by *the King's* direction may write a letter of compliment to *Fraser's* friend at *Tournay*, thanking him in *the King's* name for his friendship and acquainting him that *the King* was willing to do what was reasonable on his part, and had accordingly sent instructions

to one to meet with his friend in order to agree upon what should be for their mutual interests, to which *the King* hoped he would continue to use his good endeavours, which he would always retain a just sense of.

Fraser, who knows a little of his friend's temper, thinks that some such letter would please him much and make him very active. It need not be addressed, but that left to *Fraser*, who will deliver it, and please let it be wrote in French. They expect a speedy answer, and wish to have it before the *States General* enter into any new treaty with *King George*, to which they are now much pressed by *Cadogan*, who is noways acceptable to the *States General*. The most considerable part of the people of *Holland* are entirely against meddling in the treaty against the *King of Spain*, and, if the governing party there takes other measures, which is not yet certain, it will be by the interest of money and, though that, as it's said, has been given here for the expense of the ships, yet it does not appear that the men-of-war can be in any readiness, for men cannot be got for the ships' service and this, we are told, is the answer the *States* have made to *Cadogan*, and that he cannot expect the men-of-war demanded, on which a new addition of ten is made by *England*, where they are likewise in much want of men.

By all this it seems a favourable opportunity for *the King* to try what can be done here after such encouragement, and, if he can but obtain the two things mentioned by *Fraser* and which they give hopes of, it will be of the utmost use to him.

The other enclosed which I here send you from *Neilson* is from one *Barre*, whom I met here accidentally. He tells me he lives at *Bayon[ne]* and was employed there by *the King* in some affairs, which, coming to be known, he was obliged to retire for a while. He showed me the subscriptions of two letters he had from *Lord Mar* dated from *Avignon*. He has been lately in *England*, and says he is to wait here till he hear from *Lord Mar* and *Brigadier Campbell*, whom he left at his house at *Bayonne* when he came away. He has given me his address where to send any answer to this, which he read to me before he sealed it.

I heard from *Ormonde* on his removal. I expect he is by this time come to *France*, where I sent him some letters to *Dillon's* care by last post.

By what I heard from *Jerningham* since his return to these parts, I find *Ormonde* complains a little of *Dr. Erskine* and *Sir H. Stirling*, that they were not more punctual in their correspondence. I am sorry he should think he has any ground for this, and I dare say they did all in their power for his service while in those parts. On what I heard of this from *Jerningham*, I wrote to *Sir H. Stirling*, from whom I had a letter last post, a copy of which is enclosed, which is all the accounts I can give you with any certitude of affairs there. I wish *Jerningham* may act in concert with *Dr. Erskine*

and *Sir H. Stirling*, who, I doubt not, will do all that's possible for the *King's* interest.

During the time *Ormonde* has been there, I never failed to give him an account of anything of the least moment that came to my knowledge, and I believe I was perhaps too troublesome to him that way, but it was by his own desire. Now that *the King of Sweden's* and the *Czar's* factors have been some time together, I hope it will not be long ere the result of their meeting is known, which I wish may be good.

(List of the letters he had sent *Mar* since the last *Mar* acknowledged.)

I heard by last post from *Paris* of *Lord Mar's* being returned to *Urbino*, so I hope to hear from him soon. I sent the last two letters by *W. Gordon*, as I do this, because I had not heard from you of those I sent the other way.

Should it be judged proper to send a factory, I know not if you will venture it the common way. No letters, I think, have yet miscarried by the post, and I believe anything will come safe that *W. Gordon* sends to his correspondent here, which will be the best way to send the returns to this. *Fraser* is gone to *Brussels*, but will come here on a call and any return to him may be sent under my cover.

We have had a late alarm here of *the King's* having been indisposed. I pray God preserve *him* and send *him* soon a good *wife*, which everybody longs for, and you may believe the least accounts of *his* illness go to all *his* lovers' hearts. 6 pages.

THE EARL OF PANMURE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 18. *Paris*.—I am desired by *Sir Adam Blair* to recommend his condition to you. I doubt not you know both what he has acted and suffered for the *King* and, as it is the *King's* interest that such should be rewarded, I doubt not you will contribute all you can towards it. I shall not enter into the particulars as he is to send you a memorial, so I refer to it. What makes me recommend him the more earnestly is that his first lady was my relation by my mother's side. I am desired by him to recommend to you a *Mr. Banks*, who was employed under *Mr. Dicconson* in paying out money, for above these 20 years. He is reckoned a very honest man and capable of serving the *King* in that station.

LADY W. STRICKLAND to JAMES III.

1718, June 18.—Before I leave this sad place, I presume to present your Majesty the humble duty of the oldest of your servants, who has been so unhappy as to outlive and by her Majesty's command to close the eyes of the best of queens and mistresses, since which I am very desirous to shut mine to all the world and am going to the *English Poor Clares* at *Rouen*, having got leave to live within the convent. Your great

goodness in thinking of us of the Queen's Bedchamber has the most humble duty and acknowledgements from us all and during the little time I have to live your preservation and prosperity will be the subject of my unworthy prayers.

COLIN CAMPBELL OF GLENDARULE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 18. Near Bordeaux.—I received yours of 26 May and immediately read it to *Tullibardine*, who is most sensible of your friendship and writes to you by this post himself. I made your compliments to *Clanranald*, who is with us, and will to *Brigadier Campbell*, who lives with some of our friends about 8 leagues from here.

(About Sir Peter Redmond's visit and about providing swords and targes, as in the letters of *Tullibardine* and *Clanranald* of the previous day.)

You will have *Brigadier Campbell's* report on the blind captain's affair ere this comes to you. All agree he has not dealt fairly with *the King*, but he is now dead and they say he died as he lived. You will see by *Tullibardine's* letter that *Barry* is come to *Holland* and has writ to *Brigadier Campbell*. No doubt the rogue is come to act a second part of the same game, for it does not appear he knows of his being discovered. The moment we know the contents of his letter you shall be acquainted. I am very glad you approve of the way *Tullibardine* and *Glendarule* gave up the correspondence with *Mr. Inese*.

It gives me great contentment that *the King* is pleased with what I sent you from *Glengarry*. To-day I write to him and *J. Macleod, junior*, and will make them your compliments and acquaint them with *the King's* goodness towards them in the terms you desire, and I will make your compliments to *Campbell* [of *Auchinbreck*], who is arrived home with his young lady as *Lord Glenorchy* is with his. I hope both will act their parts according to their promise. I thought I could do no less than acquaint you with what my friend wrote me from *Scotland* concerning *the Earl Marischal's* story of *Mar*. Had not I sent you an exact double of what was writ me then, I do not think I would have mentioned *John Paterson's* name on that occasion, for, as to that false and malicious story handed about a long time ago against him, he has been so lucky and his innocency such that it gained no credit with any I ever heard talk of the subject. It would appear by my friend's letter that *the Earl Marischal* was also the author of the story against him. The moment I received that letter a considerable time ago I wrote to my correspondent how much *the Earl Marischal* was in the wrong as to *Mar*, and how injurious it was to contrive so false a story of *John Paterson*, for so happy was his temper and so great his discretion that, notwithstanding the load of business *Mar* kept on his hands all the time we were in *Scotland* and the number of different people he had to deal with,

neither then nor since did I know the man he ever disobliged or that complained of him.

You do me too much honour in sending me the account of what passed between *Mar* and *the Earl Marischal* since we parted, and so unjust has *the Earl Marischal* been to *Mar*, that it was given out by his friends that he was obliged to leave *the King's* family and retire into the country through *Mar's* means. This my correspondent wrote to me in answer to mine desiring him to condescend on some particular, for I thought all that story was over of *the Earl Marischal's* unreasonable as well as unjust prejudice against *Mar*.

Now could anything be more gross than this? Is it not known to all that *the King* ordered all his other servants as well as he away on business above a twelvemonth ago and yet he would make his improvement of what happened then, with all which I acquainted my correspondent. Indeed, by what you write I see his part is very unjustifiable of late as well as some time ago, and that *Mar* has been at more pains to gain upon him than could be expected after such manifest ingratitude. I do not think his malicious trifling worth *Mar's* noticing and I agree the less these things are spoken of, the better, yet I am now obliged to write you a new story in relation to *the Earl Marischal* and it's only my duty to *Mar* that forces me to do it.

When I waited on *Sir P. Redmond* at *Bordeaux*, I waited on your friend *General Gordon*. He inquired if I heard anything of *the Earl Marischal's* new attempts against *Mar*. I told him, nothing of late. He then said the old Laird (*Malcolm of Grange*) showed him a letter he had from *Smith of Methven's* brother *Peter* from *Calais* telling him that the Grumeltonians, as he calls them, are at work against *Mar* and that *the Earl Marischal* and Col. or Brigadier Hook were the ringleaders. I took the first opportunity to wait on the laird, who told me the same story. A day after I received a letter from *Major Fraser* on his arrival at *Calais*, where he met his friend, young *Lockhart*. They were to be soon at *Paris* and from there go to *Angers* to the Academy. He wrote me the very same story and I enclose that part of his letter. He says so much of this Brigadier Hook that I resolved to inform myself of his character all I could. I knew he was employed by the Courts of *France* and *St. Germain's* and sent by them to *Scotland* before the 1708, so I inquired of the old laird about him, who, I knew, was then a dealer in those matters. He looked upon Hook to be no good man. His first appearance in the world was as one of the Duke of Monmouth's chaplains and he was with him, when he invaded England. Afterwards he had his pardon on doing some services and he mentioned some unfavourable circumstances about him, in which appeared a good deal of treachery. Afterwards he turned Roman Catholic at *St. Germain's*. His extraction was of Ireland and of mean parentage. His next great appearance was being sent to *Scotland* by the

Courts of *St. Germain's* and *France*, and he had from *St. Germain's* very ample credentials. He acted a double part and so villainously towards *the King* that, if all the truth were known, he richly deserved the gallows. Here we were interrupted by company and I was obliged to go out of town without having another opportunity of seeing him, but, as I was parting with *General Gordon*, he said that the laird had told him a very strange story of Hook and that it was fit *Mar* should be acquainted with it. This Hook acted a double part when sent to *Scotland*. His first proposal to the late *Duke of Hamilton* was that there should be an entire separation betwixt *Scotland* and *England* and that *the Duke of Hamilton* should set up for himself and be master of *Scotland* and that he would be supported by *France* and that the old friendship betwixt *Scotland* and *France* should be renewed. This story the laird had from Mr. Carnegie, the priest, who was Hook's bedfellow in a lady's house in the Canongate, and he said that *Capt. H. Straiton* and that lady know this story to be truth. *The Duke of Hamilton* rejected the proposal with indignation. Then Hook went through *the King's* friends with his credentials from *St. Germain's*, which gave him such credit that he had papers under their hands, which he carried with him. This *General Gordon* desired me to write to you, that you might know all, and this was the story the laird was going to tell me, when we were interrupted. He appeared exceeding angry that *the Earl Marischal* should disturb *the King* with such foolish work. Your true friend, *Tullibardine*, is extremely angry at *the Earl Marischal*, and wonders at *Mar's* goodness in having been at so great pains to reclaim *the Earl Marischal* and is no less scandalized at *the Earl Marischal's* unfair dealing with *Mar* and *Tullibardine* and all here, that have heard this last story, resent extremely that *the Earl Marischal* presumes to molest *the King* in his wise and steady course of management.

It's a good time since we had the account of good *Queen Mary's* death, which was to all here a most afflicting stroke. I would hope it may make no change on *the Regent* with respect to *the King*.

(About the King's illness.)

I am glad you have hopes that *the Czar* and *the King of Sweden* may come to agree, for much depends on it and *the King of Spain's* going on with his lawsuit will, I hope, have good effects.

Clanranald writes you some accounts he has had from his sister-in-law. I hope it will not answer the design and it will not fail to stir up *the Highlanders* to the last degree of revenge and it may come to be so many lost to *the Elector of Hanover* as he employs in that service.

Lady Macdonald is talking of coming over to see her mother, who has been a long time on the establishment at *St. Germain's*, having come over at the very beginning with her husband,

Col. Mackenzie, who had then a regiment of dragoons. Besides his personal services, he lent money in Ireland to *the King's* father and afterwards died at *St. Germain's* and left this lady and a daughter behind him there, who is a tender, sickly woman. You know, as well as I do, what she deserves on *Lady Macdonald's* account. She had the common cast in the reduction of her pension some time ago, which, I believe, rendered her circumstances not very easy. $6\frac{1}{4}$ pages.

COLIN CAMPBELL OF GLENDARULE to the DUKE OF
MAR.

1718, June 18.—The moment I read your note concerning *Argyle* I burnt it. I hope you forgive me the trouble I gave you and my presumption on that head and that you believe that no partiality towards *the Highlanders* or any other private view could lead me to enlarge on such a subject. I wish from my heart *Argyle* and all *the King's* adversaries may come to deserve his favour, for the honest *Highlanders* and all good men will with much cheerfulness submit in all cases to whatever he may think convenient. Our part is only to obey and contribute with cheerfulness in all things that may promote *the King's* affairs.

I judge Mr. *Campbell* [of Auchinbreck] is the person *J. Macleod, junior*, expects the best accounts from of *Argyle's* intentions and, if you think fit, I will again write to him about it. It's very probable *Argyle* may now come to determine himself, seeing he is slighted by *the Prince of Wales* as well as ill-used by *the Elector of Hanover*, but it was always my opinion, when he came to be in earnest, he would go to work by other hands.

You have enclosed the part of *Major Fraser's* letter to me in relation to Brigadier Hook and the rest.

You have a hint from *Tullibardine* and, it's like, a little from *Clanranald* concerning *Brigadier Campbell*. He is certainly a man that understands his own profession and of great honour and probity, a most faithful servant to *the King* and to you a sincere friend. Were it not this is no secret amongst those conversant with him here, I would have great difficulty in saying anything about it. His kind and sincere heart makes him too open. You are best judge how that defect can be guarded against.

Whenever you write to me concerning *Argyle*, let it be in a note apart. *Enclosed*,

MAJOR FRASER to GLENDARULE.

I am told our infatuate idiots have again fallen to work with the Duke of Mar and that Brigadier Hook is the spring of that affair. He's certainly a cunning, designing fellow as any in Europe and, for ought I know, may be bribed by the King's enemies. He certainly could not

do them a greater service than by getting that great man removed, and, if he has such interest at the Court of France, as they say, it may be dangerous. When I arrive in Paris, I shall endeavour to inform you of all these matters. Extract.

COLIN CAMPBELL OF GLENDARULE to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, June 18.—I wrote most fully to my correspondent in my answer to his of the falsehood of that malicious story and that you were, as you well deserved, thoroughly trusted and employed as formerly and were looked on by all honest men as a person of worth and merit. It's true I omitted in my letter to *Mar*, wherein I mentioned *Earl Marischal's* story and his, to acquaint him with what I wrote about you, which made you think I had omitted to do you justice. 2 pages.

GEORGE FLINT to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 18. Calais.—Though it be rung in my ears that some have traduced me to his Majesty, my innocence had warranted my silence, did not extremity press me to take pen in hand, for I am starving here with my wife, who is almost as remarkable as myself for her actions and sufferings in the royal cause.

How I have been educated in letters and business, in the custom house, bank and taxes, in travels and in some little experience at home and abroad how long my mother lived and died under the royal patronage, are, I believe, not unknown to his Majesty. In 1710 in my native town, Newcastle-on-Tyne, how much I contributed to turn the whole North of England to what I then thought the dawning of a restoration, some of my fellow-sufferers were witnesses. I immediately attacked in public print the then sitting Parliament and ministry, for which, had they continued, I must have fled my country. In 1714 I proposed with the expense of but 1,000*l.* to attempt to seize the Tower, the Bank, the Exchequer, the whole Hanoverian family and most of the Malignants in Parliament, as the unhappy Lord Peterborough, whom I then thought an honest man, can testify. In 1715 I intended to seize Newcastle, had I not been prevented by 11 weeks' sickness, out of which, when not quite recovered, I betook myself to those labours, which had like to have ended at Tyburn, and in prison, when sick and in bed unable to wield a pen, I caused my wife to write by me, and when shut up from the sight or hearing of mankind other than the jailers, I caused them by my wife's means, unknown to themselves, to fetch and carry my papers, had in spite of them pen, ink and paper and wrote from 1 to 5 or 6 in the morning, which lucubrations, if judged here of no use, were otherwise esteemed there, at least our enemies have often said and still say I did them more harm than all the rest of their enemies. I am universally styled

the King's champion, and my wife the championess. I am forced to adduce these truths, though immodestly in my own defence, for, though I am not sure anyone has traduced me, I am but too sure I am perishing with my wife for want of food and raiment.

The 500 *livres* I received of her Majesty's bounty were almost consumed by my previous debts, my necessary raiment and by my journey to and from and expenses in Paris, and though I have been on this side about 14 and my wife about 11 months, long sick and still under medicine, we have had but 4 months' pension from January last, and that in driblets of 4 or 5 *livres* and sometimes less and Mr. Francia has paid us none these two months and will pay us no more, alleging he does not expect to be repaid what he has already paid us on the King's account. Father Græme offers to get us regularly paid as soon as he receives an order for it, which order I beg you will cause to be dispatched.

Postscript.—I never was a mercenary scribbler, but threw up a very handsome fortune to take the pen in hand. I furnished not only copy but the whole expense of printing &c. out of my own pocket, permitting the printer to reap all the gains, save of some few I sold in the pressyard. My wife assisted me with heroical courage and constancy, was 12 months, as I 15 in prison, and, after my escape, was thrust into the common side of Newgate among the dregs of street whores and thieves, laid in that kennel on the cold ground, whence she was carried out almost dead, long struggled for life in England and came here last August, a piercing spectacle, and has almost ever since lain sick, is still under medicine, and I doubt will never recover her health. 6 pages.

MONSIGNOR ALAMANNO SALVIATI to [DAVID NAIRNE].

1718, June 18.—Promising to do all he can at a proper time to find an employment for the person recommended by him. *French.*

M. STIERNHOCK to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 18. Vienna.—The Imperial ambassadors at Passarowitz did not deliver their demands at the first but at the second conference. At the first they only accepted the Turkish declaration that they had orders to make peace on the basis of *uti possidetis* as a preliminary and informed them it was not sufficient, that, the victorious Imperial army being in a condition and on the point of penetrating to the heart of the Ottoman empire, they demanded in addition to that preliminary condition others for the Emperor's advantage and for that of his ally the republic of Venice and that they expected the Turkish ambassadors to make such offers, to which the latter replied they had no instructions to make any other offers but those they had just made.

At the second conference the Imperial ambassadors declared in writing the demands of the Emperor in addition to what had been settled as a preliminary. What I have been able to learn of these demands is that they consist alternatively of the cession of Widdin and Nisch with the country as far as Nisch or of Wihatsch and Zwornik with part of Bosnia, bordering like those places on Croatia, those last being the most advantageous for the Emperor, of the cession of Croja, a strong place in Albania on the Hismo (Ishmi) near the Gulf of Drino on the Adriatic, or at least in the liberty of transporting from thence on all occasions to the kingdom of Naples, and of an equivalent to the Venetians for the Morea. Reports are different about the alleged claim to the whole of Wallachia. But, if the negotiations are delayed till the Imperial army has penetrated further into the Ottoman territories, that claim with others will certainly be raised, at least if the state of affairs in Christendom does not hinder the Emperor from doing so. It is at least certain that the deputies here from the part of Wallachia that is under the Emperor's rule are making strong representations to induce him not to lose this opportunity of acquiring the whole of that Christian province. I have seen a copy of a long memorial they delivered on that subject a few days ago.

The second conference was on the 7th and 8th. The Turkish ambassadors sent an express to Adrianople to report what had passed and to demand instructions.

Ambassador Sutton and St. Saphorin, the English minister here, are making strong representations against the Emperor's new claims, advising him to facilitate the speedy conclusion of peace, which shows their fear of the events which might happen in Christendom to the great prejudice of the present government in England, if the Turkish war is prolonged, and of the jealousy of the prejudice to English trade in the Levant which might follow from the considerable further progress of the Imperial arms.

Prince Eugene has arrived at Belgrade, where he will reside as long as the grand army remains at the adjoining camp of Semlin. I have seen a letter from a good hand from that camp, which arrived yesterday, saying that people continued to speak of an approaching movement of the corps assembled in the Banat of Temeswar, but that that of the grand army would be delayed a little longer, a great number of recruits and remounts on the march being still wanting, besides the troops of Saxony and Bavaria. The Aga, sent with a letter of notification and compliments from the new Grand Vizier to Prince Eugene, left Passarowitz on the 10th for Belgrade.

A project is spoken of here of the Spaniards disembarking at Genoa to join the Piedmontese in attacking the Milanese as being ready to be executed on the Emperor's refusal to accept the Duke of Savoy's proposals.

Postscript.—M. de Busi has procured a copy of the plan of accommodation between the Emperor, the King of Spain and the Duke of Savoy, proposed to them by the Regent and King George and accepted by the first, and also of the measures to be taken by the Regent, King George and the Dutch to carry it out in case of opposition. Busi has given it to me to read, and I have carefully informed myself if it is authentic, but there are separate and secret articles concerning the mutual guaranty of the Regent's succession and of his government during the minority, the security of the House of Hanover on the throne of Great Britain and the Barrier treaty in favour of the Dutch. They also speak of a promised guaranty of the Emperor's dominions outside Italy and of the country of Hanover in the secret article. M. de Busi will let you see the said paper, and you will do me a favour, if you will kindly continue to communicate what you learn and your opinion concerning the Kings of Spain and Sicily, that is, whether they continue firm or not in refusing to come to an accommodation with the Emperor on the basis of the plan drawn up in London and accepted by the Emperor, notwithstanding the appearances of peace between him and the Grand Signior. 11 pages. *French.*

CAPT. H. STRAITON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 7[–18].—This is chiefly to forward the enclosed letter for *the King* from *Mr. Lockhart*, containing a full account of conversations he had with two of the *Duke of Argyle's* friends.

He desires me to make his apology for not writing to you. The reason is that he may have it to say to *Lord Ilay* and *Argyle* that he has written to nobody but *the King* on the subject of commencing a trade with them, which he thinks the best method at first to bring in these two merchants to a treaty or close correspondence, and bids me assure you he has used that method without the least intention to offend you or encroach on your province.

This affair is so nice and of so much importance that I will not offer my opinion, though I like the project much the better for what *Argyle's* namesake says of it, for he has the character of a man of principle and integrity and was always a friend to the Company, and on that account and for his generous kindness and liberality to *Lord Southesk's* young fatherless cousins he merits the esteem of all honest men. I dare not indeed say so very much for *Col. Middleton*, but it's generally thought his bias inclines to the right side and, though he has made insinuations against *Mar* which I do not like, perhaps it has been a random shot, and possibly may not be agreeable to *Argyle's* intentions. I shall be on the watch and, if I can discover any design against *Mar*, I will not fail to give him an account.

In my two last of 12 April and 3 May I forgot to tell you that your friend *Lord Eglinton* has at last got a son, and *the King*

is godfather. I am glad of it both on his own account and for the disappointment of the Whig presumptive heirs. With the first of these two letters I sent *Mar* returns to all his and *the King's* letters he had sent me some time before and hope all are with you before this.

Your friend and namesake L[ord] D[un] was to-day with me, and I always find him where I leave him, most hearty and frank in promoting *the King's* service and all the Company's concerns. He has been lately with young Abell (young Lord Aberdeen *i.e.* Lord Haddo) and had a full conference on that subject. His stomach is not much for *arms*, but he positively promises to join in the *money* trade, yet is so very cautious that he will not deal with anybody about it, but only with your said friend, and allows him only to tell me of it, so, if *Mar* thinks it fit, I wish some compliment were made him ; he is not without pride. It may incline him to be more frank and possibly oblige him to abate his extreme caution and use his endeavours to set others right, at least his brother-in-law S[altoun] and his kinsman, the *Duke of Gordon*, for I am told he has great influence on both these *money* merchants.

When your said friend was lately with *the Duke of Gordon*, neither touched anything of the Company's affairs, but he had a full and free conference with Mr. *Grant's* namesake, whom I formerly mentioned on the subject of *Mackintosh's* money matters, the chief tutor and manager of *the Duke of Gordon* and his whole effects. In short this tutor promises for the *Duke of Gordon* that he will heartily join in the *money* trade and have a stock ready for the first opportunity and speaks of no less than double what I told you *Lord Eglinton* promised. At the same time the tutor is very positive that *the Duke* on a certain event should keep close at home, and not personally meddle, but leave the conduct of affairs to himself and other friends, which, I suppose, *the King* and you may approve.

That 100*l.* sterling which *the King* ordered to be given to a lady of *the Duke of Montrose's* name, I have received from his banker's correspondent here, and shall carefully send it her in two or three days. It is with much unwillingness I undertake to trouble you in asking money for anybody, but *Lord Dumfermline* is in so hard circumstances and his case amongst the most favourable that I could not well decline to represent it. He has suffered much and [has] a hard sentence against him, which, he tells me, has put it out of his power to get the use of any small effects that belong to him, and, besides, you know he represents a sufferer for the Company, so I wish you may mind him, that he may be capable to renew his trade again the first opportunity.

M[ARY], DUCHESS OF PERTH, to DAVID NAIRNE.

1718, June 20.—Requesting him to deliver the enclosed to the King himself.

M[ARY], DUCHESS OF PERTH, to JAMES III.

[1718,] June 20. St. Germain. — I think it my duty not to undertake so long a journey as to Scotland without letting your Majesty know, in case I can be useful there for your service during the three or four months I design to stay there, for I hope in that time to settle my jointure, of which I have not received a farthing since my lord's death. I am advised to go to assert my right, which, though very small, will be a considerable help to me.

SIR THOMAS HIGGONS to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 20. St. Germain. — Nothing but the Day of Judgment can give us a truer emblem of horror and confusion than this miserable place is filled with at present for the Queen's death. Besides our apprehension how sensibly our master must be touched at the loss of the best of mothers and truest friend much heightens our afflictions. All that we have to console him and us is the certainty of her being at last eternally happy, who never knew what true satisfaction was upon earth, her whole life having been a continual scene of mortification.

Our master has been enured to afflictions from his cradle and consequently may be able to bear a shock, which lesser souls must sink under, but this sudden stroke, I am afraid, may make too deep an impression even on a mind though ever so well guarded against the shocks of fate. May Heaven increase his patience and fortify his soul.

I had lately a letter from Brussels from Lord A[iles]bury, who desires me to send condolences to the King and his most humble service to you.

Very few of our countrymen are at Paris at present. Dr. Garth is there, whom my brother saw. He speaks with respect of his master George, but says the Prince, his son, is such a scoundrel that he is despised by everybody and has very few partisans, and that he will never be able to hold the reins, if he should ever come to govern. 3 pages.

LADY SOPHIA BULKELEY to DAVID NAIRNE.

1718, June 20. — Requesting him to present the enclosed letter to his Majesty, and hoping that the Duke of Mar will accept her respectful compliments and begging the favour of his protection. —

Could I live without entreating the favours I do of his Majesty I would never mention it. It is very cruel I must at this time trouble him, when I have 500*l.* a year for my life in England, which for this 29 years I cannot get. If I could, I would never ask anything of him till his restoration, not doubting he would reward our faithful services as the Queen was so good as to tell us that dismal night before her death, and, in the meantime that his Majesty is restored, he will be pleased to make me to live the way I have proposed.

If I should not find, as I hope I may, a person who will give me wherewithal to pay my debts on the King's bond (I beg pardon if this is not a proper term for it), I shall have at least the comfort to think my creditors will be paid when he is restored. To consider in what a terrible wanting condition I am in is very deplorable, but I should be very sorry not to have served the best of Queens, so I can repine at nothing so much as that my sad condition has obliged me to trouble his Majesty.

LADY SOPHIA BULKELEY to JAMES III.

[1718, June 20.]—I beg leave to remind your Majesty of a most disconsolate afflicted servant the Queen has left in a most deplorable condition. What is very afflicting to me is that I must now entreat a favour from your Majesty, which if I could possibly forbear, I would rather than breathe, though I flatter myself my request can no ways be troublesome, since it will be of no present expense.

During near 30 years' banishment I have contracted a debt of about 20,000 *livres*, which seems a great deal, if one does not consider how many years I have lived here with a numerous family for a great part of the time. You may have heard that I lived very frugally, so I cannot accuse myself, being in debt but for what was absolutely necessary to subsist us. To pay these debts the Queen had given me leave to try to go to England to recover a legacy my sister left, but now the time is lapsed, as I am told, and, though I endeavoured, I could not obtain a privy seal with leave to go.

Now she is gone I must expect to be prosecuted by my creditors, if you will not graciously grant me an assurance under your hand and seal for 2,000*l.* to be paid when you are restored, with which bond I hope to find some well-meaning moneyed person, who may have faith as much as I have in your restoration and on whom I shall impose secrecy.

Since my being in France the happiest time of my life was when I saw your Majesties together at Bar and Commercy, but I have felt most sensibly what the Queen said with tears, when she had parted at Moutiez (Montiers) with your Majesty, that the satisfactions of this life are very short and the afflictions endless. I may well remember that sentence, for nobody has felt all your Majesty's misfortunes more truly and afflictively than I have, besides what I have had to bear in my own particular and on the score of the narrowness of my fortune for so long a time, that I know not how to live on from one month's end to another, wherefore the Queen ordered that, when money came, Lady Charlotte and myself and others, who have nothing to depend on but our salaries, should be paid what was due to us, for we had not been now in being, if she had not had that consideration for us, wherefore I must implore the same grace from your Majesty, and that you will give your speedy order to this

effect that I may be paid as when the Queen lived, otherwise I may perish and I am certain you would not let me do so, after having served the Queen 33 years with all possible zeal and duty.

JOHN O'REILLY to his kinsman, CHARLES WOGAN.

1718, June 20. Ohlau.—Yours of 30 April came to me to-day. Touching the matter in question, I am sure a virtuous Princess would be no charges to his Majesty. To the contrary her friends would fortify his party and give jealousy to his enemies ; in short the Emperor and both the Electors could not in honour be against his interest. The Prince here told me long ago that he would give the youngest as much and more than he gave to either of the two others, and has promised the Duke of Modena 400,000 crowns. The second, Princess Charlotte, is to part according to the contract 1 August, but it is not yet known when the other parts and there's no thoughts of our favourite's going, yet I know very well, if it was our master's desire, she would be there as soon as any of the rest, but, if things were concluded, she has pretext enough to go to see her sisters at any time. I will keep your interest close to my heart, and, if you should have further directions, I promise it shall be very well handled and with as much secrecy as is requisite. Both the eldest Princesses had the smallpox, but our favourite had it not, though she was every day in their chambers, and it's not above six weeks since they had it. All the doctors here say she will never have it, neither had the Prince it, and, she being much of his nature, each by court says she will never have it. 4 pages.

J. MENZIES to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, Monday, June 9[–20].—Here's a new cargo of our most material prints. There is a piece of Dutch news to-day in the *Daily Courant* about a gentleman on your side the water, General Dillon, which has a fate I have not in all my experience seen any piece of news have here. It is disbelieved and despised both by the Jacobites and the Government, so that the inventor may go and hang himself. Some fancy it to come from Barry of Bayonne, who has got in with the gentlemen at Leyden. We have no changes or anything of consequence here, only, as we are very agueish towards your Regent, we are at present in a love fit from a very angry one. Since the last express we are in hopes *qu'il a changé de pays, et qu'il est à présent Alleman, très Alleman*, as Harlequin used to say.

Our Germans here hope Sir George Byng will act vigorously, but the body of even our Whigs are mad to think of a war with Spain, by which our South Sea, Africa and Turkey trade must all sink, and they are afraid too, when the King of Spain is affronted and assaulted himself, he may easily play the Pretender upon us.

JAMES HAMILTON to [the DUKE OF MAR].

1718, June 9[-20]. London.—Giving an account of Lady Mar's illness, which was an intermittent fever. 2 pages.

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Tuesday, June 21.—I enclose an edict, by which you'll see the great change in the coin of this country. The intrinsic value of a new *louis d'or* is but 16 *livres*, though it passes for 36 and that of a new crown but 55 pence, though it passes for 6 *livres* and so all other coin in proportion. Men of business and the wise here pretend and even affirm that this alteration will ruin the nation. The Parliament makes a great noise about it and attributes the blame to Mr. Law, accusing him to be the chief promoter of this change. They were two days ago in a body and in high ceremony with *the Regent* to represent the ill consequences of it, and to complain of Mr. Law for presuming to give so pernicious a counsel.

All this put *the Regent* into a prodigious fury. He gave a short and dissatisfactory answer and, I am told, is resolved to support Mr. Law at any price. The Parliament deliberated the day following on issuing a *prise de corps* against Law. *The Regent* being informed of this resolution sent immediate orders to the foot and horse guards to be ready at a call and had powder and ball distributed to them. There are actually 50 foot guards at Law's house to secure his person from insult. The affair is looked on here as very serious and what may produce extraordinary consequences and none doubts that *the Regent* will stand by Mr. Law to the utmost of his power.

Letters of the 7th from Barcelona assure that the fleet would be ready to sail for *Italy* before the 12th.

The SAME to the SAME.

1718, Tuesday, June 21.—My last was of the 14th. I had no news from your quarters since the packets of 28 and 29 May. I hope *the King's* health is perfectly recovered.

The Regent has not yet explained what he intends to fix for *the King*, but I hope the matter will soon be determined. He is solicited on that account by more than *Dillon*. The latter attends him with great assiduity.

The King of Spain's refusal of acquiescing to the scheme of union has both surprised and troubled *the Emperor* to the last degree. He pretends now to be very sorry for having consented to the proposal, and breathes but vengeance and *the King of Spain's* total ruin. *The Emperor* has sent a late express to *the Regent* and *the Elector of Hanover* to have their approbation for putting a garrison of his troops into *Leghorn*, *Piacenza* and *Genoa* &c. What their answer will be is not yet known. Thinking people here believe that *the Regent* for his own sake will not meddle with this point.

Cadogan, who is actually with *Holland*, has pressed that state with all earnestness to declare for the *neutrality of Italy* and to fit out a certain number of *men-of-war* for the *Mediterranean* in conjunction with the *English fleet*. They have excused themselves on their low condition and said they could not resolve to commit any act of hostility without sufficient reason for so doing. *The King of Spain's* factor here assures me this was the answer, and 'tis said under the rose, that the Governors there have no mind to disturb *Spain*. *England* duped them in the last *treaty* of commerce made with that country, which they won't easily forget. Finally 'tis thought, if their present resolution continues, that, soon or late, the *Triple Alliance* may receive great damage by it.

We see nothing here but daily couriers going to and fro from the *Emperor* to the *Regent* and from the latter to the *Elector of Hanover*. The *Regent* is quite out of humour and those that hitherto seemed most in his interest make no scruple now to find fault with the bargains he made and especially in regard to the *Elector of Hanover*. In a word, if the *King of Spain's* project on *Italy* be concerted as taken for granted here, great and good changes may happen.

Ormonde came last night within two leagues of this neighbourhood and *Dillon* intends to visit him to-day. I am told he is in perfect health. 2½ pages.

L. INESE to JAMES III.

1718, June 21.—Your great goodness in ordering for me a share of the chapel and books of the Queen obliges me to return my most humble thanks. My being indeed so sensible of your former goodness hath made any alteration that of late has appeared in your Majesty towards me the more grievous to me, so that I should have been quite sunk under the weight on my spirits, had not the blessed Queen assured me that your displeasure to her knowledge was grounded on misinformations and mistakes, which she had fully cleared in her letters to you, and that by the answers she expected she was sure I should have reason to be satisfied, but it pleased God to take her to Himself before these answers came, so that now I have no resource but to apply immediately to your own innate goodness for that comfort I so much want.

Postscript.—This being your birthday we are now going to offer up at the holy altar our vows and prayers that God may give you many happier years than we have yet seen and that, till his appointed time for that comes, he may sanctify your sufferings and support you with interior graces and consolations in proportion to your crosses and afflictions, that you may truly say with another afflicted holy King, *secundum multitudinem dolorum meorum in corde meo consolationes tuæ lætificarunt animam meam*.

W. GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 21. Paris.—Forwarding enclosures.—Both the Parliament here and the people through all this kingdom complain and are enraged at the management of the coin in augmenting and diminishing its value and course and their resentment runs very high against Mr. Law, whom they take to be the adviser of those measures, and, if the Regent did not protect him, he would very soon suffer the effects of their rage.

JOHN ALEXANDER to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 22. Rome.—I received your letter, while I was busy about the drawings of the two little ovals, which I shall send in a letter next post, as they are not both finished. I hope the stories will please you, if my weak performance and ideas answer your *bon gusto*. One represents Perseus cutting off Medusa's head and the other Perseus delivering Andromeda. I had a genio to do these two stories, because I found them applicable to your Grace in the last conjuncture you had in Scotland.

You will receive from the post the Parnassus of Raphael. I was mistaken in promising to send it by the *procaccio* (carrier), for none goes betwixt this and Urbino, but only muleteers, which I unhappily missed by half an hour. The carriage will cost more this way, which I leave you to pay, that they may be more punctual in delivering it. I pray you anew to excuse my weak beginnings to the King.

I suppose critics will see my picture and, that they may not criticize what is not faulty, I confess it is three years since I painted it, and at that time I lived on my own industry and the small money my father could send me, so I could not go to the expense of fine ultramarine, which is the cause the blues are not so beautiful. For the rest I have copied the original even to the least herbs and that to an error, if Raphael was capable of making any.

I need not explain the personages in the picture as his Majesty has Bellori on the paintings of Raphael. The *basso rilievo*, on which Sappho leans, is in the original the situation of a window, the top of which enters into the picture. I have taken the liberty to represent in that place the story of Apollo flaying Marsyas, which picture is likewise of Raphael, for I found nothing could match him but himself.

You had reason to find the story proper for the King, for I imagine that Apollo and Homer there accord to sing hymns in praise of virtue after his victory over Marsyas, so I hope a happy day, when his Majesty, victorious over his enemies, shall be the subject of our songs and mirth.

There is here this year past an English gentlewoman, Mrs. Mary Ann Glanville, recommended to me with an extraordinary good character, which I find she really deserves. I beg you would recommend her to Cardinal Gualterio's protection,

seeing she is a Roman Catholic and desirous to live in some monastery. When he comes to town, I shall inform him of her at large, being confident that your recommendation will be of weight with him. (Directions how the picture should be unpacked &c.) 2 pages.

M. STIERNHOCK to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 22. Vienna.—I send the enclosed papers, which seem to me worthy of your curiosity. I have only to add that according to the advices I have from good hands the disagreement between the Czar and the King of Poland goes on increasing and has caused the mission of M. le Coq, a French refugee, as Resident of that King in London, to renew and strengthen the friendship between him and King George. M. le Coq has been, it is said, formerly in England and is agreeable to the present ministry. It is believed that the Prussian peace will be made conjointly with or immediately after that of Muscovy to the exclusion of the other allies of the North. The Grand Signior has written to the King of Prussia to desire his friendship and his intervention for peace with the Emperor. The Aga, who has been sent to Poland, has given the letter to an agent of the King of Prussia in that kingdom. Over 2 pages. French. Enclosed,

LETTER.

M. de Marderfelt, the Prussian envoy at the Russian Court, has written from Petersburg on 23 May (N.S.) to his Majesty and M. Osterman (the Mecklenburg minister), the same day to myself that Baron Schapiroff was ordered to go and join Messrs. de Brusse and Osterman (the Muscovite minister) in Aland. Some add that M. Tolstoy will also go there. It is an evident mark that the iron is in the fire and peace is going to be forged. I doubt not some blow will be struck in our favour. When these letters left Petersburg, Görtz and Gyllenborg were every moment expected at Aland and the greater part of their suite was there already. It is certain that King George's emissaries are returned from Sweden with tanto di naso, though it is said their proposals were sufficiently favourable. They intend to return, but I hope they will find the way rough. His Prussian Majesty left this five days ago for Königsberg. Count Golofskin, the Czarish minister, followed him yesterday, and I am on the point of taking the same road. As there is much trade between the merchants of Königsberg and Stockholm, those of Königsberg are informed by their correspondents at Stockholm that the King of Sweden had already named and got ready for transportation the regiments intended to cross to Livonia to take possession of the places there, which the Czar will restore, and perhaps to form an army,

which increasing itself on the march might go into Poland and thence into Germany. June 14. Berlin. French. Copy.

PAPERS.

Letters from Belgrade of the 13th inform us that the Aga sent with a letter from the new Grand Vizier to Prince Eugene delivered it to the Prince on the 11th and was sent back next day with the answer, that Prince Eugene was on the point of going to confer with the Imperialists and the mediators and to see the troops in the Banat of Temeswar, and the dispositions of General Merci, their commander, that the march of that corps and of the grand army seemed suspended till the return of the last express of the Turkish ambassadors, and that it was being seen whether the Emperor and the Grand Signior could approach each other so closely in the negotiation, that they should have no further recourse to arms. Some believe that apprehensions from both the South and the North may make the Emperor pliable towards the Turks, and that so peace may be immediately concluded on the basis of uti possidetis. June 22. Vienna. French.

CHARLES FRANCOIS DE BUSI to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, June 22.—Thanking him for his letter of 24 May and acquiescing in the decision not to employ him at present as his Majesty's agent.—I have not yet received Mr. Erskine's answer from Petersburg. The letter has doubtless been safely delivered to him. His being with the Czar at Peterhof will have been the cause of his silence. As soon as I receive the answer, I will forward it.

We have recent advices from Berlin, Petersburg and elsewhere that peace is almost concluded between the Czar and the King of Sweden. The Vice-Chancellor, Baron Schapiroff, was to go in person to finish that important matter, but they do not wish to treat with the Elector of Hanover, and nothing is said about the Kings of Denmark and Poland, but both the King of Sweden and the Czar show great confidence and partiality towards the King of Prussia. The Czar is even going to Memel immediately for an interview with him.

This Court is very jealous of the said separate peace between the Czar and the King of Sweden. The Emperor, as well as some other Princes of the Empire, would willingly find some pretext for breaking with the Czar, if the Turkish war and the threats of King Philip and the Duke of Savoy to seize the Milanese did not hinder him. 4 pages. *French. Partly in cipher deciphered.*

BILL.

1718, June 22.—For various medicines supplied to the Duke of Mar. Noted by John Paterson as paid on that day. *Italian.*

JAMES III to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, June 23. Urbino.—I desire you would deliver the enclosed into Ormonde's own hand and when you are alone with him, it containing a particular of great importance, so much that I would not have you trust it to the post. I cannot express how sensible I am of, and satisfied with, your care and diligence on this last dismal occasion. I am well, but not yet fit for much application. *Copy.*

JAMES III to the DUKE OF ORMONDE.

1718, June 23. Urbino.—It is in vain to enlarge on an irretrievable as well as irreparable loss and on that of a long and tedious illness, "which with God's help, and my new doctor's good management, is now over, though I am still very weak and quite *accablé* with the hot weather. I cannot now but wish you joy of your being delivered out of your long prison, where your courage and patience have, I am sure, been sufficiently exercised. You have done your part, and the disagreeableness of want of success makes in one sense your merit the greater with me. We have been but too much used to disappointments and misfortunes, and it is but by bearing with them and struggling against them that we can hope to see and deserve to enjoy better days.

"In the circumstances you left things, your having quitted the North was unavoidable, but yet my hopes from thence are far from vanished, as they are much increased in relation to Spain. Nothing is omitted by me to improve them, and though I have neither letters nor promise, yet the measures they seem to take, and the true sense they have of their own interest, are to me better securities to expect real good from them than the most sacred words of the great politicians of this age, and you shall not fail to be duly informed of what progress is made in that respect.

"The uncertainty of affairs and violence of the heats will, I fear, deprive me for some short time of the satisfaction of your company, but by autumn I hope either affairs will take a new face, or that you will find me in this country in a less disagreeable place, and with more agreeable company, for on your last letter to me I have taken my resolution in relation to marriage, and am immediately dispatching one to Ohlau to propose and conclude, if possible, immediately that affair, and to contrive it so as that she and I may meet in a few months, and I cannot but hope that that may be compassed, and that I shall not repent of my choice, which for want of another I may call a necessity.

"The great point in that, for the success, I take to be secrecy, and therefore, as well-satisfied as I was with Wogan's last journey there, I durst not make him return, the rather that Murray being here, I could not make a better choice, nor one more agreeable to my friends in England. You are the only

person now on earth who could have obliged me to put anything of this affair in writing. You must therefore excuse me, if, though I think it useless, I conjure you to mention nothing of it by word or writing to any soul but Dillon, on whom I desire you will impose the same secrecy, in showing him this letter; for I apprehend nothing can disappoint this affair but want of secrecy. You will have found by Dillon how nice I am in general on that head, and the resolutions I have taken, without excepting my best friends, to trust and employ none but such as are absolutely necessary, since by that means only my affairs can be managed with that privacy and regard to my friends in England which is due to them and requisite for my service.

"I wish therefore you would make choice of any one sure discreet person to serve you for a sort of *commis*, whom you may alone employ in what relates to my business. Nothing is so free as such a choice, and therefore I shall not so much as propose one to you, the rather that I know none so fit as Kennedy for such a trust, nor that would, I believe, be better liked in England, but in that you are master.

"I hope this will find you safe at your journey's end, where you may chance to be troubled with a number of fine politicians, who have now made Dillon a great object of their malice; but such matters may be despised, and can never be of much consequence, nor shall I much covet some people's approbation, when I act by reason, and with the advice of a few of you on this side of the sea, and that of my friends on the other. I see plainly now that some people will always be against those who more eminently deserve of me, or can more effectually serve me than they. That, it seems, is their principle, yours I know is the reverse, and mine is to stand firm by those who serve me well, and after that we need trouble our heads very little with such matters." 3½ pages. *Copy*.

THE DUKE OF MAR TO CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI.

1718, June 23.—Acknowledging various letters received from him and M. Stiernhock and specifying those written in reply, and adding that he will write to the latter in a few posts and begging him in the meanwhile to excuse his not acknowledging his letters to himself. *Draft*.

THE DUKE OF ORMONDE TO JAMES III.

1718, June 23.—*Ormonde* has but little to trouble you with at present, he arriving here but on the 20th. He saw *Dillon* the day before yesterday. He has, to be sure, informed *the King* of all he knows. Everybody is in great expectation to hear what is doing in your part of the world, and *the Regent*, I suppose, designs to take his measures according to what he hears from thence. (About the unpopularity of the Regent and Law, and about the Parliament as in previous letters.)

The DUKE OF ORMONDE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 23.—(To the same effect as the last.)

COL. J. PARKER to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 23.—Humbly craving to know his Majesty's pleasure, his Grace having been acquainted with the deplorable sufferings he has resisted, and his present, which are no longer supportable, obliging him to reiterate the same complaint.—Your Grace cannot but know the damnable declaration, which was topped upon the late King to tarnish his repute, and, when the villainy appeared, the turn that was given to it; the same hands sent me to the Bastille to stop my mouth.
2 pages.

CAPT. JOHN OGILVIE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 23. Dunkirk.—Acknowledging letters received and about those he had forwarded to Lady Mar and about addresses, and about *Menzies'* carelessness with regard to them.—Murray of Stenhope passed here, going to England and thence to Scotland. I think him a very pretty gentleman and very far from what he was represented by the family he had the misfortune to be concerned in. He has given me a letter for the Duke of Mar.

I enclose a very melancholy letter from Father Græme and the copy of one he wrote to Blackwell or Ord at St. Omer; which he sent up to Dicconson, which made a noise. If anybody had fallen on the subject with me, I should have been very apt to have said all he wrote. I believe him the uprightest man of the character of priesthood amongst them that ever I knew. If he had never declared himself openly a friend to *Lord Mar*, he had not had so many enemies.

I also send a letter from *Anne Ogleshorpe*, in answer to what you ordered me to acquaint *Lord Oxford* with. I am very sorry the affair of Capt. Urquhart's brother failed. He was persuaded to go into the Muscovite service before I had your answer. However, we must take the next best course, for that project of hers is not to be thought of, for Father Græme writes he had a letter from England that the man she proposed is already in trouble for carrying over some of our people, so being once blown upon renders him useless. I see no better way than to make a bargain with the man we had, who was perfectly honest and faithful, but was not able to attend us altogether on so small a salary. This often occasioned inconvenient delays, he being forced to follow something more than our affairs for a living. However, he wrote me the other day from England that he is going to bring a good stout vessel that will bide a winter's night. Such a ship may stand 200*l.* or 150*l.*, so, if we will but advance him 50*l.*, he is very willing to engage with us again. I send his letter. Let me have your orders and they shall be obeyed immediately.

I am not punctually paid the money from Mr. Bankes (? W. Gordon). The last quarter is not paid yet, and perhaps this may not be. It was to be paid in advance, for, if I have not always ready money, it will be impossible for me to execute any orders that come. Necessity forces me to tell you this, for I am above 600 *livres* in debt here, so, unless you order some way to take me out of it, I know not what to do, for I would wish to make drawing on my friend in *England* the last shift. Mrs. Ogilvie has been a long time very ill here and continues so. She would have written to you but is not able. I am very ill myself or I would have written more at large. 3 pages. *Enclosed*,

FATHER GRÆME to CAPT. OGILVIE.

The peevish humour you found me in was so far from being an effect of any indifference for my friends that it proceeded from an excess of attachment to them, for it vexed me then, as it does now, to think that the man I would go the farthest to serve should have turned his back on me without so much as inquiring into the truth of what my enemies have both industriously and maliciously laid to my charge, for, first, I never told any that Lord Mar corresponded with me, unless to such as I knew for certain he made no secret of it to, and, as to my letter to Dil[lo]n, which, it seems has made no small noise, I appeal to Lord Mar's own good sense, if it was not more imprudence in Dil[lo]n's way of using it than in my writing it, for, had he communicated it only to Lord Mar, as I supposed he would, neither he nor I would have been blamed for indiscretion, and, since he showed it to those who ought not to have seen it, I can't help thinking he alone is to bear the blame, especially as Lord Mar had sent me positive orders to let Dil[lo]n know what passes here.

You must know that, Col. Hales coming here with his nephew from Paris to go to England, the latter was stopped here by a lettre de cachet, on which his uncle complained bitterly and said he was sure Queen Mary had procured that letter, for fear his nephew should have turned Protestant after going over. 'Twas none of my business to examine the Colonel's grounds for saying so, but I thought it my duty to inform Dil[lo]n of the fact, never doubting my information would be sent straight to Lord Mar, whom I take to be the only person capable of remedying sores of that nature, but instead it seems my letter was carried to Queen Mary, who thought it a very insolent step of mine, and no wonder, since my reflections, however true, were not well enough digested to deserve her approbation. I am heartily sorry to have occasioned Lord Mar the least uneasiness by that unhappy letter, which might have had quite a contrary effect, had it been rightly managed by Dil[lo]n ; therefore I hope he'll not let me be sacrificed

for other people's faults, for I never was so imprudent as to give advice or find fault with my superiors, even when their notions of right and wrong have been contrary to mine. I have often thought it my duty to let them know the opinion the world had of them, but in that case I always made it my business to convince them of my modesty and respect as well as of my zeal. Whatever reasons Queen Mary had to complain of me, I am sure Lord Mar can have none, unless he takes it ill that I declined, as I did, Queen Mary's correspondence and begged the honour of his, for I have never transgressed his orders even in the minutest trifles.

Mr. Avery has got another letter from his correspondents, who are extremely pressing to know how their project was relished by the King and seem willing to prove their sincerity by sending money to him, or any other way which may be thought more proper. 1718, June 14. Calais. 3 pages.

FATHER GRÈME to MR. ORD.

If Mr. Carr comes this way, he shall find me very ready to serve him in everything in my power, but what makes him resolve to go over? I hope it is not for want of being countenanced as he deserves, seeing you told me he is a man of parts and has been a great sufferer, for I conceive his being a member of the Church of England ought not to diminish anything of the reward due to his loyalty, but the contrary. I tell you this, because I hear the King's Protestant subjects complain as if they were not taken notice of on account of their religion and allege that, when they address themselves to you for subsistence, you insinuate that the only way to ingratiate themselves to the Court is to become Roman Catholics, but, methinks, you have given but too sufficient proofs of your loyalty to be thought capable of ruining the King's interest by such conduct and therefore I look upon all that as a malicious story invented by the Whigs to alienate the hearts of the King's faithful Protestant subjects. I thought it proper to let you know what has been said on that score both on t'other side and on this, that you may take proper methods to justify yourself of so black a calumny.

I am sorry money is so scarce with you and can't help thinking that it's hard the poor gentlemen under your care should be left starving, whilst all the rest are punctually paid, but it's true distinctions are to be made amongst men and the most deserving are certainly to be first taken care of. 1718, April 11. Copy.

ANNE OGLETHORPE to CAPT. OGILVIE.

I received yesterday yours of the 12th and sent Lord Oxford the part relating to him. I have not yet had an answer.

He designs sending you goods, but, when they will^{}be ready, I cannot tell. I am mighty sorry for the King and Lord Mar's illness. I wish they had used the old tariff and that we had heard from them, for the season for the country is far advanced and everyone longs for country air. I am very much concerned for Mrs. Ogilvie's illness. 1718, June 5[-16].*

JAMES HAMILTON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 12[-13]. London.—Giving a further account of Lady Mar's illness. She and the physicians look on all danger to be over.

The DUKE OF MAR to CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI.

1718, June 24.—Introducing the bearer, Mr. Morphy (*i.e.* James Murray), who is to pass that way on his travels, to whom he may talk freely of anything concerning the affairs they used to write of and who can give very just and faithful accounts of England, from whence he is lately come. *Draft.*

The DUKE OF ORMONDE to JAMES III.

1718, June 24.—Since I wrote yesterday, I received four letters from *the King*, some duplicates and of old dates. I am very sensible of his goodness in his concern for *Ormonde's* return, but heartily mortified it was not in his power to do him the service he desired. *Dr. Erskine's* behaviour is very unaccountable, and must proceed from a very great natural laziness, that hindered him from writing more than two letters in seven months, especially considering by whom *Ormonde* was employed. Indeed, as a gentleman, I might have expected to have met with more civility.

I had a letter from *Jerningham* from Narva. He has had a letter from *Sir H. Stirling*, but little encouragement in it to proceed further, though he seems to intend to go on.

I hope *the King* will not delay finishing *marriage*, since it is what all his friends desire so earnestly and is so much for his interest and theirs.

T. BRUCE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 24. Brussels.—Last night Mr. *de Wilda* surprised me not a little with some accounts he had from his friend at Vienna, who tells him that the Emperor owns himself mistaken in not complying with the propositions formerly made him touching King James' interest, that he finds King George and the Dutch are betraying him both in his treaty with the Turks and his interest in Italy, that they believe in Vienna that the English fleet is no other than an amusement to cheat the Emperor, and will only exchange the garrisons of Gibraltar and Port Mahon and afterwards return home; that therefore he has sent orders to London and

the Hague to proceed no further in the alliance nor in the execution of the Barrier Treaty, that he is resolved at any rate to purchase a peace with the Turks, to be in good correspondence with the Northern powers and to push his affairs in Italy and this country.

You imagine such a train of novelties would surprise anybody, and, indeed, I know not how to give entire credit to them, though I can as little judge how a man, who has a good canal of correspondence, should be imposed on in matters of that consequence, for I am fully persuaded from his character that he does not mean to impose on me, especially seeing that it can be no use to him to do so. I never conversed with him but as a private person, giving my own private thoughts and conjectures, and I never pretended to give him any rise to the propositions I made him, other than that they were suitable, as I thought, to his master's interest and mine. The greatest length I ever went was to tell him, that, if they were liked, I could probably find some means to put them a going. However, all the reception I gave him was to tell him that, whether King George and the Dutch would be faithful to the Emperor or not, the Dutch would never for many reasons concur in means to render him too powerful, and that, as matters stood at present, neither would be found an ally sufficient to support him. It was always my opinion that he should contribute to make a peace betwixt the Czar and the King of Sweden and join himself to them, by which he might find the Muscovite useful in his wars with the Turks and would disengage Sweden from France, which had already made a step towards it by assuming Hanover in his place, and that, by forwarding at the same time King James' interest, he would disable Hanover and purchase England. If he was now sensible of his mistake, the best way to repair it was to make an entire alteration of his measures in all those points and to proceed in the treaty he was offering to Spain.

He said he had reason to believe the Emperor would do so in every point except the last, for he was resolved, as soon as peace was made with the Turks, to push in Italy and, after he had secured his possessions there, he would make peace with Spain, and would both comprehend King James' interest in the treaty and would make use of his interest to bring it about.

I told him, in my humble opinion, a treaty with Spain was the first step to be made, because perhaps by that he would find an accommodation with the Turks so much the easier and would thereby find himself easy in all his southern concerns.

As for King James' interest with Spain, I knew no other than that which justice begets with all men, whose by-views do not drive them against it, or that the King of Spain may see, as all other potentates may, that, if King James were restored by their means, he must be a much more useful ally

to them than King George can be, and that, if King James could find any particular interest with King Philip, I did not doubt he would heartily employ it for the Emperor's service, if the Emperor would turn his views that way.

This is the substance of what passed. He tells me that, not daring to trust his correspondence to the ordinary post, his friend writes that in some weeks he shall have by a certain canal a full and distinct account of all these matters and he has promised to let me know so far of them as relates to our affairs. He expects some time after to visit his friends in Vienna.

I had some thoughts of sending this by 150 (? Dillon), leaving it open for him to read, but on second thoughts I believe it is not proper, and therefore I send it as usual.

We have had a new tumult at Malines. It began amongst some tradesmen who refused to comply with a sentence given against them with respect to some of their privileges. Ten or twelve townsmen were killed and 20 or 30 wounded, no soldiers killed, but several wounded, and the whole garrison of 250 foot and 150 horse driven entirely out of the town, after which some houses were plundered and they are now searching the convents to find the judge who gave the sentence against them. They apprehend tumults from other parts, and, if the Emperor does not prevent the execution of the Barrier Treaty, it's believed there will be an universal insurrection. 2½ pages.

SIR WILLIAM ELLIS to BRIGADIER JOHN HAY.

1718, June 24.—Receipt for a bill of 3,200 *livres tournois* drawn by his lady on William Gordon and payable to William Dicconson.

GEORGE JERNINGHAM to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 13[–24]. Petersburg.—We were very big with expectation that the first express from *Aland* would have brought somewhat very material to the Czar, but it imported only that the last offers made by the Czar had been forwarded to the King of Sweden and that Görtz had had no return to them.

“As to our own affairs, Schapiroff has since acquainted me that he had spoken to the Czar of each point I had recommended to him and in answer thereto has told me that the Czar was well pleased with my errand and bids me assure the King that he would assist the King of Sweden with anything for that purpose after the agreement, that Jerningham might correspond with Görtz, only requiring that I would bring my letter to them with a cachet volant, that they might read it before they forwarded it, which I could not refuse to do, whatever constraint and difficulty it put me to. I have given you here the trouble of the copy of that letter which I writ upon that occasion, by which you will see how I have pushed

the main question and made Görtz those offers which the Czar approved I should do, videlicet of the Czar's willingness to be assisting in that affair, after the treaty, yet, apprehending that I had not explained that article ample enough to give Görtz satisfaction sufficient to depend upon, I begged that the Czar would empower one of his ministers upon the place to make Görtz the same declaration and I am since informed that Osterman had orders sent him thereupon to mention the same to Görtz. These are the present situation of our affair here, which must be at a stop as least as to us, until I hear from Görtz, which will take up a fortnight, if not three weeks, before I get his answer."

Requesting that, if his business carries him still further off, the King would order a remittance to be made him to Rotterdam that he may have a little credit lodged there in case his necessities require it.

Postscript.—Apprehending this letter miscarrying I grew afraid to send the enclosed entire and therefore cut it and sent the other half to Sir H. Paterson to be forwarded. 2 pages.
Enclosed,

G. JERNINGHAM to BARON GÖRTZ.

"Après mon retour de Suède, je representay les affaires telles que je les avois trouvé chez vous et la maniere sincere dont vous aviez traité avec moy sur nos interets a donné beaucoup de contentement. Depuis rien n'a été negligé de notre part pour faire reüssir ce que vous m'aviez si fort recommandé, ce que vous pouvez assez juger par le lieu d'ou j'ay l'honneur de vous ecrire.

"Les affaires dans notre pais vont toujours de mieux en mieux et plusieurs d'entre la noblesse, qui estoient autrefois nos ennemis, pensent tout de bon à leur devoir ; en effet que voulez vous d'une nation libre reduite en esclavage, chargée de dettes et privée de tout commerce ? Il suffit de vous dire que, si vous pouviez mettre une heureuse conclusion à ce que vous avez presentement entre les mains, vous pourriez bientôt avoir la gloire de faire triompher la justice de notre cause, assisté d'un peuple outré et secondé, comme vous le serez infailliblement, d'un prince puissant.

"Si vous voulez que je m'explique plus particulièrement sur ce sujet, et si vous trouvez que notre affaire puisse être mieux avancé par une entrevue secrete, je crois que je pourray bien faire en sorte de vous aller trouver.

"Tout ce que j'ay à vous demander presentement est la continuation de votre amitié et que vous vouliez bien m'expliquer la situation des affaires, en tant qu'il sera necessaire pour nous apprendre sur quoy nous pouvons conter." 1718, June 9[-20]. Petersburg.
Copy.

JAMES III to PRINCE JAMES SOBIESKI.

1718, June [24].—"Mons^r. Murray. . . qui vous doit rendre ceci, est chargé en mon nom de vous demander votre fille, la Princesse Clementine, en mariage, etant muni a cette effet de mes pleins pouvoirs, afin d'etre en etat de conclure heureusement et promptement ce que je desire avec tant d'ardeur. Je me flatte que ceci vous sera un temoinage assez authentique de ma sensibilité pour votre amitié passée, du veritable estime que je conserve pour vous et toute votre famille et de mes sentimens pour la merite et la personne de la Princesse. Sans m'etendre donc d'avantage ici et me rapportant au porteur, a qui je vous prie de donner entiere creance, j'ose vous recommander ici instamment le secret et la diligence, vous pouvant assurer avec verité que vous me trouverez toujours pret a aller même au devant de tout ce que peut vous faire plaisir ou contribuer au bonheur de la Princesse."

Postscript.—Requesting him to excuse any defect in the ceremonial of addressing him. *French. Draft.*

JAMES III to PRINCESS SOBIESKA.

1718, June [24].—"J'ose me flatter, Madame, que vous ne desagrée point la commission du porteur, Mons^r. Murray, lorsqu'il vous demandera en mariage en mon nom la Princesse Clementine, votre fille, qui m'est si respectable par son merite et sa vertu. Vous me trouverez toujours disposée à satisfaire en toute a que votre juste tendresse pour une si digne fille peut vous faire souhaiter de moy. Votre consentement me rendra heureux, et la Princesse le sera, autant qu'il peut dependre de moy. Je vous supplie d'en etre persuadé et que ma reconnoissance pour une don si estimable egalera la haute estime que je conserve de maintenant pour vous." *Draft.*

JAMES III to the PRINCESS CLEMENTINA.

1718, June [24].—"Apres vous avoir demandé en mariage au Prince, votre père, et à la Princesse, votre mère, trouvez bon, Madame, que je m'adresse à vous dans la meme veu et que j'ai le plaisir de vous devoir à vous meme aussi bien qu' à eux le bonheur que j'attent de vos consentement reciproche, puisqu' il y a long tems que votre merite aussi bien que votre personne sont les objets de mon admiration et de mes justes desirs, bien persuadé que tout que j'ai entendu dire de vous est bien au dessous de la verité.

"Des vœux flatteurs et des veine parole ne pourroit que choquer une coeur et une esprit fait comme le votre, mais j'ose esperer que vous ne trouverez pas indigne d'eux l'offre d'une coeur qui se donne à vous par inclination avant de le faire par devoir comme une gage assuré que mes soins et mon application pour le present et pour l'avenir tenderont également à vous rendre aussi contente heureux que vous meritez de l'etre.

“Votre merite, Madame, ne sauroit qu’ a tirer d’en haut des nouvelles benedictions sur la justice de ma cause et donner une nouvelle ardeur au zele et à l’attachement qu’ont deja pour moy tant de fideles sujets. Fais le Ciel que le comble de mon bonheur personelle et propre soit le commencement de celui que je partagerai alors avec vous et n’envisagerai plus que par rapport de vous.” *Draft.*

JAMES III to JAMES MURRAY.

1718, June 24. Urbino.—Full power to treat with Prince James Sobieski for a marriage with one of his daughters. *Draft.* 1½ page. *Latin.* *There is also a fair copy in Entry Book 5, p. 85.*

INSTRUCTIONS to JAMES MURRAY.

1718, June 24. Urbino.—Whereas we have been earnestly desired again and again by our good subjects of the three kingdoms to think seriously of marriage without more delay for preserving to them the royal family in the right and direct line, that they may have a further and stronger prospect than in our person only of the means of delivering them and our kingdoms from the oppression of the foreign family and for restoring the constitution of the said three kingdoms to their ancient legal state, that nothing may be wanting in us to give satisfaction to their reasonable and just request, we have for some time made it our business to inform ourselves of the different princesses in Europe, but such is the misfortune of our present situation that we can find no princess whom we could obtain and whom our subjects would advise us to marry except the Princess Clementina, youngest and only daughter undisposed of of Prince James, eldest son to John Sobieski, late King of Poland, we, having had a very good character of the person and qualities of the said Princess from one we sent on purpose to the Court of the said Prince James, as well as from others, now think fit to appoint James Murray to negotiate and conclude our marriage with the said Princess, for which we have given him full powers and hereto subjoin our instructions :—

1. You are forthwith to go to Ohlau, where the said Prince keeps his Court, in as private and unobserved a manner as you can, and address yourself to Monsr. O’Reilly, the Governor, giving him the letter you have for him from Mr. Wogan and desiring him to get you introduced to Prince James.

2. When you are so introduced, you are to tell the Prince that you had come lately from England, with some messages for us from our friends there, which having delivered, you were proceeding on your journey to Danzig, on a concern of your own there, and that we had ordered you to pass by the said place, being not far out of your road, to make our compliments to the Prince, to the Princess, his wife, and the Prince,

his brother, on our being informed of their expressing themselves on many occasions with much friendship and kindness of us.

3. You are to endeavour as of yourself to see the Princesses, his daughters, and to observe and inform yourself about them as narrowly and particularly as you can, especially of the youngest, as to her person, understanding and disposition, and to endeavour to lead the said Prince to speak of the match betwixt her and us, which will be easier, by his having, as we are informed, spoken of it to several others, and by his so doing to discover what dote or fortune he thinks of giving her in that view.

4. If necessary, you may let the Prince know you have heard us mention the said match as a thing that would not be disagreeable to us, but that you had some reason to believe that we were not at this time absolutely free from engagements elsewhere, but that you believed we were soon more likely to be disengaged than otherwise.

5. You are to endeavour to know if Princess Clementina be to come to Italy with her two betrothed sisters and to do all you can to incline Prince James to send her with them and to know what time they come.

6. After bringing Prince James to open himself to you on this head as far as you think he likely will, without your opening further to him, *you are authorized and required to deliver our letters to him, to his wife and to his daughter, and to propose the match to him, unless you perceive anything that appears to you disagreeable in her person, manners or otherwise, or if you think from anything in her shape and stature that she is not likely to have children, so far as you are capable of judging of such a thing (neither of which we can at present apprehend after the character and accounts we have of her), you are to advance no further* in that affair but write an account of the whole to us or our Secretary of State, and continue yourself somewhere not far from Ohlau, either in Germany or Poland, where you will be least observed, till you have further orders.

7. In case the proposed match betwixt the Princess Charlotte, the Prince's second daughter, and the Prince of Guastalla, should chance to be broke off when you come to the Prince's Court, and you think her more agreeable and desirable than Princess Clementina, you are not to propose the match for the last, but inform us of it, and wait our further orders.

8. If you find it advisable to propose the match, you are to let Prince James know that much will depend on its being kept an inviolable secret, till the Princess be once in the Pope's territories in Italy and so near where we are that it can be in nobody's power to prevent it, and that we cannot bind ourselves to the completing of the match, if the Princess be not in such a place as above within three months after the time

of finishing the writings and that, failing that, all you do or say about the match shall be no more binding on us, of which you are likewise to take notice very carefully in drawing any papers you may sign in our name, for which there must be a particular clause.

9. You are to endeavour to get the dote or fortune with the Princess as great, as soon and in as good a manner payable, and as much in ready money as you can, and inform Prince James that our restoration will very much depend on it and, if you can bring him to advance more money than he intends to give his daughter, you may engage our paying it on our restoration with interest.

10. You are to enter into articles in writing on our account for the marriage settlements conform to our full powers to you, whereby you are to contract for such a jointure to her as our future Queen after our decease, she surviving us, as has been usual to be given to the former Queens of England, but only to be performed and further secured by us after our restoration.

11. In case of the Prince's proposing that the fortune he gives with the Princess should be secured for part of her dower or jointure, in case of our decease before our restoration, you are to represent the inconveniencies of such a thing, by reason of our being probably to employ that money for recovering our kingdoms, but that he may be sure, as it is our interest, so it would be our care to employ that money to the best use and that it would be our endeavour and desire to provide for our future spouse in the best manner we can in case of our decease before her, and our restoration, and that in the situation our ill fortune has placed us at present such things cannot be done with all the forms and securities usual for princes, but that, as my fortune is in the hands of Providence, so must the same Providence be trusted for that of my future Queen, and, if he should still insist on this article, you are to endeavour to get him to agree to as much of the said moneys being left in our power as you can.

12. Your are to finish this whole affair as soon as you can, correspond with our Secretary of State and observe all directions sent you.

13. When you have finished the treaty you are to return to where we may then happen to be, unless otherwise ordered. 7 pages. *Entry Book 5, p. 87. There are also two drafts with some differences among the papers and a separate paper containing the passage between asterisks.*

The DUKE OF MAR to CAPT. MACDONALD.

1718, June 24. Urbino.—Excusing himself for his delay in answering his letter of 13 March.—I spoke of what you then proposed to the King, who would very readily have written to Maréchal Villars as you desired, but he assured me it could be of no manner of use to you. *Copy.*

LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, Saturday, June 25.—As to the malicious reports spread at *England* about the *Queen* and *Dillon*, they were not talked of but after *James Murray's* departure thence. The public prints I have already sent you give a general information of them, and I can assure the accounts I had on that score were not imaginary. *The Queen* is out of the way of being offended, and I can with truth affirm that *Dillon* makes little or no care either of the invention or authors, who proceed still in the same manner. You'll soon hear more of this.

The enclosed prints will give you an account of the *English fleet* which set out for the Mediterranean the 14th. They write from Barcelona of the 12th, that the Spanish fleet would be ready to part before the 20th. The latter's slowness is variously talked of and the King of Spain's well-wishers are very sorry for the delay.

Our Parliament continues making a great noise about what I mentioned in my last. They are to go in a body next Monday to make their remonstrances to the King in due form. The issue none dare determine till 'tis known what impression these proceedings will make on the public.

I am very glad *the King* is rid of the ague, though you don't say his health is entirely re-established. 2 pages.

SIR ADAM BLAIR to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 25. St. Germain's.—I durst not presume to trouble you with this, without the Earl of Panmure's kind recommendation, not having been so well-known to your Grace as I was to your father, who on all occasions befriended me, which induced me to make him all the returns I was capable of, and particularly in a fine of Glenkindy's, a vassal of his, who had been guilty of a horrid murder. My Lord's interest procured a pardon for his life, and he was only fined 20,000 *livres*, for which your father gave security. I procured a grant of this and some other fines before the Revolution for payment of considerable debts due by the Crown to my father, but forbore pursuing the payment, being unwilling to incommode his lordship, and, when it shall please God to restore the King, you shall command me to do in that what may be most for your interest. The enclosed memorial will, I hope, by your interest with the King procure me his order to have the 400 *livres* retrenched from my pension these three years added again to it, when things are settled by the Court of France. The King and your Grace, I hope, will believe that nothing but absolute necessity could oblige me to importune his Majesty at this time, being pressed by my creditors to pay the debts I was forced to contract these three years past, and a sentence is already given against me, and I am threatened to have my goods seized and sold. *Enclosed*,

The SAID MEMORIAL.

Sir Adam is the only person who has been impeached by two parliaments, first in England, where all endeavours were used to take his life. Lord Lucas, Governor of the Tower, Mr. Wildman, postmaster, and Capt. Richardson, Keeper of Newgate, called his servant before them, who for ten weeks before had been kept prisoner in a vault under ground, crawling with vermin, without a bed, fed with bread and water to fit him for their purpose. Lord Lucas offered him 100 guineas, Richardson 100l. sterling and Wildman a commission of lieutenant to swear as they would instruct him. He refused and was turned into the common gaol. Sir Adam continued prisoner a year, and, his health being entirely ruined, petitioned parliament to be bailed, which, being seconded by some of the King's friends, was obtained, giving 10,000l. sterling bail to appear when called by the parliament. Three weeks after, on the defeat of the English fleet in Bantry Bay, he was again committed close prisoner to Newgate where he remained half a year till the defeat of the King's army in Ireland and then was bailed again in the King's Bench for 6,000l. He afterwards applied to the parliament to have his bail there discharged, that he might have leave to return home, which was granted, and three weeks after new warrants were out against him and he was forced to retire to France in May. The following December he was sent back by the late King to concert matters with his Majesty's friends there and brought a most favourable return of abundance of regiments ready to join the King at his landing and of all that undertaking nothing was discovered nor did any man suffer as in others that were betrayed, but the slowness in rigging out the French fleet ruined that undertaking of La Hogue, though Sir Adam gave the King timely notice of the number and force of the English fleet and of the day they were to sail. This could not have failed, if the French fleet had been ready at the time appointed, there being then only 7,000 men in England spread over the kingdom.

After coming to France Sir Adam was again impeached by the Parliament of Scotland and sentenced to be hanged and quartered and his estate was confiscated and sold by the Prince of Orange.

During the late King's life Sir Adam had 1,200 livres which was never retrenched, whilst all the others were, and his Majesty told him not to be concerned at any retrenchment in pensions, for, as long as he paid anyone, he would pay him. Sir Adam had the Queen's promise to be one of the first Grooms of the Bedchamber as soon as his family was established, but, she told him that, considering his health, he could not possibly attend the

King in that post and proposed to him instead to send for three of his eldest sons to be bred in France and she would pay their pensions. They were here about a year and a half, in which time the King died, and three weeks after they were sent away and their pensions cut off and part of his own. This he does not impute to the Queen, but things were misrepresented to her in the time of her affliction for the King.

After this Sir Adam's wife came to France. The Queen settled a pension on her of 400 livres, so she and Sir Adam had 1,600 livres, which three years after were reduced to 1,250. Sir Adam on new application to her Majesty got an addition of 400 livres, paid quarterly, which she did not put on the establishment, but assured him it should be punctually paid, till the late Duke of Perth procured for them 400 livres at the Court of France, as he did also for many others, on which three years ago 400 livres were cut off their pension, so that they have been starving the last three years, being reduced to 1,250 livres, and not having received these three years a penny of the French pension nor can they hope it will be continued.

Sir Adam and his wife are persuaded his Majesty will not suffer them to starve here, while his family is wholly abandoned and starving at home, two of his sons being gone to the Indies to seek their bread and his daughters being forced to work for theirs. It is therefore hoped his Majesty will order the 400 livres, which have been cut off, to be added again to his pension and paid in future with the 1,250 livres. At the foot,

CERTIFICATE BY JAMES II.

Of the services and sufferings of Sir Adam for his loyalty.
1699, Nov. 24, St. Germain's. Copy. French.

THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER TO JAMES III.

1718, June 14[-25].—(Printed in the *Stuart Papers*, p. 22.)
Probably enclosed,

Statement of the condition of affairs in England. (Printed in the *Stuart Papers*, p. 30.)

JAMES III TO CARDINAL PATRIZZI.

1718, June 25.—I was very sorry to learn by your letter from Fossonbrone that you are detained there by the gout, but I hope it will have no bad consequences and that this will find you happily arrived at your legation of Ferrara, on which I congratulate you. It would have given me great pleasure to have seen you here on your journey, but, since that proved impossible, I am obliged at least for your good intention.
French. Entry Book 1, p. 265.

JAMES III to the MARQUIS and MARQUISE D'ANGEAU, the ARCHBISHOP OF REIMS, the MARQUIS DE PUYZEULX, CARDINALS CORNARO, GOZZADINI and SPINOLA and the EARL OF DUNDEE.

1718, June 25.—Replying to their letters of condolence. The letter to the Marquise d'Angeau has this postscript, said to be in the King's own hand:—"Je vous prie d'assurer Madame de Maintenon de mes respects, et, si je l'ose dire, de mille amitiés dans cette triste conjuncture pour moy. Ses bontés pour la Reine et pour moy ne s'effaceront jamais de ma memoire. Je n'aurois pas manqué de luy escrire moy-même, mais je crois plus suivre son goust en luy envoyant mes complimens par votre canal." *French. Entry Book 1, pp. 265-267.*

JAMES III to the PRINCE DE VAUDEMONT.

1718, June 26. Urbino.—I know your good heart too well to doubt for a moment the sincerity of all you say in your letter of 15 May on the occasion of my late cruel loss. I should have long since sought some consolation from you, had I not been for two months prostrated by a fever, which has prevented me from the least application. I am at present perfectly free from it, but the weather hinders me from recovering my strength completely, which obliges me to dictate and even to use a hand which is unknown to you, Nairne being ill, as indeed everybody here is more or less.

The dispositions of *the Duke of Orleans* as far as I can learn, are good with regard to *money*, but his resolutions are still unknown to me, though I expect every day to be informed of them.

The departure of *Ormonde* from the place where his patience has been so long tried should not trouble you. I believe he will not rejoin *the King* till after the heats. The son of *Queen Mary* is always hoping for good news of his lawsuit, notwithstanding that obscurity about it always prevails. As soon as that shall cease, you shall be informed, and I hope soon to be in a condition to give you some news that will please you about him personally. The Spanish fleet is the subject of everyone's conversation here, but hitherto it has not appeared on the coast. I beg you to make a million compliments from me to their Royal Highnesses and to inform *the Duke of Lorraine* of the family affairs I have told you about, not being able at present to write to him myself. *Nearly 3 pages. Draft. French. (There is a second draft of this letter, dated June 30.)*

JAMES III to his Uncle, the DUKE OF PARMA.

1718, June 26. Urbino.—Condoling with him on the death of his sister, the writer's aunt (the Duchess Dowager of Modena). *Latin. 2 Drafts.*

W. NUGENT to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 26. St. Germain.—Requesting him to assure the King of his humble acknowledgements for his goodness towards him, and returning his Grace his humble thanks for his protection, and begging the continuance of it.—Mr. Dillon showed me your letter, by which the King commands me to remain here till further orders, being pleased to continue me his equerry. The Duke of Ormonde, to whom I am related, will, I am persuaded, own himself obliged to you for your favours to me.

GEORGE MACKENZIE to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 26. Versailles.—I could almost blame my own forwardness in troubling you with this letter, had I not been pressed to it by Mr. Innes, with whom I was some hours yesterday and who seems to bear you a great deal of respect and affection. We are here every day full of complaints. The two principally insisted on are that nothing is a doing, that several probable methods might be proposed for restoring the King but they will not be regarded, if they proceed not entirely from your Grace. The other is, that the King ought to have a council, that this was the method Charles II used when in like circumstances and is the only means to preserve a confidence betwixt the King and his subjects, and to give them grounds to think it is not designed both the King and they should lead an inactive life abroad. This is what is commonly talked among us, with some flourishes of circumstances. Those who seem most uneasy are the Earl Marischal, Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Leslie's, the doctor's son, the first probably on a grudge you know better than I, the second very much by the insinuations and artifice of Brigadier Hook and the third by a fondness for his own schemes. You will easily see how groundless all these pretences of discontent are and yet it may be reasonable to prevent its spreading. I find already by some letters from England it has reached some there and, as the name of Dr. Leslie has justly a weight with the clergy of England, everything proceeding from his family will be received as an oracle and I cannot but regret to see the sweetest blood, that can be, soured by the conversation of his son. If once the opinion of the improbability of the restoration, which is every day talked here, take in England, it will soon extinguish with many that spirit so necessary for keeping up the King's party there and it may be reasonably thought the present government will catch such an opportunity and improve it to their advantage.

For the part Brigadier Hook acts in fomenting the prevailing humour, I wish it could bear any construction to his advantage, but what mayn't be thought of a subject, who could at the time of the Union bear a message from the French King to the Duke of Hamilton to engage him to set up for King of Scotland with the promise of all the assistance France could give? Your friend and servant, James Malcolm,

assures me he had this from the best hands and in his last letter on hearing what passes among us here presses me to write this to you, and I know not how far the person who now governs may use him as a tool to divide us for certain advantages he may propose by it.

How far employing the busy spirits here in some thing or other might contribute to divert their present humour and deny them the leisure they have to communicate their disquiet to others you will judge, for, as I have told several here, I cannot think in the sourness that naturally attends our present circumstances that the Council, they seem so earnest the King should have, is practicable, considering the jealousies and emulation among such as might have a pretence to that honour, which would for ever distract all measures and but widen the breaches the proposers design to make up by it, but whether the King's using such people with a greater confidence than at present and letting them know separately what he thought proper and enquiring their advice in matters that might be safely communicated would allay the humour a little and sweeten them by an appearing confidence, I ought not to pretend to determine.

A late circumstance in England, though seemingly a trifle, may be of bad consequence to the King's affairs. Mr. Archibald Campbell and Mr. Gadderar, whose character you know, have of late out of a foolish humour of novelty writ several pamphlets for changing some passages in the Liturgy and propose several new rites and ceremonies not before known, approaching too near the doctrine of Transubstantiation. It is none of my business to enquire how right these gentlemen found their opinions, but, if not prevented, it will introduce a rent among that part of the Church of England which has adhered to the King. You know to what a height a paper war runs in England, and, as all divisions in a family threaten its ruin, so this present gives besides a handle to the Whigs to use their common cry of Popery by representing these pamphlets as an introduction to it, if the King is restored.

I doubt not the King's commands might contribute to stop the progress of this division, and I think it is for his interest it should. Dr. Leslie opposes it and endeavours to prevent it, but the King's interposing his commands might prevail more, since the spreading such doctrines so unseasonably may justly be represented as prejudicial to his interest, and may therefore, though founded on a pretence of conscience, be laid aside to a more fit occasion. $3\frac{1}{2}$ pages.

The BISHOP OF ROCHESTER to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 15[-26].—(Printed in the *Stuart Papers*, p. 27.)

GEORGE JERNINGHAM to SIR HUGH PATERSON.

1718, June 15[-26]. *Petersburg*.—I begin to look on our affairs with some heart. The insight I have made into our

business by my application to Baron *Schapiroff* gives me much reason to esteem those who directed me so well. He made no difficulty, after I had given him to understand the nature of our own affairs, to represent them in their true light to *the Czar*. The latter approves my errand and not only bids me assure *the King* that he may depend on a kind return in him for those good services which *the King* has done him, but that he will empower *Osterman* to make *Görtz* acquainted with his utmost pleasure on that point. He has given me leave to write to *Görtz*, which I have done, and, if he can put an end to these knotty affairs before him, there seems no room to apprehend that other things will go amiss. Thus far am I advanced since I wrote, and hope on the answer to mine to be able to give you somewhat better intelligence. The Baron (whom let us call Bigsby) has promised to communicate to me what passes below and thinks we have both an equal interest in the happy conclusion of these affairs.

I enclose a letter for *Prince Kurakin*, which I promised you some time ago. The other paper is part of the letter I wrote to *Görtz*, which I desire you'll forward to the *Duke of Mar*, to meet its other half which I sent by way of *Paris*, being afraid to send it whole. I wrote last post to the *Bavarian Minister* to give you a rendezvous that you may settle a method to meet on occasion without being troublesome to one another. 2 pages.

JAMES III to the DUKE OF MODENA.

1718, June 26.—Condoling with him on the death of the Dowager Duchess of Modena, the Duke's niece and his own aunt. *French. Entry Book 1, p. 268.*

JAMES III to CARDINAL TOLOMEI and the CONSTABLE COLONNA.

1718, June 26.—Replying to their letters of condolence on the Queen's death. *French. Ibid.*

SIR WILLIAM KEITH to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 27. Rouen.—Though his allowance is enough to give him meat, drink, and lodging, he wants his Grace's assistance to get clothes, linen and other necessaries. If he had 100 *livres* a month, it would make him very easy.

SIR WILLIAM KEITH to JOHN PATERSON.

1718, June 27. Rouen.—Requesting him to deliver the above letter to the Duke and to forward him the Duke's answer.

JAMES MURRAY to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 27. Bologna.—I came here about 7 yesterday morning and had the pleasure to see the opera at night. I am

little able to judge of such performances, but in my poor opinion the operas we have seen at London are in no respect comparable to it. M. Le Comte has promised me to send you a collection of the prettiest songs, I wish he could send the performers along with them. I have learnt, since I have been here, that Belloni has been gone two months and a half and carried with him above 3,000 pistoles of his uncle's money. He pretended by his letters from Urbino that the King had engaged him to make a long journey for his service, but people here now look on that as a pretext and hardly expect to see him more. You know best what is in this, but, whether true or false, I judged it might not be improper to acquaint you with it. I set out this evening for Venice.

SIR PETER REDMOND to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 27. Madrid.—Leaving Paris the 30th, in four days I arrived at Bordeaux, and delivered your letters as directed and went five or six leagues into the country to see some of the gentlemen that were sick. They are all mighty hearty and zealous, and I am charmed with the sweet temper and good principles of Lord Tullibardine. I have fixed with them what we are to do, when I can get the permission to ship the goods, and, had I not sufficient motives already to pursue that affair, their entreaties alone would, I believe, influence me to undertake it. I don't wonder they made no advances in the matter, considering the many disadvantages they live under of hiding themselves &c. besides Barry's villainy. I don't know how soon I may get the permission, but, as my will is good and I shall spare no time nor expense, I hope God will bless my endeavours.

I cannot give you the particulars of my rencontre with the Duke of Berwick at Bordeaux. He received me very coldly, though his man, Doran, came to ask if I could not see him *en passant*, but sent his brother-in-law, Mr. Bulkeley, to invite me to dinner. Much discourse passed, but nothing about my master, till I drew out his picture, which brought on, after dinner in the garden, some hours' discourse of several things I had but little notice of and seemed to have less, though you may guess I was not quite silent in making the sharpest replies I could, when I heard Bolingbroke justified &c. beyond what I could expect. He, the Duke says, denies his having writ the villainous letter, 'twas said to his father. I told the Duke he ought to deny it publicly as it gave public scandal, but amidst all the Duke vowed, on seeing a good probability of restoring the King, he'd venture his life and fortune in it. I believe his chief enemies would make great advances for him, had they foreseen his restoration, but I believe the Duke has anxiety at heart for what's past and fears any projects that may be set on foot without consulting him, for he often said there was no running on projects till all things and from all corners were ready to do it effectually. I told him, he

spoke much at his ease, that the King and his faithful followers were wandering from their homes and that it was natural for them to give in with any occasion that offered probable or even possible. He says those that advised the King from England of Peterborough's design were the King's greatest enemies. I told him, I hoped he advised the King of the same, as he said he knew them well. 'Twould take up much time and paper to mention all the particulars he touched on, on which I answered him my own sentiments innocently, as one that knows but little of the matter. 'Tis not my business to create misunderstandings or ill blood between any of the King's subjects, especially his principal ones, but 'tis certain the English in general are very uneasy that the King is entirely in the Scotch's hands, though they have not courage enough themselves to dispute that royal prize as generously as the Scotch and Irish have done with loss of life and fortune, as I took the liberty to tell the Duchess at dinner, when she said the three nations had little to reproach one another with. I begged her pardon; the Scotch and Irish had got broken heads and lost their estates in the cause, but, though I hoped the English were true and loyal, they had made but little advances yet, only drinking healths, at which the Duke laughed heartily. 'Tis 1718 years since the gentleman answered: He was married and could not come; but it seems the Scotch and Irish are not so uxorious as their neighbours. I parted late at night, I hope in his good graces, though I might have talked somewhat too free, but, as I meant no evil, I hope the motto of his garter will excuse me.

I arrived here the 24th, much fatigued coming over the Pyrenees, and 'tis miserable travelling in Spain, and, to divert the symptoms I found of a fever, am bled &c., but I hope in a day or two to be able to go to the Escorial, where the King, Court and Cardinal are these three days and remain, 'tis thought, a couple of months. I shall be able in my next to give you an account of the curiosities of that place, his Majesty and the royal family. The great fleet sailed for Italy from Barcelona the 18th, consisting of 480 sail, of which 30 are men-of-war, 30,000 good landmen on board, of which 7,000 are horse, all well-found and furnished beyond belief. You'll know more of them there now than we can here. The English here and in Cadiz are all so fast selling their goods publicly at any rate and Stanhope says, as soon as the English fleet appears on this coast, the Spanish will declare war against them, so, thank God, we have a fair chance to see Europe embroiled, for 'tis no longer a jest and amusement, and I am told we shall be shortly surprised with other movements from all parts. The Pope's nuncio has shut up his nunciature and parts from this country in a few days, for the Pope would not keep a minister in a court that attacks his son, the Emperor, whilst engaged against the

infidels. I was with the nuncio this morning and am to be again to-morrow. He is a good man and much in my master's interest and told me he often pressed here, by directions from his master, the affairs of ours.

I am uneasy I am not at the Escorial to deliver my letters to the Cardinal, but I am not as well as you could wish me and hardly able to write this, but I hope in two days I shall go there. By all the character I have of the Cardinal, he is the greatest man of the age, and 'tis incomprehensible how he finds time to go through all he undertakes, for 'tis he that orders and directs from the greatest affairs to the most minute thing of this Court. I am afraid I shall not find him so affable and easy as I have the Italian princes and cardinals, but, as my *proces* is but small, I hope to overcome it or give a good reason to the contrary.

I am here with Sir Francis Arthur, a rich and good subject of the King's, who lives as handsome as any nobleman or public minister here. He desired me to put him with myself at his Majesty's feet and to give you his humble respects. His lady, a woman of good fashion, is the most loyal in the world for the King and never spares to rattle off all the English ministers that have been here generously on that head, who all visit her and Sir Francis. I brought her the King's picture from Rome, which charms her. Sir Francis was knighted by our master several years ago. He is one of the richest bankers in Europe and the most gentlemanlike. 'Tis thought he can command 100,000*l*. He is a convert to the Scotch faction as well as myself against all its dronish, malicious opposers. 'Twill not be amiss you mention some kind things from the King and yourself to him and his lady in your next to me, for I shall stay here, till I receive your further orders, let my friends the Portuguese fret as much as they please at my going to Urbino. I wish I had my poor family and effects from thence. 4 pages.

THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, June 16[-27].—(Printed in the *Stuart Papers*, p. 38.)

JAMES HAMILTON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 16[-27]. London.—Last Saturday the Earl of Stanhope set out for Paris to negotiate a general peace, which is here reported to be advanced to a crisis. However, that day South Sea fell to 14 and the others proportionable, for some of the stock-jobbers have it that the King of Spain is to land 35,000 men and the Duke of Savoy is to join them with 25,000, all which he is to command in person, to reduce Milan and its capital and afterwards to march through the Ecclesiastical territories to reduce the kingdom of Naples by force or necessity. The Spanish minister here has packed up all, to depart on the first advice of your fleet's entering on hostilities against his master.

JAMES HAMILTON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 16[-27]. London.—Concerning Lady Mar's illness, in which there is a sensible alteration for the better.

Postscript.—*Sir R. Everard* leaves this in two or three days to meet his friend *Ormonde* at *Paris*. I most heartily pray that all seeming misunderstandings between *Mar* and *Ormonde* were removed or contradicted, for we have it from several hands that *Dr. Erskine* carried [himself] with coldness to the latter and you may guess at whose door it's laid. This with other fresh accounts from *Italy* raise what I don't care to mention. The goods shipped 19 May are not yet come, though *Lady Mar* has received a good quantity about that date.

WILLIAM GORDON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 28. Paris.—Concerning the receipt and dispatch of letters and of a box for the Duke.—I am glad the King is perfectly recovered and that your Grace is much better.

SIR HUGH PATERSON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 28.—I wrote you a long letter the 17th, and enclosed you some others, particularly one from Mr. W. Fraser. I hope you will receive them, and that it will be thought worth while that the affair that letter contained should be entertained. I shall say no more of it, only the unwillingness *the States* have shown to enter into *the treaty* and that *Cadogan* has not yet been able to bring *them* into any measures shows plainly the interest *the opposite party* has, among which the person named by Fraser is the chief, and he continues still fond of entering into these measures proposed with the King.

Amsterdam and *Leyden* make great opposition to *the treaty* and *the States* are to have it again to-morrow under consideration, when it's not thought *they* will come to any formal resolution, though *Cadogan* and the *Emperor's minister* labour hard. It is the opinion of some that, if *the States* should be got to enter into measures against the *King of Spain*, it will be on the express condition that *they are* put to no charge, so that *England* must pay all, and, though *the States* do come in, it will be near a month or more before it can pass the common forms. I got yesterday a copy of *the treaty* to have sent you, but, after showing it to some friends, it was judged of consequence to send it to *Jerningham* to be communicated to those there, particularly to *Görtz*, there being one article in it by which the parties contracting guarantee to one another all that each is now in possession of, which plainly includes *Bremen* and *Verden* and entirely cuts off all *the King of Sweden's* pretensions; besides *the Emperor* and *the Elector of Hanover* have other views of this treaty, which will be no ways to the interest of either *the Czar* or *the King of Sweden*, since it's thought it's designed against them as well as *the King of Spain* and to oblige them to enter into such measures

as the two first shall think fit. *The Czar's* and *the King of Sweden's* factors are apprised of this, and I hope it will be a good means to forward *the peace*, which, I was assured yesterday from a pretty good hand at *the Hague* was in a great forwardness and that person told me he had seen a letter from *the States'* factor at *Petersburg* which said so.

I send you one from *Jerningham*, which, I'm afraid by what he writes me, you'll not find very satisfactory. *Dr. Erskine's* situation with *the Vice-Chancellor* is unlucky, and *Görtz* mentioned him to *Jerningham*, as he told me, to be the chief opposer of *the peace* and advised using *money's* interest with him. However I hope that difficulty is got over and that *the Czar* has allowed him to go to *Aland*. My friend at *the Hague* told me of a thing that I hope will make *Görtz* push the affair of *the peace*. He said that *the English ministry* had represented *Görtz* in very odious colours to *the Czar*, advising him to have no dealing with him, for he would cheat him and impose on him. *The Czar* has, it seems, informed *Görtz* of this, which has, as my friend tells me, put him in the utmost resentment, and he doubts not he will do his utmost to be revenged. I hope we shall soon hear more of this.

I sent you a letter from one that passes under the name of Neilson (Barry), whom I told you I had seen here accidentally, I am since informed by *Menzies* that he is a rogue and corresponds with *Stanhope*. If so, he could do no hurt here, so you may be easy about him. I have not heard of him since he gave me that letter, but he left his address with me. I wish that *Mar* may be apprised of him, with whom he pretends to correspond.

You have here one enclosed from *H. Straiton*, which came only yesterday, though I believe it's of an old date. I hope *Mar* has long ago received some other letters I sent him from *him*. I received one from *Mar* of the 22nd and a note of the 26th with one enclosed, which was sent as desired. I long to hear from *Mar* again concerning his cousin Ann's (*the King's*) health, which you may believe all that young lady's friends and well-wishers have the utmost concern about.

I see by the newspapers *Dillon* has left *Paris*, so I fancy *James Murray* will soon be obliged to come there. I find several know of his being come over and on what account and it was writ to this from *Paris*.

I wish *Mar* would write to *H. Maule*. He has been in very good humour for some time and is very hearty and willing to do anything in his power for *the King's* service. The deed I mention of his brother's was a bond to his friend (? wife) for a very considerable sum, which *H. Maule* thinks will not be applied for the behoof of his family.

I have not heard from *Ormonde* since he left *Bailie* (? the Baltic). I sent *Dillon* some letters for him.

Sparre is much better, as their factor informs me, and he says he has been with his master, since he had the accident you mention. It seems by the last offers that the *Elector of Hanover* made to the *King of Sweden* he still pretends to keep possession of certain jurisdictions and pretensions over these goods of his, which the *King of Sweden* will not consent to.

It's now some time since the *ships* went from *England* for *Italy*, but it's hoped the *King of Spain* would be in a condition to do his business before their arrival.

Postscript.—Since I wrote the enclosed yesterday, I have heard from *Menzies* dated their 3rd. He says the *Elector of Hanover's* affairs grow more and more perplexed and straitened, and the *English ministry* begins to apprehend that some of their new partners abroad will not go the lengths they expected. For this reason and on account of an express arrived the day before from *Paris*, *Stanhope* was to set out for thence next day.

England is in the utmost uneasiness on account of its commerce with *Spain*, and, should the latter take the measures *England* is afraid of, it will infallibly ruin its credit and so very much embarrass the *English ministry*, and, as nothing can more essentially affect *England* than this, so it's judged it may be for the *King of Spain's* interest as well as the *King's* that, if the former gives up all commerce with *England*, he should think of publishing such a paper about it as would be agreeable to *England*, setting forth the reasons why he was obliged to take such measures, and that the *Elector's* proceedings had forced him to it. Some such thing as this would have a very good effect and might light hard upon the *English ministry* and their friends. The *Spanish minister* has been spoke to of this, and was very well pleased with it, and said he would mention it to the *King of Spain*. He has had a very free communing with the *States* on the treaty. 5 pages.

WILLIAM DRUMMOND to the DUKE OF PERTH.

1718, June 28. Bologna.—The enclosed I had from Mr. Murray for Col. Hay which I beg you to give him. The other is the news of the Spanish fleet's arrival at Vado near Genoa. By it you will see their strength and their designs. It's no more doubted here that the Duke of Savoy is to join them with all his force and march straight to Milan, which makes great noise in this country, everyone having their own fears. A letter arrived last night from Leghorn with an account of a Spanish colonel, who landed at Marseilles from Constantinople and was going to Madrid, and he told he was going with good news to that Court, that the Turk would not accept any more of the peace, having an account of the great Spanish preparations against the enemy. If you or the Duke of Mar has a mind, I shall every week send a small paper to Urbino with an account of the proceedings of the

army, because this place lies near and all the expresses pass this way from Milan, so that they have fresh news here almost every day.

(About Mr. Belloni's leaving Bologna and his reasons for it, much more fully than in James Murray's letter calendared *ante*, p. 584, and explaining the arrangements made in consequence at Bologna about the correspondence of the Court of Urbino.) 9 pages.

PAPER given to the KING by the PRESIDENT.

1718, June 28.—In this city of Bologna is at present a band of several persons, who under pretence of travelling and playing, are to pass by Urbino to make an attempt on the person of the Chevalier de St. George.

I advise your Eminence of it that you may be on your guard in a matter of such great importance. I do not know the names of all the band. However their chief calls himself Baron de Bendin, a Dutchman, aged about 45. (Description of him.) There will be with him a Piedmontese, by name the Sieur de Marsalle, who was formerly condemned at Venice to imprisonment for life for cheating at cards. Five or six weeks ago they were expelled from Leghorn for an attempt to assassinate a German officer they had cheated, and as cheaters at cards. (Description of him.) They pretend in public not to know each other and may have changed their names, but it will not be difficult for your Eminence to have them arrested and at least expelled from the States of the Church. I have learned all this from the mouth of one of their friends, to whom they had made the proposal of so diabolical an attempt, for which however he had all the horror imaginable. I beg of you a million pardons that I do not sign my name, it not being my character to give information, but doing it only from my ardent zeal for the King's person and for the advantage of religion.

Postscript.—The same person has told me this moment that there is to be another with the same band, by name the Baron de Cerlach, and that this Baron is to have with him some book for making the devil appear and for availing oneself of his assistance. (Description of the Baron.) *French.*

FATHER GRÆME to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 29. Calais.—Lord Stanhope arrived here before yesterday (*sic*) and went immediately post for Paris, whence we are told he is to go to Spain to try, if English gold will not have more influence on the politics of that nation than an English fleet.

Sir [R.] Edmond Everard is come over to-day and goes likewise post for Paris. He'll take Rouen in his way coming back, to meet the Earl Marischal. The skipper who used to carry our goods is not only blown upon, but was sent for and examined at the Secretary's office. If we may depend on

what he says, they have got nothing out of him, and he is come off with flying colours, but, as he owns that large offers have been made him, I have written to *Ogilvie* to take care nothing of consequence be sent by him, at least till we have tried his fidelity by some sham packets. If he be still sound, I scarce think we can meet with another so fit, for, though he is blown upon, he has such prudence and resolution, that I am apt to believe goods would be safer in his hands than in another's less suspected, yet one thing I cannot help being stunned at, which is to find him desirous to be employed at this very conjuncture, whereas one would naturally think he ought to desire us not to employ him, till he sees how far the government is resolved to have an eye over him &c. Therefore I cautioned *Ogilvie* and Sir [R.] Edmond also, who told me a packet was to come to me by the said skipper, who being on this side, Sir [R.] Edmond has time to order it to be sent some other way. Your two letters for *Lady Mar* were safe delivered; you must not be surprised she has not yet answered them, for she has had a most violent fever, but is now out of danger.

I have laid down a scheme for Pat. (*sic*) Smyth, showing how he may manage a reconciliation betwixt you and his brother, and, as the last is to make all the advances, I have made Peter write him a very pressing letter. Sandy Murray of Stenhope is to be the bearer and is to undertake to second it all he can. I am so much tied up to all the ordinary regularities of this house that I am forced to end my letter. This, with my being confined not to go abroad except on play days, obliges me to reiterate the request I made you to obtain for me at least elbow room. 2½ pages.

F. PANTON to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 29. Rome.—The handkerchiefs I told you I expected from Naples should have come by Lord Lempster, who must needs undertake that commission himself, which I had given to his servant, but he forgot it. I wrote immediately for some on seeing your commission in Lord Nithsdale's letter and I expect them every day. (Importuning his Grace for a warrant to Mr. Dugud, a Scotch jeweller, settled at Rome, to call himself the King's jeweller.)

Since you left this, there is no alteration amongst our countrymen here, only one or two Irish gentlemen are come, Whigs I believe. One is son to the late Bishop of Londonderry, Ash, the other is called Domville. There is also one Dalton, an Englishman, who stayed some time at Rheims, where he got particularly acquainted, he says, with the Earl Marischal. He pretends from that acquaintance to have learnt the characters of most of the Court of Urbino, which he talks very confidently of, but I am apt to believe from his vanity and emptiness they are rather from his own imagination than from his conversation with my lord, who

I think has more sense than to have been so free with him, especially Dalton being an inveterate Whig.

Most of our gentlemen think of staying here till September, only the D[uke] of Q[ueensberry] talks sometimes of going sooner, which we all oppose with all our might because of the danger, real or imaginary, of leaving Rome during the heats. He is really a fine gentleman and allows me, when we are alone, to speak freely enough and gives me more and more ground to think well of his principles, though he is still reserved, though not on your Grace's subject, of whom he always expresses himself with great warmth and affection. Lord Linton and he have been very much vexed of lately by an accident, which happened between their servants, an Italian servant of my lord's having killed with a stiletto a Scots servant of the Duke's, and then fled to a church, where he is. It has made no difference between the masters, Lord Linton having shown himself as forward in pursuing the murderer as the Duke himself.

All our news here come from one of the clerks of the Secretary's office to Mr. Stanhope. They are no more than the common chat of the town, to which the writer gives the most favourable turn he can for his own party and they prove so seldom true and are so often contradicted by subsequent ones that he begins to be shy of showing them. He and I, though very good friends, have frequent battles about his king and my king. As we have agreed to take nothing ill of either side, we commonly divide the company, and, if our party is not the most numerous, we flatter ourselves that is supplied another way. He had last week a long dissertation from his correspondent occasioned by his writing of the Queen's death and of that pretended coldness betwixt the King and her, by your advising him to lay aside the St. Germain's' people. As to the coldness, I denied it positively, and as to the other I told him I took the writer to be a Jacobite, since he took so much pains to publish a thing that entirely defeated and cancelled that old cant that the King's restoration was to be feared because of his being surrounded by Papist counsellors and men of arbitrary power. The newswriter was very uppish two posts ago, believing the King of Spain to have been bullied into the agreement proposed by France and England between the Emperor and him, but this last post his hopes are very much sunk. He writes likewise that the Czar had given new assurances of not abandoning his old friends and that he would not make a separate peace, but, says he, we don't trust so much to that as not to look narrowly to him. I have been so long without hearing from England that I am afraid either my letters must have been lost or my friend out of town.

Cardinal Gualterio is arrived two days ago, but has been so busy that I have not yet seen him.

All our people here have been and are still in doubt, whether to put on mourning for the Queen or not, and seem to wait

till they see what is done in England. I have been censured for putting on deep mourning, but I tell them that, as there is no law to the contrary, and I have nothing to fear or hope from the government in England, I may at least be allowed so much English liberty as to wear a coat of any colour I please. Lord Linton has likewise put both himself and his servants into deep mourning. 5 pages.

M. STIERNHOCK to the DUKE OF MAR.

1718, June 29. Vienna.—A courier returned here some days ago from London with news of the sailing of the fleet for the Mediterranean. I am not informed whether he brought news of the signature of the treaty by the ministers of the Emperor, of France and of England at London, which has been expected here since the departure of Secretary Schaub, notwithstanding the delay of the final resolution of the States General. I learn for certain that the treaty is not yet signed and the Emperor requires some change in it, but people here continue to believe it will be concluded. I learn however that the Marquis d'Ussol, the minister of Savoy here, received instructions eight days ago to inform this Court that, while the King of Spain is on the eve of executing his great designs against the Emperor's dominions in Italy, the Duke cannot avoid making a final attempt to dispose his Imperial Majesty to accept his proposals, which are intended to anticipate the execution of that design by bringing about an accommodation between his Imperial Majesty and himself and by his intervention between him and the said King, and to form a close connexion between the Houses of Austria and Savoy, including therein the marriage of one of the archduchesses to the Prince of Piedmont, but that, if the Emperor persisted in rejecting those proposals, the Duke foresaw disastrous consequences for his Imperial Majesty.

An express arrived here four days ago bringing a letter from the Regent to the Emperor concerning the Quadruple Alliance. The minister of Savoy assures here that, when the last letters left Barcelona, the Spanish fleet was ready to sail for Italy with a very considerable number of troops and that the English fleet would come too late to hinder their passage and the disembarcation of the troops.

(News from Passarowitz, that the Imperial ambassadors had been ordered to abate their demands.)

I enclose a copy of a letter received yesterday from the Swedish Resident at the Hague. By the last news received by the Court of Mecklenburg from Petersburg Baron Görtz and Count Gyllenborg are arrived in Aland. They and the Czar's ministers in the first conference gave reciprocal assurances of their desire for peace and proceeded to go into the details. Baron Schapiroff was on the point of departure for Aland, and appearances were good for the success of that congress.

The Electoral Prince of Bavaria has arrived here and his brother, Prince Ferdinand, is expected, both to assist in the campaign against the Turks. It is said that the Imperial Court has dissuaded the Electoral Prince from the journey into France planned by his father and that there is no doubt of his intended marriage to one of the Josephine archduchesses.

A secretary of the Prince of Löwenstein, the governor of Milan, is arrived here to press for speedy reinforcements as absolutely necessary for the defence of that country.

I have just heard that, a great conference having been held here the 25th on the subject of the peace with the Turks, an express left the 26th with dispatches for Prince Eugene and the Imperial ambassadors at Passarowitz, containing, it is said, the Emperor's final decision that he gives up all claims except that of the cession of Wihatsch and Zwornick with the adjoining part of Bosnia, which borders on Croatia. If the Turks add without delay this cession to that of all which the Imperialists at present possess, peace is made at once, but, if they hesitate to make up their mind, there will be no delay in compelling them to do so by arms. After writing the above, a friend has communicated to me the enclosed extract from a letter from a good hand at Dresden.

Postscript.—I learn that an express which left Belgrade the 23rd has brought news that the grand army has left the camp at Semlin and is on the march, as is also that of General Merci. 9 pages. French. Enclosed,

The SWEDISH RESIDENT AT THE HAGUE to M. STIERNHOCK.

(About the negotiations and intrigues to induce the States General to join the Emperor, England and France in the alliance.) 1718, June 17. 3 pages. French.

LETTER FROM DRESDEN.

I learn that news is said to have been received here, favourable to the success of the conferences in Aland, and that the Czar has anew assured the Kings of Poland and Prussia that their ministers at his court may, if they please, accompany Messrs. Tolstoy and Schapiroff, when they cross to that island. There is a prevalent report that the Czar himself intends to be there when the business is drawing to a conclusion. The English Resident has complained by a memorial to the Czar of the protection he grants to the Pretender's partisans and of the offer to give him in marriage the youngest of the Duchesses of Mecklenburg and Courland. That Resident demands that the Pretender's partisans be delivered to the King, his master. We are assured that the marriage contract between the Prince of Weissenfels and the Duchess of Courland has been signed by the King of Poland, but

without knowing on what conditions or what measures will have been taken to obtain the principal object of that alliance, which is to put these future spouses in possession of Courland. 1718, June 24. French.

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to the DUKE OF MAR.

[1718, June 29.]—Here is a letter of Mr. Stiernhock and I enclose a paper which I trust will not be disagreeable to you. This Court is coming closer and closer to an accommodation with the Porte and peace is believed to be more than sure and that soon, on the conditions in the enclosed papers. All preparations are making here for sending 30,000 men into Italy but that cannot be done for two months, but commissaries are on the point of being sent there to form magazines, but the shortness of money delays everything here. This Court is much rejoiced at the news of the departure of the English fleet for the Mediterranean and at present they are all Georgians, at least externally, though not internally.

All the advices from Sweden and Muscovy give us the best hopes of a peace being at hand between the Czar and the King of Sweden, which gives great jealousy to several potentates. The Elector of Hanover has had the impudence to demand from the Czar the partisans of King James that are in his dominions, but I imagine he will soon have a reply quite contrary to his ideas. As to the Quadruple Alliance this Court is still hesitating and tries to gain time till the conclusion of peace with the Turks. *French. Partly in cipher deciphered. Enclosed,*

Draft of proposed conditions of peace between the Emperor and the King of Spain and of a treaty between the Emperor and the King of Sicily. French.

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE BUSI to JOHN PATERSON.

[1718, June 29.]—Requesting him to deliver the enclosed packet to the Duke of Mar and to advise him at least once a month of the receipt of his letters.—I am curious to know if by other ways you have received an answer from Petersburg from Mr. Erskine to the letter I sent him some time ago. *French. This and the last letter are endorsed as received on 12 July, the date Stiernhock's was.*

J. MENZIES to LIEUT.-GENERAL DILLON.

1718, Thursday, June 19[–30].—Our prints have been extremely barren for some days, not worth sending. They dare not speak out and only give the colours that were given them for Stanhope's hasty departure for Paris.

As we never know a week together what to make of your Regent, and as we adored him ten or twelve days ago, we have cursed him to the bottomless pit since this day sennight, that we came to believe the Spanish design and the

King of Sicily's against Milan, and that they had bit the Emperor as to going to Naples. We concluded all this deep intrigue and the affair of Ragotsky &c. could not have been without your Regent's participation, especially after we heard he began to demur about signing the treaty.

A Whig ministry does not drone like a Tory one, and so Lord Stanhope was dispatched immediately with full instructions and no doubt he'll try your Regent's mettle. Some fancy he'll make an excuse to King Philip for our hasty zeal and our fleet, which we were forced to do to please the Emperor, and, if the Spanish expedition is so far advanced as is said, perhaps we shall go no further at present than Lisbon. The article about the expedition in the enclosed *Post Boy* was in the *Evening Post* of Tuesday. The author is the same and he says he has very good authority for what he has advanced. We cannot be long in doubt.

The *brouilleries* between your Regent and the Parliament are very odd and look like a gangrene. If your subordinate and second-rate parliaments should have more courage and Roman virtue than our supreme ones, it would be pretty surprising. To be sure the armed force will get the better at first, but where it may end it is to be too wise to foretell. *2 pages.*

ACCOUNT.

1718, June 30.—Of petty charges for the Duke of Mar from May 13 to that day.

APPENDIX.

The following papers were discovered too late for insertion in their proper places in this and the preceding volumes of the Calendar.

LORD MIDDLETON.

[1709.]—"Motives to engage the most considerable nations to oppose the Succession of Hanover to the Monarchy of England." He argues that the restraints put on a Prince of Hanover become King of England by Act of Parliament would not be a sufficient provision to secure the laws and liberties of England. The new King will be of a religion entirely different from the Church of England. Being an absolute prince in his hereditary dominions, he will wish for the same power in England. The nobility and gentry who will come with him, having known liberty only by speculation, will disrelish the exercise of it. A King with foreign dominions must often have interests contrary to those of England. Should war break out between Hanover and any other state, how could a Prince of Hanover, being King of England, be neuter, and would it not be natural for him to sacrifice the interest of England to the support of his hereditary dominions? Might not a Prince of Hanover, when Great Britain has been added to his other great dominions, aspire to the Imperial Crown and, if successful, he would fix his residence abroad and leave England to be governed by a Viceroy? The English republicans would find that that family would have an independent force sufficient to become legally absolute master.

The only objection to the lawful King is his religion. (Arguments to prove the groundlessness of this objection.) Some pretend a Catholic King cannot govern according to his own reason and interest, being over-ruled by the Pope; but, when a Pope acts as a temporal prince, he has always been treated as such by the best Catholics. For instance, Charles V stormed Rome and kept the Pope prisoner, and the present Emperor has this very year (1709) compelled the Pope to depart from his obligations of neutrality as common father, and St. Louis made a pragmatic to maintain the privileges of the Gallican Church, for which reason his successors have never received the decrees of Trent relating to discipline, and let the four propositions made by the French clergy in 1682 be considered.

(Sketch of James' character. The English, if they knew him, would be charmed with his person, but more with his understanding. Perhaps these consequences have been foreseen by those who have raised their fortunes in the public ruin, and therefore they have made it treason to approach him.)

(Praise of James II, though admitting that his orders were ill-advised and worse executed and carried further than he designed by the folly and ignorance of some and the treachery of others; but it were a barbarous injustice to impute to this King what passed before he was born.)

(Review of the different European powers, the States General, the States of the Empire, the Emperor, the King of Sweden, and the King of Denmark, to show that it is the interest of each that a Prince of Hanover should not succeed to England. The regard the King of Denmark might have had for the present Government of England ought now to cease by the death (Oct., 1708) of his uncle, Prince George.)

Reasons why the Princess Anne should favour her brother's restoration on grounds of conscience, honour and prudence. 26 pages. *Endorsed by James III*, "Ld. Mid. paper on the Succession of Hanover."

JAMES III to the ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

1716, April.—Warrant for creating Francis Cottington a Baron, calendared in *Vol. II*, p. 133. *Draft*.

TWO PAPERS.

[1716, May 14.]—Giving the signals agreed on between Clanranald and Sheridan, in case any other ships went. *Endorsed by W. Dicconson and enclosed in his letter of that date calendared in Vol. II*, p. 150.

WILLIAM GORDON to JOHN PATERSON.

[1716, Nov.]—Requesting him to pay Major John Cockburne 100 *livres*. With receipt for the same on the back dated 1716, Nov. 11.

A LETTER to the CLERGY of the CHURCH of ENGLAND.

[1716 ?]—The writer desires to be resolved in the following queries:—

1. Whether according to the Gospel and the doctrine of the Church of England the Revolution in '88 was lawful?

2. If it was, whether the lawfulness of it was not founded on King James' endeavouring to destroy the Constitution in Church and State?

3. If so, whether his arbitrary proceedings secluded his son from his right to the Crown, and consequently,

4. Whether the Oath of Abjuration in the true and plain meaning of the words is such an oath as an honest man may willingly and heartily bend his conscience by?

5. Whether (supposing all the preceding queries resolved in the affirmative) the attempting to subvert the Constitution in Church and State by any of the House of Hanover in

possession of the throne is not good ground for a new revolution ?

6. Whether they are not both in danger at present ?

With long arguments against answering the first four queries in the affirmative and the two last in the negative, and alluding to the execution of Paul, a clergyman, which took place on 13 July, 1716. 25 pages.

MEMORIAL.

[1717, March 12.]—"Of Mr. Wesselowsky, secretary of embassy to his Czarian Majesty at the Court of Great Britain, in answer to the calumnious imputations made to his said Majesty by the ministers of Swedland in the letters now newly published." An abstract of this paper is given in Tindal, *History of England*, Vol. II, p. 579, and the substance of the part relating to Dr. Erskine in *Miscellanies of the Scottish History Society*, Vol. II, p. 422. 12 pages. Copy.

WILLIAM LESLIE, Bishop of Waitzen, to JAMES III.

1717, April 12. Waitzen.—I delayed to answer your most gracious lines, till I should have certain advice of your sojourn. Now, seeing your safe arrival in the Ecclesiastical State, I presume to inform you of what passed at Vienna betwixt the deliverer of your missive, who called himself Ibrion (*i.e.* Walkinshaw of Barrowfield), and me. I arrived at Vienna the end of January sick, so was obliged to stay some days in the suburbs with the fathers of the charity, till I should recover.

I was scarce warmed in the Hospital, having travelled many miles, though sick, the same day, when the said gentleman comes with a countryman priest, pedagogue to a Referendary's son, and would presently be entering my room when I was going to rest. I excused myself that I could not receive any stranger there ; I was to enter the town in two days, and then would be ready to receive any man, on which Mr. Ibrion wrote next day, which I answered in general terms, holding it to be prudence not to touch particulars, suspecting, as was true and Mr. Ibrion himself confessed, that he had revealed his project to the said countryman, who had disgusted me not only before in declaring openly both at Vienna and Gratz more for the French interest than his, whose bread he did eat, and, though his zeal for your cause, perhaps, might have prompted him, yet the Germans, not reflecting on this, held him properly of the French genie, rejoicing on their victories, which if he had not prudence to conceal, much less had he to manage such a project. What I wrote Mr. Ibrion resented as cold, and wrote another billet. I remained in my first purpose ; when I should go into the town, he was master, on which he visited me and drew a billet out of his pocket, in which he had marked what

Prince Eugene answered him in the Emperor's name; that it might do more harm than good and that your Majesty would do well to go to Italy. When I heard this, I very much apprehended the danger of embarking in this project, being a sworn Counsellor to the Emperor, who did not hold it his interest to grant what Mr. Ibrion supplicated for, because I saw manifestly I would thereby lose the credit I have endeavoured to purchase at our Court and not be able, now or hereafter, to serve my native Sovereign. I saw clearly also that I could not appear jointly with Mr. Ibrion, without being discovered to enemies, seeing he had already entrusted the project to such persons, who, though by malice they would not, yet by imprudence they might betray us. Notwithstanding, I asked Mr. Ibrion if he permitted me to consult with two, my most confident patrons and ministers, one laic, the other ecclesiastic, which I did, and both assured me I would effect nothing and harm myself and my credit, for the Emperor, notwithstanding disgusts, would now make no open break or rupture. This I communicated to Mr. Ibrion, whose fervour and zeal transported him to treat me otherwise than I thought my character required. When I asked him what he would have me do, if he would have me resign my bishopric, because to remain and be contrary to the Emperor's inclination, without serving or gaining the intent, would be to break my head against the wall, he replied that many had quitted not only their goods but their lives and liberties. I rejoined, I knew certainly this was not your will and pleasure; I would not omit occasion privately and underhand to serve you with more profit, holding it absolutely not for your service to appear in seconding this gentleman, who, 'tis true, said once he required only underhand, and yet exacted such open steps, which could not be kept secret, yea, he himself revealed to such persons his designs. This is the genuine relation. I not only forgive Mr. Ibrion, but construct that this has proceeded from his forementioned zeal. He confessed his error in making use of a person for his first address, who, he had heard, had disgusted me, and the same person told me he wondered how he could pursue his design handsomely, seeing he knew no language well but Scots, spoke bad French and Italian. This same person, called Justice, has been active where he could, and had always a good intention for your cause, and I appeal to him, if I have not been always so disposed, but with more caution.

Some at Court, under both the Emperors Leopold and Joseph called me to my face a French spy. It would have been no policy or prudence in me to speak openly in their favour and rejoice in their victories. Your father, when I had the greatest honour that ever befell me to kiss his hands, and those of the Queen, your Majesty as Prince of Wales at that time in the year 1700, and the Princess, told me expressly what disgusts he had met with. I had secret commissions from

the Emperor Leopold's confessor to F[ather] Sanders about this matter. These words were in the letter to me of Menegatti, the Emperor's confessor. When an alliance was solicited, which would redound to the benefit of the Catholic religion, which I had proposed to his Reverence, he answered, after having spoken to Leopold: *Remedium foret, dummodo illi, quorum interest, socios admitterent*. I am your Majesty's faithful born subject, but to approve all the French actions and their treaties of peace no ways favourable to you and now the last fatal stroke I never did, nor shall do it, unless I see other proofs and discoveries. I have suffered now above 20 years persecutions for the just cause, as all countrymen who have been at Vienna, can testify, especially Father John Innes, Jesuit, now at Douay. I was excluded from being auditor of the Rota and postponed in many other competencies for bishoprics. All the nuncios can bear witness and the present Nuncio, with whom I conferred several times, while Mr. Ibrion was at Vienna, whom I found most forward and zealous, and it were not amiss your Majesty procured an order from the Pope to an agent, when the conjuncture shall be more favourable. I writ the very same to Cardinal Davia, and shall in May return on this account to stay, if possible, some weeks. We are of the mind that the issue of this campaign should be expected, and no doubt the bad consequences of this new alliance will more and more increase.

I crave pardon, if I have offended you in the person of Mr. Ibrion, who no doubt, seeing he seemed to threaten it, denigrated me beside you, and secondly for the language I writ to Cardinal Davia. If the Italian be more grateful, I'll rather write in that than my mother tongue. I write French and speak it better, but for want of exercise I do not presume to write to my Sovereign. I remit myself for the rest to Cardinal Davia. 6 pages.

PAPER.

1717, April.—Sent by J. Menzies, calendared in *Vol. IV*, p. 220, with note by *Queen Mary*: "This paper is given me by Mr. Evans, a very loyal man, who is trusted by the *Bishop of Rochester*, and brings this from him. I believe *Mar* has seen him." *Copy*.

JAMES III to the DUKE OF MODENA.

1717, June 12. Memorial.—The difficulties the Duke of Modena has to come to a resolution on his Britannic Majesty's proposal of marriage can only roll on three heads, viz., 1, Les Convenances, 2, Interest, 3, The regard he is obliged to pay to the Emperor.

No one but the Duke himself can answer about the first. He knows better than anyone what may suit him and the different views he may have for the establishment of the

Princess, and it is for him and her to decide a point which touches her so closely and where her happiness is so greatly engaged.

As concerns interest, though among princes it is not regarded so closely as among private persons, as the King's case is singular, everything that may concern this head should be plainly set forth without any concealment. No one knows better than his Highness the King's present state, and that, having no fund on which he can count at present, he cannot give what he has not got nor make anything but promises to be fulfilled on his restoration. His Highness may regard that restoration as far distant. (Reasons why this is not the case.) Besides the unanimous eagerness of the King's friends for his marriage and the solid reasons for it make him regard his marriage as a considerable step in that direction, for it is well known nothing will so animate his friends and discourage his enemies. It is certain further that nothing will more serve to diminish the excessive fear foreign powers have of the English Government and to make them show outwardly the good will which the King knows positively most of them cherish for him in their heart, since the difference then will not be between an established Government and the life of a single person, but between an established succession and a tottering government.

As regards the portion and jointure it is for his Highness to explain himself. The claims of the Queen of England may serve much to facilitate the first and the precedents of the jointures of previous Queens to settle the last in the future. As for the present, the Duke knows what will be proper for his daughter, and it may be added there are solid, not to say certain, reasons for believing that, the King once married, his friends in England will let him want for nothing, above all, when it is considered that it is not a question here of great display or expense, but of what his Highness shall judge suitable for his daughter under present circumstances.

The example of the Duke of Parma will serve to answer the third difficulty. Brother-in-law of the Empress Mother as his Highness is of the Empress Emilia, their regards for the Imperial Court, it seems, ought to be equal. The nearness of their States also makes their dependence on or independence of foreign Courts similar. However, what has happened to the Duke of Parma for having given his daughter to the Catholic King, who is actually in possession of what the Emperor believes to belong to him, and is even at open war against him? The difference between that case and the one in question is very plain, and can one without wronging the piety and justice of the Emperor suspect he will act otherwise to the Duke of Modena than he has towards the Duke of Parma? since he is far from having the same grounds to complain of the first as he has of the second. One can scarcely flatter oneself that the Emperor's positive consent

will be obtained. The matter has been opened to him, and his silence ought, it seems, to serve for a tacit consent, though he may have reasons for not giving a positive consent. He does not appear to have any reason to prevent him from giving a negative answer, if so inclined.

As for the other princes, one does not know of any whom the Duke of Modena can believe himself obliged to regard, who does not personally wish well to the King and would not indeed be delighted to see him married for their own interests.

The Pope's inclinations cannot be doubtful, after what he has already communicated to his Highness, and it may even be added that there is good reason to believe that the conclusion of the marriage in question would contribute not a little to terminate the differences there have been between him and his Highness and to procure for him from the Holy See pleasures which could be obtained with difficulty otherwise.

3½ pages. Draft. French. Enclosed in the letter to the Duke of 12 June, 1717, calendared in Vol. IV, p. 343.

[THE DUKE OF MODENA] to [JAMES III].

[1717, May or June.]—It will be the General of the Jesuits who will present the letter, I having believed it better so and more secure, when Santagata is not there. The General knows nothing and has no further duty but to present the letter in Santagata's absence. *In the Duke's hand. Italian.*

SIR JOHN O'BRIEN.

[1717, Sept. or Oct.]—Reflections to show that Auditor Michelli is entirely in Lord Peterborough's interest and also on some of the arguments by which Lord Peterborough endeavours to clear himself. *2 pages. French. Two copies.*

JAMES III to CARDINAL GUALTERIO.

[1717, Oct. ? 8.]—I have always regarded Mr. Sheldon's journey as a simple courtesy with regard to Lord Peterborough and otherwise very useless as to any light that might be got from it, so in his absence I avail myself of a little leisure to write to you of this affair, though I shall not send you this till his return.

It appears by everything you tell me that his return is impatiently expected, and that after it they do not wish to delay the release. I am more mortified than surprised at it, and I fear that new efforts will be useless. However, it is becoming to make them, and for this purpose I have written a little memorial, which I beg you to read to his Holiness, when delivering him my letter, enlarging on that subject as far as respect will allow you. It is true that, if his Holiness judges it improper to give him up to my requests, that I should be much mortified, but, as there will then be no remedy, I must behave with prudence, and not make matters worse by

showing vexation, unsuitable for so many reasons. If then our latest efforts have no effect, it will necessary to keep ourselves within the bounds of a respectful silence, but so as, without consenting to his release, to leave to the Pope the care of giving his orders, only arranging to be informed of the time of it, to the end that the letter, which Sheldon is to write in that case, of which you have a copy here, may be delivered before the release. You know that letter is written for the English and to make a virtue of necessity. After many reflections this is the course I have judged the most proper to take. It was what seemed to me the least bad, and I hope his Holiness will not be shocked, if I refuse to give a consent I should believe dishonourable, and which he does not need, though his kindness for me makes him desire it. I can say with truth that I do not act in this matter either from vexation or obstinacy. I neither have done nor shall do anything but what I believe to be proper and necessary, and, if after this his Holiness is not of my opinion, he is master, and my submission to and veneration for him will not be lessened notwithstanding the annoyance I shall receive from it. No one can be more sensible than I am of all his acts of kindness in general and I beg you to convince him of this, but always insisting strongly, when delivering my letter, on the delay of my lord's release, since it is only, I fear, the answers from England that can clear up this matter and justify a resolution with regard to him. $2\frac{1}{2}$ pages. *French. Holograph.*

JAMES III to CARDINAL GUALTERIO.

[1717, Oct. ? 8.]—I write you this separately, that, if you judge it proper, you may be able to show my letter in confidence, in case we lose our suit, and, I believe, it would not have a bad effect. I am surprised at the refusal of the “billets d'impunité,” and I should be even piqued at one of the reasons given for that refusal, were I ignorant of the “système de bravoure” of the country where we are. “Quoiqu'il en soit la grande affaire” and that of my lord if he is released, the rest would be no great matter, and, if we keep him still, we may content ourselves with that. In the first case I shall publish a document about him, wherein I shall easily justify myself to the public and wherein “je menagerois,” as far as I can, the authors of his liberty. I beg your advice as to the form of it; I should believe a letter of a private person, as after the affair of Scotland, would be sufficient. *French. Holograph.*

JAMES III to POPE CLEMENT XI.

[1717, Oct. ? 8.]—Memorial. One cannot be surprised that the public, who are ignorant of the substantial reasons for Lord Peterborough's arrest, have been a little shocked at it,

and one ought to be less astonished at it, when one reflects on the little acquaintance they have with the affairs or laws of England. It is therefore only necessary to cure that ignorance to convince every one of the justice and rightness of that proceeding.

With regard to the first, his Holiness having been already informed of every thing on that subject, it will not be repeated here. He is only entreated to reflect thereon and not to let himself be so preoccupied as not to attend to the singular nature of the business, to which general rules cannot apply, though nothing has been or shall be asked of his Holiness except what cannot be refused by the laws of England to the meanest private person in a similar case.

As to the second head, it appears that, after the protection his Holiness has granted to the King and the manner he has received him in his States, nothing ought to be apprehended from what is the natural consequence of it. It is the first and great step that might have irritated England, though without reason, since she herself was the cause of the refusal of every asylum, but it is inconceivable that it is possible to apprehend anything in the present case. Is it conceivable that England should wish to attack the Pope, not for having arrested her minister, not for having in the least outraged him, not on account of the asylum his Holiness has granted the King, but for having arrested for good reasons a private person, who was always feared and never loved in England, where his character is too well known, and where he is esteemed by nobody? Certainly it may be called an imaginary alarm for any one who knows the above facts.

As for other powers, one would do them great wrong by imagining they would be willing to intervene in such an odious matter and one with which they have nothing to do. Is it not much more probable that they will oppose England than join her in favour of my lord?

It has been shown already that the laws and practice of every country authorize the steps that have been taken, and it may be now added that they authorize a longer detention of the prisoner, since it is unheard of that a person should be released before there is some reason to believe him innocent and here all the suspicions of crime continue without the least proof of his innocence. It might be said the want of proof is sufficient. In the present case the proofs are difficult. An answer from England, to which the King has written, is necessary. A reasonable time is necessary in order to judge of the truth, and, if no more can be discovered, a release will be honourable for my lord and will show the equity of the Pope and the clemency of the King. On the contrary, a hasty release will have every bad effect possible; the King would be obliged to declare that he found no proof of innocence, and would not be able to conceal from his friends in England the truth and that my lord had been released against his

will, though it has been necessary for him to keep up appearances, as far as he could, but, whatever precautions may be taken, the public will not be long ignorant of the truth about the release, and it is feared not without reason that this step will be exaggerated and blamed by those who have no ties of respect and interest to restrain them.

The mischief has been done already; a little time more or less will not make matters worse, but will clear up the truth, and it would be somewhat disagreeable if proofs of the crime were received after the criminal's release. Pressing solicitations in his favour are not to be apprehended, since an honourable release will follow them, provided he is innocent.

It has been believed that what has been presented on this subject should be laid before his Holiness to help him to a determination. The King has chiefly had in view the honour and the interest of his Holiness, since he will always have it in his power to justify his own conduct to the public, in whatever manner his Holiness shall determine this matter. 8 pages. *French. Draft. Holograph.*

JAMES III to POPE CLEMENT XI.

[1717, Oct. ? 12.]—I have waited till Mr. Sheldon's return to thank you for your letter of the 18th of last month, and, since you have designed to style yourself my counsellor, I venture to declare my sentiments by the same channel you have employed to communicate yours, and I venture to assure you they do not and shall not affect my gratitude and veneration for you. *Endorsed as not sent. French. Copy.*

WILLIAM DICCONSON.

1717.—Memorandum.—Lady Trant had at first 100 *livres* a month for herself and five children, but it was reduced on several universal retrenchments and on the death of one of her children, and about three years ago, it appearing that she had 800 *livres* a year from the French Court, it was reduced monthly to 50 *livres*, whence, he supposes, Mistress Trant alleges she or her mother has been cut off 600 *livres* a year.—Reasons for the reduction. 1. On account of the universal reduction; 2, the death of her children; 3, the pension from France.

By this it appears his Majesty was imposed on when he was told Mistress Trant was hardly used, so that, if he thinks fit to give her 600 *livres* a year, it is a pure gift, which, how it may suit with his present circumstances, when such numbers are sent back to England and Scotland, who have suffered so signally and been refused a subsistence, he alone can determine.

WARRANT.

[1718, Feb.]—For admitting John Hay to be one of the Grooms of the Bedchamber. *Sign Manual. Countersigned "Mar." (Calendared in Vol. V, p. 526.)*

MEMOIR.

[1718, March.]—Concerning the differences betwixt the Elector of Hanover and his son and the effects it has had and is likely to have with the several parties and people of England. The King's friends in England submit to his consideration, what they believe to be a true and impartial account of the situation of the Hanover family there. (Describing how many of those who had been instruments in procuring the establishment of the succession in the Hanoverian family, disgusted with the conduct of the Elector and his German ministers, turned to the Prince, who directed his servants in both Houses to oppose the Crown, the resolution thereupon of the Elector's English ministers to get the better of the Prince by using him as they afterwards did, "as to which the story of the quarrel with the Duke of Newcastle was a thing artfully thrown in his way, which he was fool enough to bite at, in order to give a handle for what followed, and not the cause of it," the Prince's pusillanimity after he was banished St. James', but that, as soon as some of the discontented Whigs got access to him, they inspired him with new courage and he began to declare he would act in parliament against the Army and even speak against the Bill establishing it.) It was publicly talked that the ministry intended by an Act of Parliament to take from him the 100,000*l.* *per annum* settled on him, and great application was made to the Tories by both sides, who, considering it a barefaced attack on property and that they thought it expedient to support the weaker side, declared their resolution of supporting the Prince so far, on which the Ministry dropped their design. (Then follows a description of the Prince absenting himself from the Mutiny Bill, for which see *ante*, pp. 83, 85, 86, 106.) Such of the discontented Whigs as had before declared so warmly against the Prince have never since gone near him, and, having been formerly excluded the father's Court, stand in effect on the same bottom with the Tories, but those who were silent at the beginning, though without doubt the Prince's behaviour made as strong an impression on them, still sometimes go to his Court to protect themselves from being thought Jacobites, though they desire as much the deliverance of their country, which all now see can only be brought about by a restoration. The first declare, if the King were to make an attempt to-morrow, they would not oppose him, the latter do not make such declarations, but in all appearance would in that event go greater lengths to procure the deliverance of their injured country and to reconcile themselves to their injured Sovereign.

The present ministers, having put themselves on a foot of a personal enmity with the Prince, and having been the occasion of his receiving such ill-treatment, have nothing to expect in the event of his accession but ruin. It is certain they would have attempted to set him aside in favour of his son, had they not been deterred by their fears that the King's

cause would get great strength by the use the Tories would make of this and the sense the most obstinate of the Whigs must have on their undertaking such a measure. The people, who support the present Government in England, are so far from being a certain support to the Hanover family in all words, that they are full as much afraid of the Prince of Hanover as of the King.

It is plain that the Tories and the body of the people long passionately for the King's return, and that the most considerable of the party, which settled the succession in the House of Hanover with a view of preserving their constitution and liberties, are now sensible that both are overturned by one whom they made a King in order to protect them, and that only his Majesty can deliver them and their country.

Slaves we must remain, notwithstanding the good dispositions above-mentioned, while the army in England subsists, unless his Majesty can obtain from some foreign prince a moderate regular force, under whose protection the people of England may be able to get together. We know that the English soldiers have the same sentiments, and would therefore come over, though they never will come but to a regular force. We see a moral certainty of success, if his Majesty were to make an attempt so concerted, and therefore are amazed when told that the Regent, the King of Spain, or indeed any potentate, is afraid of a Government, which must inevitably fall, as soon as they shall find their account in withdrawing their protection from it. This is still plainer from what has been represented to his Majesty with regard to the state of the trade, the coin and the public credit of England. Though we are sensible that princes are generally governed by what they take to be their own interests, and that they may be but imperfectly informed of the true state of our country, yet some things are so self-evident that we think they ought to make the same impression on people of the same degree of understanding everywhere.

This is the opinion not only of those attached from the beginning to his Majesty's cause, but of the discontented Whigs, and therefore the conduct of the several princes of Europe with regard to the Hanover family under the above circumstances is what no man of understanding of any party in this country can pretend to account for. (Written after the Mutiny Bill was carried, which was after 3 March, see *Vol. V*, pp. 525, 526, and *ante*, p. 86.) 12½ pages. *English, with French translation.*

PAPER BY FATHER BROWN.

1718, [March].—It is an axiom of Theologians that there is a difference between holding an opinion and stating an opinion. The former is to assent to a proposition, the latter is only to narrate historically what has been said or done by others, provided the speaker does not assent to it. He therefore, who only puts forward an erroneous opinion, should

not to be judged guilty of error, provided he does not affirm or deny it, but relates accurately the opinion of others. Therefore he who writes thus (quoting the passage from the King's letter to Dr. Leslie calendared in *Vol. v.*, p. 244, from "by the best information" to "undoubted right of the Church"); does not hold the above opinion but only states it, and ought not to be suspected of not being a true Catholic, otherwise infinite absurdities would follow, *e.g.* were one to say that the heretics deny purgatory, transubstantiation &c., he might be charged with holding such heresies himself. *Latin.*

ANOTHER PAPER BY FATHER BROWN.

1718, [March].—Developing the above propositions at much greater length. *Latin.* (For both these papers see *ante*, pp. 133, 185.)

JAMES III.

[1718, March ?]—Memorandum. William (? Inese). What he and his brother said to Mr. Leslie when at Paris three years ago.

His pressing me to open to David [? Duke of Lorraine] and speak freely to him.

His great jealousy of my being away from him.

His bed in the garderobe.

His being left with me a convincing proof of the Cabal.

His little ways on several occasions.

His pliable zeal only turned against those that are not his creatures or of his faction while he courts Floyd and old Samuel, though one is a declared atheist and Whig and t'other offered Patrick (? the King) his good offices.

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